HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE
DIEU ET MON DROIT

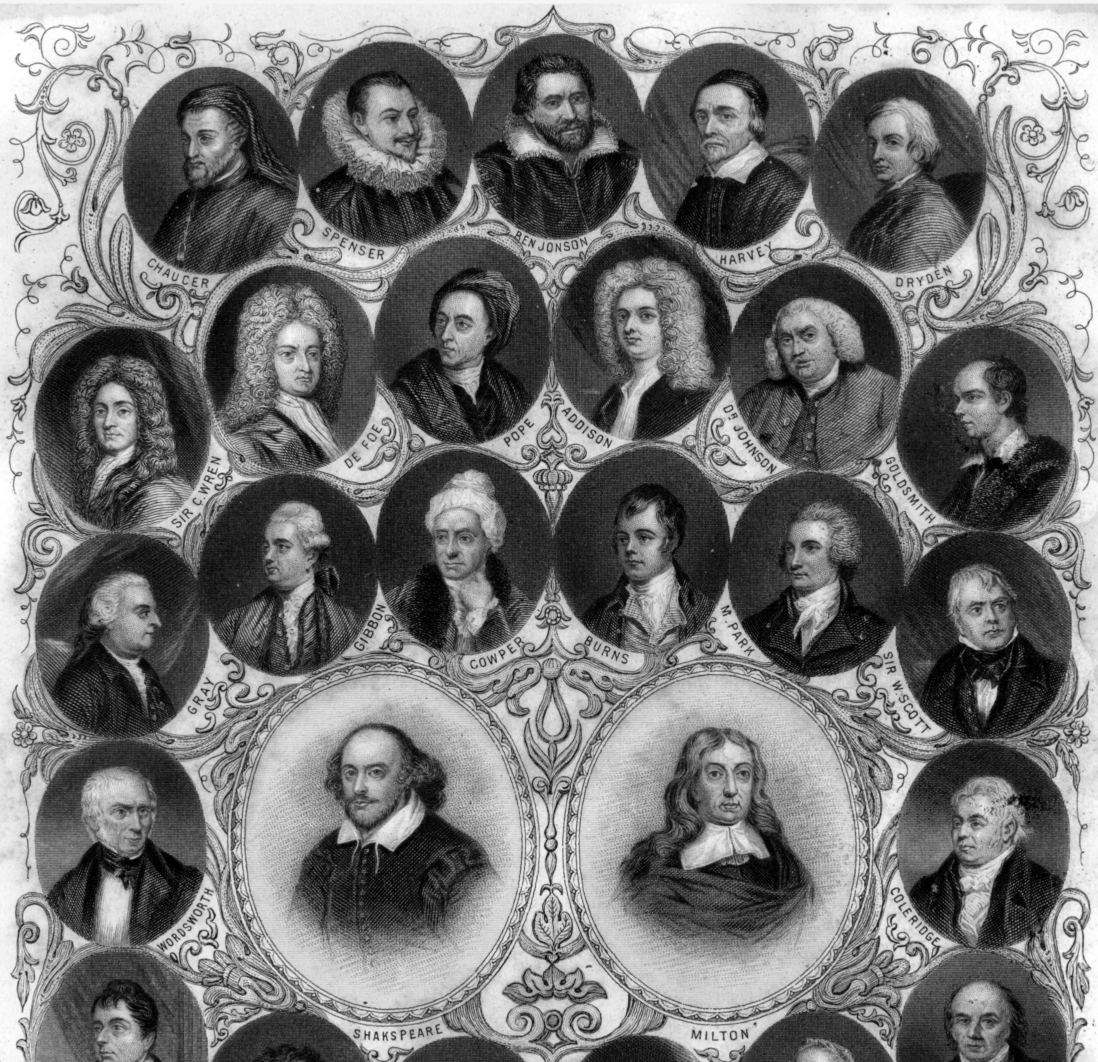
To Emilie O'Donnell
from her affectionate Mother
16th May 1879.

THE

NATIONAL

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOL. IV.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THE NATIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND:
Civil Military & Domestic.

WITH UPWARDS OF FIVE HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS
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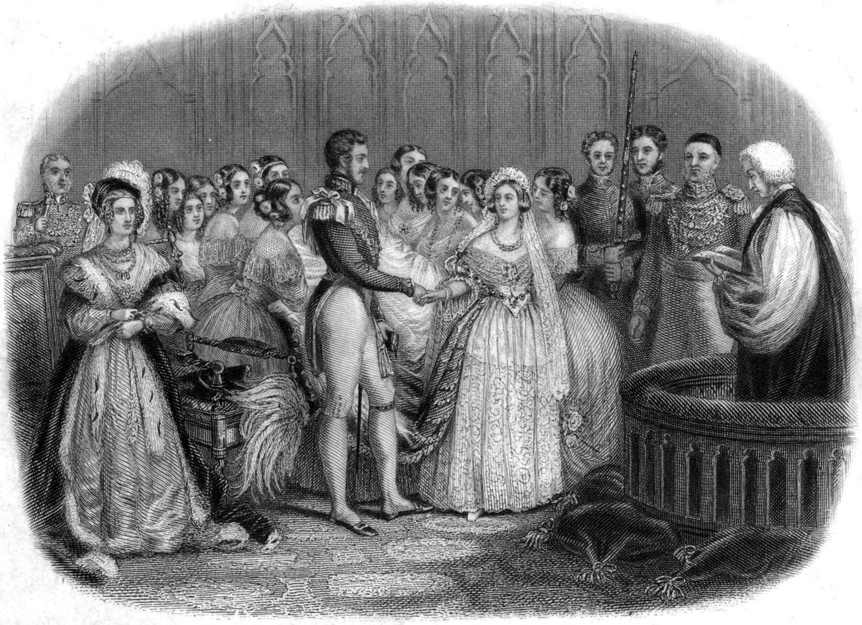

MARRIAGE OF QUEEN VICTORIA AND PRINCE ALBERT.

LONDON & GLASGOW:
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THE

NATIONAL
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

Civil, Military, and Domestic,

FROM THE ROMAN INVASION TO THE PRESENT TIME;

WITH AN

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

BY

HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM;

ILLUSTRATED WITH FORTY ENGRAVINGS

OF THE

MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS IN BRITISH HISTORY,

ENGRAVED BY DALZIEL, CHESHIRE, MILLER, &c., AFTER DRAWINGS BY SELOUS, WILKIE, ZWECKER, BAYES, HARLOWE, &c.,

AND

FOUR HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS,

OF ANTIQUITIES, ARCHITECTURE, SCENERY, MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ETC.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

BY

W. H. RUSSELL, LL.D.; JOHN GOODALL;
PETER BAYNE, M.A., AND OTHERS.

LONDON AND GLASGOW:
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1877.

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THE
NATIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
CIVIL, MILITARY, AND DOMESTIC.

A.D. 1789—A.D. 1837.

CHAPTER I.

The Civil and Military History of Great Britain, from the Outbreak of the French Revolution, 1789, to the close of the Reign of William IV., 1837.—A period of 48 Years.

THIS opening chapter of the fourth and last volume of the National History of England takes account of events falling within the latter half of the long and memorable reign of George III., and in the two brief reigns of his sons, George IV. and William IV., the uncles and immediate predecessors of her Majesty Queen Victoria. To the period with which it deals belongs a grand and glorious story, unsurpassed for interest and abiding consequences of highest moment by any records covering an equal term of years in the annals of any nation from the beginning of time. This period forms a well-defined boundary between ourselves of the living generation and that remoter past in which our sympathies are deeply rooted, though with a fading power; a force that relaxes its hold in proportion as the period contemplated is distant from the actors in and spectators of current transactions. Viewed in another aspect, the term of years now claiming notice may be regarded as a wide-spanning bridge, connecting all the contemporaneous English-speaking nations, whether in the first home of their race, or in the illimitable lands in remote continents and almost countless isles, with the deeply-cherished memory of a worthy ancestry in far-off times. The period is clustered with stirring memories. Its wars were on a scale never witnessed in earlier days. Its political strifes were waged under the leadership of intellectual giants, whose large-hearted utterances, recorded in outbursts of eloquence and oratory that rivet the admiration of every reader, still continue to be luminous guides on questions of political difficulty. It derives, too, a character of lofty grandeur from the enormous progress achieved within its limits in all the best works of peace, of which separate account will be duly taken in subsequent chapters.

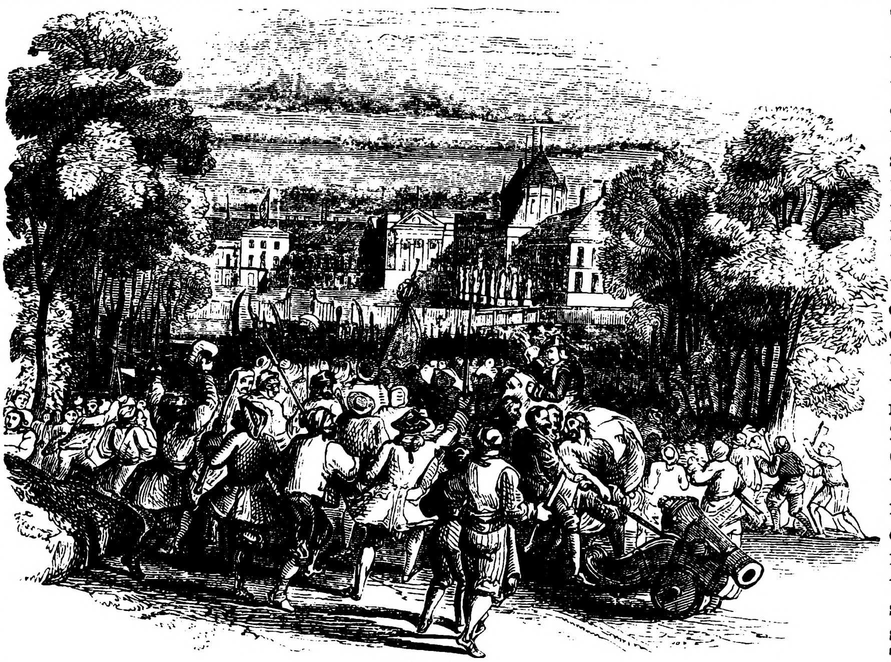
SECTION I.

George III.—(*continued*) 1789-1820.

The histories of England and her great neighbour, France, are so intimately connected, during the protracted and stubborn war waged between them, almost without intermission in the twenty-one years closing with 1815, and which threatened to burst forth in the first year of the period now under notice, that it is scarcely possible to grasp a clear idea of current transactions in either except by going somewhat into details of events passing in the other. At this stage of our story, therefore, it becomes indispensably needful to explain some of the circumstances of that great political convulsion in France which was destined to drag Great Britain and all the continental nations into its surging vortex. A great emergency had compelled Louis XVI. to convoke a meeting of the States-General, to be held in May, 1789. The States-General, a sort of national parliament, consisted of three orders or estates, the Nobles, the Clergy, and the *tiers état*, or third estate, answering to the English House of Commons. Unlike the English Parliament, the States-General had no regular period fixed for its meetings, and its functions and powers were of a very indefinite character. French history exhibits many a reign during which the king never once summoned a meeting of this great national assembly. On the rare occasions when it met, although the three orders sometimes deliberated in separate chambers, they formed in reality but a single body, or, as we call it, *House*. They were rather a great council of state than an independent legislative body, and the three-in-one presented collectively the result of their deliberations to the king, who adopted or rejected at his pleasure the measures submitted to his uncontrolled sovereign decision. The Commons of France seem scarcely ever to have aspired to the command of the national purse; that prime controlling regulator which the English Commons worked with ever-increasing efficacy. The French *tiers état* had in reality a better title, though they never found out how to assert it, to an exclusive control over the public purse than than that of the English Commons, for in France the privileged orders, the nobles and the clergy, were entirely exempt from taxation, and the Commons paid not only all the burdens of the state, but were weighted besides with heavy imposts and exactions for the benefit of the superior orders, of which further mention will presently have to be made. After the lapse of many centuries the States-General came to a clearer perception of the fundamental principles of well-ordered government, and made some faint attempts to restrain the abuses of aristocratic rule. But on such occasions the alarmed or irritated court dismissed the assembly, and resolved never again to convoke it; and so persistent was this traditional antipathy to parliamentary control, that no meeting of the States-General was ever once convened in the long interval of one hundred and seventy-five years which elapsed between 1614, when Louis XIII. filled the throne, and the ever-memorable assembly which met on the 5th of May, 1789. But while the States-General had thus been in effect abrogated, several of the provincial states, or *parlemens*, were permitted to continue their meetings, though at very uncertain and irregular intervals, and with very limited powers. These provincial *parlemens* were not representative bodies; they were originally councils, or courts of law nominated by the crown, to act as advisers of the king's lieutenants, magistrates, and other local functionaries. In the course of time, the privilege of sitting in these *parlemens* came to be a matter of purchase, like an officer's commission in our own military service. Paris had its own separate *parlement*, which began in the days of Louis IX., in the thirteenth century, when its services were called into action to aid the illiterate barons, who constituted a sort of royal council or court of peers. The first members of the Paris *parlement* were for the most part churchmen, who, like our own servants of the crown in days when learning was monopolized by the clerical order, were conversant with civil as well as canonical law, and with other branches of state learning which men of the sword had not yet condescended to acquire. On the advice of these priest-lawyers the peers decided cases of appeal from inferior courts; their decisions were registered by the priest-lawyers; a court of registry thus grew out of the early functions of the *parlement*. Eventually, when the despotic power of the crown had outgrown ancient restraints, and all constitutional sanctions were abolished, it was still held that every royal edict, in order to have the force of law, must first be duly registered by the *parlement*. Even this mere semblance of respect on the part of the ruler towards the source of all kingly power, the consent of the governed, was destined in the end to assist materially the growing spirit of freedom in its after encounters with prerogative. Gradually the clerical element gave place to professional lawyers in the composition of the *parlemens*. As a general rule, they never exercised any will of their own, but yielded implicit obedience to the orders of the crown in dealing with cases that came before them. But cases arose in which the crown was either indifferent or impartial, and these afforded some scope for the exercise of their own judgment and the display of their legal science.

When, in later times, the members of these *parlemens* paid for their appointments, they were considered to hold them for life—a tenure which by-and-by engendered the disposition to act independently. Such men, in exceptional instances, now and then delayed, or remonstrated, or refused to enregister a royal edict without inquiry. When this happened, the king had several ways of surmounting opposition. According to an old custom of the monarchy, he could summon the *parlement* to meet him face to face, surrounded by the high dignitaries of state, forming a sort of court or council, called a *bed of justice*, and with his own royal lips command them to enregister his decree. Such a command had the force of an appeal to their allegiance as subjects, and they were held to be bound to obey without further parley, on peril of being treated as rebels against the royal authority. Another ceremonial for overruling objections, was to hold a royal sitting (*séance royal*) or session. By this method the king, accompanied by the princes of the blood, many of the highest nobility, and dignitaries in church and state, with a large retinue of office-bearers in the royal household and a body-guard of soldiers, entered the *parlement*, and while conceding to the members the freedom of speaking, ordered them to enregister his edict. These beds of justice and royal sittings were grand state spectacles, devised to awe the only body of men that cherished aspirations after constitutional freedom. But at length came a time when the growing spirit of freedom refused to be restrained either by the pomp of gorgeous state ceremonials or the terrors of a royal command. The meek submission with which the *parlement* of Paris crouched before the angry scoldings of the Grand Monarch (Louis XIV.)—he who arrogantly declared that he was the state (*L'état, c'est moi!*), and ordained in his ultra-absolute fashion that they should abstain from all discussion of affairs of state and finance—gave place to a very different temper in the following reign.

Louis XV., like his despotic ancestors, commanded the Paris *parlement* to register his edicts. They refused, whereupon he dismissed them. Several of the provincial *parlemens* shared the same summary mode of suppression. Exile from their own neighbourhood to distant parts of France, and sometimes beyond its borders, was a common mode of punishing disobedient *parlemens*. But public opinion was now attaining a force too potent to be set at naught and frowned down by any successor of the Grand Monarch. A loud outcry throughout France frightened Louis XVI. into recalling the *parlemens*, and restoring their powers immediately on his coming to the throne in 1774. Soon after this, the several *parlemens* arrived at a common understanding, with the view to concerted action in opposition to further stretches of arbitrary power. The growing boldness of the *parlemens* was simply one among a host of indications that the nation was now impatient of the enormous abuses of absolutism, and utterly tired of its effete institutions. The American war diverted attention for a time from home affairs, and thus afforded a temporary respite to arbitrary rule in France. The dismemberment of the British empire, the prostration and ruin of an ancient rival, were objects dear to the hearts of all ranks of Frenchmen. Hence the nation threw all its sympathies and energies into the cause of our revolted colonies, and ceased for a while to dwell upon home grievances. Impoverished as the French people were, they submitted cheerfully to an enormous addition to their national debt and the yearly burdens of taxation, in order to help to the utmost the struggling Republic of the western continent. Turgot, that prescient minister who guided the counsels of Louis XVI. in the two first years of the American war, predicted the ruinous consequences that must follow if his sovereign became a party to the overthrow of kingly government in British America. In parting with him, and reluctantly giving way to the mad war party, Louis paid the highest tribute to his merits in the exclamation: "In all France I and Turgot are the only friends of the people." The war came to an end, but its burdens remained. Each year from the peace of 1783, like each year of the war, exhibited a heavy deficit in the national budget. Turgot had made a strenuous but unavailing attempt to enlarge the area of taxation by abolishing the invidious privilege which belonged to the aristocracy and the church, of exemption from any share in the burdens of the state. Had the *noblesse*, or aristocracy, consisted of a few families of high nobility, their exemption from taxation might have passed unchallenged. But patents of nobility, sold for money or annexed to official employment, had been multiplied with a lavish hand through the preceding century, and were now possessed by some thirty thousand families. The clergy also were exempt from taxes; and all the higher and lucrative offices in the church were reserved for the exclusive possession of men belonging to the order of *noblesse*. *Noblesse* and clergy joined in a fierce chorus of clamour against every proposal to make them pay taxes equally with the unprivileged orders. Fresh loans were each year made to supply the place of additional taxes, for the tax-payers were already burdened almost beyond endurance. Necker's adroitness in financial shifts tided over some years of terrible anxiety, but he only postponed the inevitable day of reckoning. A plebeian, a foreigner, and a Protestant, who in thirteen years had risen from the condition of a clerk in the banking-house of Thelusson to that of a great capitalist, Necker's magic skill in creating for himself wealth out of nothing, together with his reputation as a writer on finance and public economy, lifted him into the high official position of controller-general of finance. His contemporaries accepted him as a great statesman; succeeding generations have been disposed to reverse this judgment: eminent French writers of recent times pronounce him a trickster and a charlatan, whose temporary expedients for tiding over the difficulties of the day afforded no safeguard against impending national bankruptcy. He deserves, however, the credit due to some honest efforts in the way of retrenchment, by which he arrayed against himself a swarm of enemies among the placemen, pensioners, contractors, and sinecurists. With the close of the American war came an enormous impetus to democratic notions; the officers and men who had fought for popular rights in America became in their own country missionaries of revolution. They scoffed at their native political institutions, and held up to admiration and imitation the system of government which they had helped to establish on the other side of the Atlantic. The English who flocked to Paris after the peace were startled at the sentiments expressed in the *salons*, and even in court circles, in favour of free institutions. Pitt and Wilberforce, on their visit to France in 1783, remarked with amazement that theoretical democracy had already become a fashion in high society. But in the privileged orders the sentiment of liberty was, in most instances, utterly unpractical. Tocqueville, the discriminating and philosophic writer on democracy in America, and the author of some most valuable contributions to the history of his own country in the eighteenth century, affords abundant insight into the sentimental and abstract character of these political disquisitions in polite circles. In his "France before the Revolution" he states: "The nobles shared as a pleasant pastime in these discussions, and quietly enjoyed their immunities and privileges, whilst they serenely discussed the absurdity of all established customs. Not the barest notion of a violent revolution ever entered into the minds of the generation which witnessed it." Arthur Young, whose voluminous writings on the state of agriculture in Great Britain and Ireland have supplied many of the facts stated in one of the final chapters of our third volume, is also one of the soundest contributors towards our knowledge of the state of society in France in these critical years. His "Travels in France," published in 1792, is a veritable storehouse of information, garnered by one of the shrewdest eye-witnesses of what was passing in various parts of France in the years 1787–9. Of the country gentry he says: "They had not the same interest as of old to attend to, or assist, or direct, the village population; and, on the other hand, not being subject to the same burthens, they could never feel much sympathy for poverty which they did not share, nor for grievances to which they were not exposed." This passage sums up in few words the evil fruits of that mischievous policy under which a despotic government, in its extreme jealousy of any political power except that which it wielded by its army of functionaries, had extinguished the natural influence of the landed proprietors in the conduct of local affairs. A central authority, under the name of the King's Council, regulated the business of every town, village, and hamlet in the kingdom; there was no local management, directed by spontaneous agency, as in England, even of such matters as charitable institutions, religious houses, hospitals, and schools. The local gentry had no voice in the administration of justice, the control of the constabulary, the distribution of relief to the indigent, and the various other trusts which are best discharged by those having local knowledge and that natural influence which appertains to the possessors of property. The King's Council acted everywhere through the instrumentality of officials who were not amenable to local control. The whole edifice of French society was wanting in those genial influences which, in free countries, bind and compact the several orders into one harmonious whole. Every social tie had been sundered between the landed proprietors and the toiling masses. The cultivators of the soil were reminded at every turn in the business of daily life of the obnoxious privileges of their superiors; they were rarely, if ever, conciliated by that kindly interest in their affairs, and that concern for their wants, which elsewhere spring out of the discharge of the manifold social duties that go hand in hand with the rights of property. Many of the poorer *noblesse* subsisted exclusively on seignorial rights of an invidious and oppressive character, and few of them lived among the people from whom they drew the means of living. The seigneur's mill and wine-press had a monopoly of grinding the corn or crushing the grapes of the peasant; the seigneur took toll on corn sold in the market, and on each passenger ferried across the river. The payment of taxes appertained only to plebeians; the sports of the field were a monopoly in the hands of the *noblesse.* Under the pressure of ever-increasing taxation, the *tiers état*, or commonalty, had at length ceased to be the cheerful, loyal, frivolous, and happy people that had in earlier times yielded a light-hearted support to absolute monarchy. The upper section of the *tiers état*, corresponding to our middle class, had become formidable from its intelligence and its wealth. This citizen class, or *bourgeoisie*, cherished a deep-seated hostility to the exemptions, immunities, and invidious privileges which feudal times had attached to the *noblesse.* The multitudinous *noblesse* included several somewhat discordant sections; the old nobility, descendants of the ancient chivalry, held aloof from the new *noblesse*, looking upon them as upstarts. Out of about a thousand families of this upper section of the aristocracy, not more than three hundred possessed independent means of support. The rest subsisted on pensions from the crown, on their pay as officers in the civil, military, or naval service of the state, or as functionaries of the church. Pride of birth was fostered to a most exaggerated and absurd extent in the whole *noblesse* order. Its scornful bearing towards the unprivileged orders provoked hatred and animosity, which vented their force in signal and terrible retribution in the day of wrath that was now approaching. In the church, as in the service of the state, noble birth was the first condition for preferment to all positions of dignity or high emolument. Piety and learning counted for nothing. The bishops were often among the gayest votaries of pleasure. Licentious voluptuaries, who discarded every semblance of priestly manners, learning, or virtue, became bishops, archbishops, and cardinals. This barefaced desecration of holy offices invited the attacks of scoffers, and gave point to the shafts of sarcasm and ridicule against the established religion. The national faith was thus undermined, and revealed truth ceased to retain its hold on a people whose spiritual guides disregarded all the restraints of religion. Thus society in France, through all its ranks, had lost every element of stability, and a general restlessness, mingled with vague desire of change, took possession of the nation.



VERSAILLES.

In this unsettled state of national sentiment, when further loans were impossible and the ordinary proceeds of taxation left a wide gap still to be filled up in the income side of the national balance sheet, Calonne, who now filled Necker's place as finance minister, decided on an appeal to the patriotism of the privileged orders. With this purpose he obtained the king's consent to convoke an Assembly of Notables. Such a meeting had not been convened since 1626. The members, in accordance with ancient practice, were all nominated by the crown. They were for the most part nobles and the higher ecclesiastics, selected as men of mark and influence, on the ground of rank, or wealth, or ability. They met at Versailles on the 22nd of February, 1787. Calonne proposed a land tax, to be paid alike by nobles, clergy, and *tiers état*, besides some reforms in the general scheme of taxation. His proposal was scouted as simply monstrous, and he resigned. These princes of the blood, peers, nobles, heads of the church, of the law, the army, the magistracy of the towns, all members of the privileged orders, and many of them selected on the ground of the liberal principles they had long professed, were not yet prepared to give up their invidious privilege of exemption from taxation. They, however, confirmed a proposed stamp tax, and agreed to abolish the tyrannical *corvée*, or system of compulsory labour without wages, under which the peasantry were forced to give up many days in the year to road making and mending, and other public works. Young, who had written much on the roads of his own country, was astonished at the excellence of the roads in the south of France, carried on stupendous causeways across valleys, and by cuttings on hill sides, constructed for the most part by the forced gratuitous labour of the poorest part of the population, for the benefit and profit of the rich. Lominie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, who headed the clerical section of the Notables in opposing Calonne's reforms, was now the finance minister. On the 25th of May he closed the Assembly of Notables (called by Lafayette, one of their number, *Not-able*), who were beginning to talk too freely for a minister of his notions.

Meanwhile, there is great financial pressure, and Lominie recurs to the old system of taxing the *tiers état*, and sends the usual edicts for registry in the *parlement* of Paris. But the *parlement* asserts that no new permanent tax can be laid upon the people except with the consent of the three estates of the kingdom, and refuses to enregister the decree. Thereupon his majesty resorts to the old expedient for subduing refractory *parlemens*, a bed of justice, already described. This remedy, however, proves powerless. The *parlement* refuses to be bound even by the express order of the king, and declares the edict which had been registered without its consent to be null and void. A trying crisis, this, for absolutism! The remembrance of King George's Stamp Act is not encouraging to majesty in France. The public mind is in a ferment, all the printing-presses contributing to the excitement by a rapid succession of furious comments and heated discussions. Jefferson, who, with a knot of Americans, was in Paris at the time, gives a vivid picture of the hubbub: "All tongues in Paris (and in France, it is said) have been let loose, and never was the licence of speaking against the government exercised in London more freely or more universally. Caricatures, placards, bon mots, have been indulged in by all ranks of people. For some time mobs of ten, twenty, and thirty thousand people have collected daily, surrounded the parliament house, huzzaed the members, even entered the doors and examined into their conduct, took the horses out of the carriages of those who did well, and drew them home." After some days of painful indecision the king resolves on strong measures. Twelve thousand troops are collected in Paris. At dawn of day an officer of the guard, attended by a few soldiers, rouses each member of the *parlement*, and in the king's name commands him to start immediately to Troyes, without holding previous communication with any one. Paris is furious on finding the members banished, but patrols of military are everywhere on the alert, and the clubs are closed. The king, meanwhile, is plied with urgent addresses and petitions from public bodies, calling upon him to convoke the States-General. The provincial *parlemens* declare against the collection of taxes of any sort until the *parlement* of Paris is restored to its rights. Insurrection is threatening in many quarters; the king's treasury is empty; he withdraws the edict and recalls the *parlement*. In November, however, the scarcely lulled storm comes on again with greater fury than before. The king holds a royal sitting (*séance royal*) without giving notice beforehand, at which he requires the *parlement* to register edicts for a succession of new loans, amounting to nineteen millions sterling. Entering the Palais de Justice with a large retinue, at an hour when it had been announced a royal hunt was to come off, he charged the assembled members not to exceed the powers confided to them by his ancestors, and enjoined them to set an example to their fellow-subjects of submission and loyalty. An angry debate followed, many members protesting against the registry of the edicts, and demanding a meeting of the States-General. The altercation continued in various forms for some days longer; during which a scheme was secretly framed for dispensing entirely with *parlement*, and setting up in its place a grand council of state under the name of the *cour plenière*. The scheme, however, got wind, and occasioned further violent protests in the *parlement*. Then followed the arrest of D'Espréménil and De Monsabert, the most outspoken opponents of arbitrary measures. During a sitting of the members their hall was surrounded by a regiment, and a detachment of troops passed into their midst. The officer in command declared the purpose of his visit, and demanded in the king's name that the offenders should be given up to him. No one would point them out; but after long delay, and a threat by the officer that all the members would be treated as traitors to the king if they persisted in shielding his enemies—a threat which was quickly followed by the beating of drums and the rattle of muskets in the courtyard—Espréménil and Monsabert stepped forth and surrendered themselves. They were marched off under guard and sent to distant prisons. The hall of meeting was forthwith cleared by the military, the officer locking the door and putting the key in his pocket. Then followed a bed of justice, in which the king attempted by a series of edicts to sweep away some odious abuses, to introduce some salutary reforms in the administration of justice, and to establish his *cour plenière*, which was to supersede the *parlement*. But it was now too late to soothe the widespread visitation by moderate concessions, especially as the proposed remedial measures were coupled with the suspicious scheme of the *cour plenière*. Protests came up in quick succession from the several *parlemens*; even the selected members of the proposed new council, peers, nobles, bishops, and men eminent in all the services of the state, declined to serve in the obnoxious council. While the political situation was daily assuming more alarming features, widespread distress fell upon the nation through the visitation of a terrible hailstorm (13th of July, 1788), which ruined the crops for a hundred and fifty miles round the capital, just as they were well-nigh ripe. In many districts the people now refused or were unable to pay any sort of taxes, registered or unregistered, and the perplexities of government for lack of ways and means became each day more pressing. The king at length gave way to the general demand for the meeting of the States-General, which was fixed for the 5th of May in the following year. Meanwhile, the poverty of the court and the insolvency of the government paved the way for Necker's recall to the post of controller-general of finance. The streets of Paris now became the scene of occasional collisions, both by night and day, between the mob and the patrols of military. The great topic of the day was now the States-General, their programme of work, the powers of the three orders composing the assembly, and, above all other points, the relative strength, measured by numbers, that should be vested in each order. Necker fell in with the stream of opinion, which had its source in the political clubs of Paris, to the effect that the commons (*tiers état*) ought to be equal in voting force to the *noblesse* and clergy united. On his advice Louis issued an edict, calling upon each of the two privileged orders to send up three hundred of their number, and conceding to the commons six hundred representatives. The aristocrats heaped abundant abuse on the head of Necker, and fiercely insisted that the *noblesse* and clergy, the possessors of two-thirds of the landed property of the kingdom, ought to continue as of old to retain two-thirds of such voting power as might be vested in the States-General. The *parlement* of Paris, reinstated on Necker's recommendation, passed a resolution on the 23rd of September in favour of the same constitution of the States-General as in 1614, the last occasion of its meeting. This unpopular utterance, which was tantamount to declaring that the privileged ranks ought to retain their old preponderance, proved fatal to the further influence of the assembly; the plaudits which greeted its restoration on the previous day were now succeeded by the hisses and groans of its former enthusiastic admirers.

Most of the provincial *parlements* were even more decided than that of Paris in their opposition to a double representation for the *tiers état.* On the other hand, the press showered forth loud and jubilant laudations of a scheme which insured the equal rights of all, and snatched from the privileged few their old ascendency. When the time for the elections came on, the pressure of famine was goading the impoverished people into acts of violence. In the Faubourg St. Antoine a paper manufacturer proposed to reduce the wages of his workpeople at the very time when every kind of food was at an enormous price. A riot followed, in which his life was sacrificed, his property pillaged, and his premises destroyed. The military were called into requisition, and many hundreds of ragged rioters fell under discharges of musketry. Similar collisions occurred in many of the large towns. Thus was the dawn of liberty dark and threatening, overcast with the presage of direful storms, boding worse evils in the political noon to follow.

A grand spectacle and an imposing religious ceremonial inaugurated the work of the States-General. The members passed in stately procession from the church of St. Louis to the church of Notre Dame at Versailles along streets lined with regiments of French and Swiss guards. Paris and surrounding places had sent forth eager multitudes to witness the pageant. Garlands, flags, and mottoed banners decorated the houses on the line of march; the balconies and windows were filled with elegantly dressed ladies. Trumpets pealed forth their lively clangour; priests chanted; drums and military bands played; the gleam of pleasure mantled ten thousand fair cheeks, and contagious joy caused as many bright eyes to sparkle. So grand a spectacle had never before been witnessed by the living generation in France. Loud plaudits and clapping of hands, mingled with many hearty greetings, cheered the procession in its onward march. First came the six hundred *tiers état*, all wearing plain black mantles, plain white cravats, and slouched hats. Then followed the three hundred *noblesse*, attired in gold-embroidered velvet mantles, gold-bespangled vests, laced cravats, with hats plumed and turned up, of the style of Henri Quatre. Next came the three hundred ecclesiastics, in the vestments of their several ranks in the church. The king and the royal family, attended by a gorgeous retinue, came last. In all externals of costume and other arrangements for the procession, the precedent of 1614 was followed. So also in the magnificent service, the pomp of ceremonial, the grand mass, the incense and music, all that appeals to the eye or the ear, was as in days long gone. But the whole spectacle was little better than a solemn mockery, for in that large congregation, representing all the social ranks of France, few indeed were the men who still cherished the religion of their forefathers, or adhered to opinions which had heretofore controlled the political life of the nation. Scoffers and atheists, the disciples of Rousseau and Voltaire, doubters and unbelievers, formed a large majority in that throng that listened with philosophical and sceptical indifference to the concluding discourse on a text not taken from the inspired volume—"Religion makes the force of empires, religion makes the happiness of the people." Next day, the 5th of May, 1789, the deputies held their first meeting in a hall belonging to the royal palace at Versailles. This room was the hall of amusements, in which the court or members of the royal family disported themselves, and in which balls and such like entertainments were held. It was now fitted and decorated for the reception of the three estates in their collective meetings, the intention being that each order should have besides a chamber for its separate deliberations. The Commons were in no humour to submit to any distinctions which might seem intended to remind them of their inferior official dignity. Their thin-skinned susceptibility on this head was somewhat ruffled by seeing the nobles and clergy ushered into raised seats on each side of the throne, while they were placed in seats on the level of the floor, at the opposite end of the room. Then again, when the king put on his hat, after reading his address to the assembled twelve hundred, some of the privileged orders followed the example. Instantly several of the *tiers état* adopted the same mode of asserting equality of official privilege in presence of the sovereign. Next day the same jealous feeling found fresh cause of provocation, and the combat between the orders began in earnest. The first business to be disposed of was that each member should submit his credentials, verifying his rightful election as a representative. The *tiers état* maintained that each delegate from either order ought to satisfy the three estates collectively of his due election as a representative. The *noblesse* and clergy on the other hand held that no member was accountable to the Assembly as a whole, but only to his own order. On this view the *noblesse* and clergy set about their own verification in their respective chambers. The Commons declined to make any separate verification, and five weeks were consumed in angry discussions before any concerted action began. A vital principle was involved in this dispute. The Commons were bent on an amalgamation of the three orders in a single chamber, with vote by head in the decision of all questions. The *noblesse* and clergy were as firmly resolved to maintain their pre-eminence, and to adhere to the principle of vote by order—that is, that every question should pass the triple ordeal of debates and voting in each of the three estates separately, instead of being disposed of by a majority in a collective meeting of all the estates. Separate deliberation by each estate in succession would have secured to the two privileged orders, when voting the same way, a continued mastery over the third order, despite its equality of numbers with the other two estates conjoined. Stimulated by the support of public opinion, the Commons at length began to entertain the idea, first propounded by Sièyes, one of the Paris deputies, that if the other two orders persisted any longer in their refusal to form with the Commons a single chamber, the latter would assume the title of THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, and in that capacity proceed to the transaction of business, and take no further account of the two dissentient orders. The court and the privileged orders were forthwith thrown into the greatest alarm and confusion. A large section of the inferior clergy seceded from their separate chamber and joined the *tiers*. The *noblesse* denounced the aims of the *tiers* as treasonable and revolutionary, and voted an address to the king against the assumption by the third estate of powers appertaining only to the three conjointly. The king, perplexed, bewildered, dismayed, and distracted, by the conflicting opinions of his many advisers, suspended the meetings of the three orders from the 19th to the 22nd of June, and notified by proclamation in the streets of Versailles his intention to hold a royal sitting on that day. Meanwhile the deputies only learned this interruption of their labours on going down to their great hall on the morning of the 20th, to resume the business of the previous day. They found the entrance guarded by soldiers, and a placard on the door told the same reason for postponement that the heralds were at that moment shouting in the streets. The astonished members suspected a design to disperse the States-General. After some conference on the best course to be adopted, they betook themselves, for further and more formal deliberations, to a spacious but unfurnished room, used as a tennis-court. Here they bound themselves by an oath never to separate until a constitution had been founded and established on a solid basis. This was on Saturday, 20th of June. Another meeting was fixed for Monday, but the princes contrived in the interval to hire the room for their own diversion at tennis on that day. Thereupon the *tiers* met in the church of St. Louis, where they were joined by a majority of the clerical order, including the bishop of Autun, the celebrated Talleyrand. The royal sitting, fixed for the 22nd, was postponed till the following day, when the king, in right royal fashion, told the three estates he came among them, as the father of his people, to settle their disputes. Then the keeper of the seals read the king's long string of declarations or edicts, beginning with the annulment of all the transactions and resolutions passed by the *tiers état* on the 17th of June and subsequently. There were thirty-five heads or articles setting forth the intentions of the king, including many useful reforms, mixed up however with many of the most obnoxious abuses of an effete governmental system. In conclusion, the king added that he alone would accomplish the good of his people, he alone would act as their representative, if the three estates could not agree to carry out his purposes. Next he ordered them to withdraw, and enjoined each estate to meet in its own separate chamber on the morrow. He then quitted the hall, followed by the nobles and the minority of the clergy. The rest keep their seats: the chief usher of the court reminds them of the king's orders. On this Mirabeau, whose brilliant genius and force of character had already won for him the easy ascendency of an acknowledged leader, fixing a withering and awe-inspiring glance on the officious usher, told him in a voice of thunder: "Go, tell those who sent you that we are here by the will of the people. You cannot be the organ of the king to the States-General—you, who have neither place nor right of speech here—you are not the person to remind us of what he has said. If you are commissioned to make us leave this place, you must ask for orders to use force; nothing but the bayonet will drive us hence." Barnave, Petion, Gregoire, and others, whose names soon resounded through France and Europe, made speeches on the duty of the *tiers* in this crisis; and Mirabeau proposed a resolution, which was passed with acclamation, declaring it a capital crime to arrest one of their number, on whose authority whatever the order for arrest might be issued.

Next day the Commons and the major part of the clergy met together in the great hall, now left at their disposal. On the 25th, nearly fifty of the *noblesse* withdrew from their own chamber and asked permission to join the Commons. Other defections from the alarmed privileged orders followed. On the 27th the king sent a letter, urging the whole body of nobles and clergy to join the *tiers*—the very step which he had forbidden in high and mighty style only four days earlier. Events out of doors precipitated this victory of the Commons. The excited populace were everywhere giving vent to their impatience at the prolonged opposition of *noblesse* and clergy to the formation of a single legislative chamber. "Down with the aristocrats!" was the ominous salutation now frequently heard in the streets when emblazoned carriages passed along, and servants wearing the royal livery were at times knocked down in the vicinity of the palace. Bread riots, on the part of large throngs of unemployed and starving men, contributed to the anxiety of government, and symptoms were not wanting that the French guards were infected with the fever of liberty, and could not be trusted to act. The gardens of the Palais Royal were every day thronged with eager crowds. In the open air, or in the cabarets and cafés, orators mounted on stools or benches were constantly making inflammatory speeches. English and Roman history was ransacked for examples and comparisons with which to adorn these exciting harangues on all the questions of the day. Meanwhile, the three estates are merged in one National Assembly. Necker, utterly wanting in statesmanlike capacity for such a crisis, and now regarded by the court as the author of its greatest calamity—the double representation of the *tiers état*—resigns the helm which he is powerless to guide. At the request of the court he withdraws secretly from Versailles on the 11th of July. On the next day, Sunday, placards in the name of the king urged the people to keep within doors. Many regiments were in motion in Paris and the neighbourhood. Eager crowds flocked as usual to the Palais Royal, and intense excitement pervaded their ranks with respect to the concentration of the troops. Some of the guards, a few days before, had left their barracks, against the express order of their colonel, to mingle in the excited gatherings round the orators in the Palais Royal. For this offence they were lodged in the Abbaye prison, from which a seditious mob of some thousands of the usual frequenters of the gardens of the Palais Royal had rescued them. The success of this exploit whetted the appetite of the mob and its leaders for a further collision with the authorities. The ominous movement of troops now furnished the occasion. Camille Desmoulins, conspicuous in after-events of the revolution, mounted a table in the midst of an excited throng, brandished a sword and pistol, and shouted: "To arms! to arms! Foreign troops are gathering round to slaughter us!" His fervid harangues had already made him a sort of favourite with the usual auditory at that spot. Following his lead, a mob starts forthwith in procession. Passing a shop where busts of Necker and the duke of Orleans are exhibited, they carry these off, drape them with black crape, and bear them aloft at the head of their line of procession, calling to all: "Hats off! hats off! No theatres! no dancing! It is a day of woe!" The duke of Orleans, cousin of the king, and a leading promoter of the revolution, was at this time as great a favourite as the discarded Necker. Hundreds in the excited mob carried pistols, clubs, axes, or other weapons, and of those not so armed many carried stones or other missiles in expectation of a fray with the military. While the busts were being paraded round the statue of Lous XIV., as if in defiance of the ultra-absolutism now tottering in France, Prince Lambesa, at the head of the royal German regiment, encounters and disperses the procession. Other collisions occur in various parts of Paris, many of the French guards taking the side of the rioters. Many lives are lost on both sides in these street fights; the mob is roused to a state of fury; the city resounds with the cry "To arms!" a rush is made on the gunsmiths' shops and on every accessible store of weapons and ammunition.

Next day the riot becomes an insurrection; famishishing hordes issue forth from all the slums of Paris, incited by hopes of plunder; the workshops are all deserted; the streets are torn up and barricades erected; the well-to-do citizens gather at the Hôtel de Ville and rapidly organize a sort of municipal council; a city-guard is enrolled in the course of a few hours, each man wearing a red and blue cockade. The new militia, who name themselves the National Guard of Paris, ransack the armouries and powder-stores in and near the capital; the weakly-defended Hôtel des Invalides makes no resistance to the furious multitude that rushes on its store of twenty-eight thousand muskets and twenty pieces of artillery; numbers of the French guards break away from their barracks and join the armed citizens; every smithy resounds with the din of pike-making. By nine o'clock in the morning of the memorable 14th of July, fifty thousand men are armed in miscellaneous ways and eager for conflict with the foreign regiments, now the only reliable force in the hands of government. The Bastille, that grim fortress-prison, which for ages had entombed in its deep cavernous dungeons the noblest hearts of France; that gloomy cage where many a patriot spirit, sustained on felon's fare through years of woe, had expiated in chains and darkness the crime of questioning the right divine of monarchs to do wrong; that den where broken hearts and maddened brains became the portion of each daring genius that ventured on utterances of freedom and human rights; that accursed altar on which, from age to age, despotism had immolated its enemies; that abode of despair around which awful traditions thickly clustered; those frowning bastions and grim towers, about which, only four years before, our poet Cowper had proclaimed—

> "There's not an English heart that would not leap
> To hear that ye were fallen at last,"

had now to meet that doom for which friends of freedom had prayed for ages. The very name of the Bastille had become an opprobrium to France. It was fitting it should fall in the first days of national regeneration. Would that no worse deeds remained to be recorded of that ardent surging throng which, on the 14th of July, 1789, first heard and responded to the cry: "To the Bastille! Down with the Bastille!" The enterprise was not an easy one, for this old state prison was a fortress of great strength, surrounded by three courts, each traversed by a deep moat. Lofty stone walls of enormous strength, unbroken by windows, faced these courts. Eight towers, loopholed for artillery and crenelated for musketry, rose slightly above the level of the main building, and afforded behind their solid parapets perfect security to the gunners. At the top of each tower was kept a large heap of heavy missiles, to be used on the heads of such assailants as might arrive scathless near the walls. Luckily for the unskilled besiegers, who now rush with fury on this fortress, its garrison had been weakened a day or two before, to furnish reinforcements for the threatened Swiss guard in another quarter of Paris. There were only one hundred and fourteen soldiers to meet the onslaught of furious thousands of insurgents, and the latter had many skilled and daring men in their ranks. The attack was expected. The guns on all the towers were charged and pointed so as to sweep the principal streets in the adjacent quarter of St. Antoine. The committee sitting at the Hôtel de Ville sent Thuriot, a member of the States-General, to the governor, De Lannay, bidding him surrender.

During the parley on the bastions, the swarming multitude gathers close about the first drawbridge; some of the French guard bring forward pieces of cannon; ladders and ponderous axes are at work while yet the parley with the governor is scarcely over; the chains of the outer drawbridge are sundered under repeated axe strokes; the bridge falls. Next moment a furious crowd rushes across the first moat. The confused and hesitating governor had hitherto given no order to repel the besiegers, but as they rush to the second drawbridge a volley of musketry is poured into their midst. An answering shower of balls is instantly hailed upwards. The chains of the second drawbridge are quickly broken, and the mob rush to the inner moat, firing off pistols and muskets. Many of the besiegers fell under the fire of the garrison, but others ensconced themselves behind such cover as could be found, and returned the salute. Then some of the French guard brought their artillery to play upon the parapets, and huge masses of straw and other combustibles were ignited in barracks and outbuildings near the inner gate, in the vain attempt to fire the prison or suffocate its defenders. The assault had continued five hours with little or no loss of life to the defenders; but the governor became convinced he could not hold the mob at bay much longer, for they were ever increasing in numbers and fury. He sent a written statement to the assailants, offering to give up the fortress if they would let him and his men pass out free and unharmed; and adding that he had twenty thousand pounds of powder in his magazine, with which he would blow up the Bastille and all within range of the attack, if his terms were rejected. Elie, who was in command of some of the French guard that had joined the people, received this paper: he and his men pledged themselves to see to the safety of the governor and the garrison.

Thereupon the innermost drawbridge falls, and the victorious besiegers rush in. The French guard strove to the utmost to protect the governor and garrison from the fury of the yelling mob. They were only partially successful. De Lannay and his second in command fell under the strokes of savage assassins, and two of the garrison were summarily hanged. It was not without the utmost exertion of bravery, and continual risk to their own lives, that the French guard saved the rest of the garrison from the murderous onset of the mob. Meanwhile every recess of the gloomy prison resounds with the tramp of its captors' feet. The prisoners are liberated, the rusty keys and other trophies are carried off to the Hôtel de Ville, and Paris revels in frantic joy. Late the same night the great news reaches Versailles, where the utmost agitation had prevailed, as each imperfect instalment of intelligence from Paris came to hand during the preceding forty-eight hours. At midnight the event is made known to the king, who had retired to rest. "It is a riot" (*émeute*), said Louis. "No, sire, it is a revolution," replied the king's informant. The National Assembly had urgently counselled the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Paris and Versailles, and that a city guard should take their place. The king now conceded this point without any reservation, and told the Assembly he relied upon them to restore tranquillity. This mark of confidence was hailed with liveliest demonstrations of delight, and for a brief space harmony was restored between the court and the nation. The Assembly sent up a large deputation to Paris, to announce their happy reconciliation with his majesty, to congratulate the citizens on their triumph, and to take such steps as might seem needful to carry out the king's sanction to the establishment of the National Guard. The deputies met the municipality in the Hôtel de Ville, and it was forthwith settled by acclamation that Lafayette, who had fought in the republican armies in America, should take command of the new force. Bailly, president of the National Assembly, was at the same time made mayor of Paris, in the room of the provost of the merchants, who had been murdered the night before. To complete the auspicious reconciliation between the throne and the people, Louis visited Paris on the 17th, escorted by two hundred deputies from the Assembly and enthusiastic throngs of people, who all of a sudden had become loyal again. The reception was such as to engender hopes of a happy future. White was now added to the red and blue of the new cockade, in compliment to the king, and he placed the tricolour badge in his hat. He was hailed as the restorer of the national liberties and public rights, and the father and regenerator of his country. The ministers, on whose advice the foreign regiments had been drawn around Paris, were dismissed, and no concession now seemed too great for the king to make, in order to cement the reconciliation between himself and his subjects. But this yielding is too late. The reign of law is not to be restored so rapidly as it has been overthrown. The populace have proved their strength, and they have not the magnanimity to wait and test the effect of the rude lesson they have forced upon the privileged classes. Foulon, a high official, who had rashly told the irritated and famishing poor that they ought to eat grass if they could not buy bread, fell into the hands of the lawless mob, and was hanged in front of the Hôtel de Ville, despite the efforts of Lafayette to screen him from the fury of his executioners. The ghastly head, with a bunch of hay stuffed in the mouth, was carried on a pike through the city. The provinces followed the lead of the capital, and surpassed the worst atrocities of which it had given the example. The peasantry, exasperated by famine, and incited by the successful issue of the strife in which the mob of Paris had measured its strength against the authorities, broke out into revolt, plundered the dwellings of the *noblesse*, ravaged whole provinces, murdered the seigneurs, outraged their wives and daughters, and burnt the chateaux. Anarchy, and the brutal tyranny of debased and ignorant mobs, usurped the place of law and order in wide districts of the south and west. Some thousands of the aristocracy fled for their lives, leaving all they possessed. The National Assembly, engaged in interminable discussions on the preamble of the constitution they were framing, and especially on a declaration of the abstract rights of mankind, were now all at once startled and hurried—by these plunderings, burnings, and assassinations—into some strokes in the way of practical legislation. Nobles of the highest rank were now among the foremost to urge that the easiest and best way to quell the insurrection was to suppress the abuses which had provoked it. The Assembly voted and resolved by general acclamation a string of decrees which were to form the bases of laws for sweeping away tithes, the feudal rights of seigneurs, the forced labour of the peasantry, the inequality in the system of taxation under which *noblesse* and clergy had hitherto enjoyed invidious exemptions, the privileges of particular towns and provinces, the exclusive rights of hunting and killing game. Besides these large reforms, the public service in all its branches was to be opened equally to all who were qualified for employments, without distinction of birth or class, and sinecures were to be abolished. Under the pressure of panic, all the ancient order of the monarchy was reversed in a single sitting of the same Assembly that had consumed a full month in frivolous and puerile debates on single words and phrases of their declaration of the rights of man. But this hot haste, as might be expected, carried evils of its own in its train. The mass of the people received with rapture the news that tithes, feudal rights, and the monopoly in game were to be abolished, and entered at once on the full enjoyment of the benefits proposed to be conferred on them, without awaiting the settlement of the terms on which recompense was to be made to the church for its tithe, and the landed interest for its game and other concessions. Woods, parks, copses, and plantations were at once overrun with marauders; forests and fields resounded with the din of firearms; unruly rustics made havoc among the deer, pheasants, and partridges, setting at defiance the owners of the land. The sudden snapping of all the old restraints that kept the people down gave rise to something like universal anarchy. The magistracy and the church became at once powerless to coerce or persuade; the soldiers were insubordinate and turbulent with impunity; while the taxes were collected with increasing difficulty, from the double cause of general impoverishment and widespread insubordination. "Unfortunately," says Thiers, "a nation never knows how to resume with moderation the exercise of its rights."

Throughout the land, but more especially in Paris, the scarcity of food and the stoppage of industrial enterprise fed the flame of insurrection and strengthened the forces of the turbulent mob. Incendiary writers and orators threw all the blame of the scarcity on the aristocracy. No lie or absurdity was too gross if only it attributed the miseries of the poor to the spite of the privileged classes. An indiscreet display of sympathetic and reactionary feeling on the part of some officers, including several belonging to the Versailles National Guard, excited afresh the scarcely appeased rage against the court. At a banquet given in the theatre of the palace by officers of the body-guard, the king and queen made their appearance for a few minutes, when the orchestra struck up the suggestive air—

"O Richard! O mon Roi;"

an opera song in which Blondel, the minstrel, is represented as pouring forth his touching and tearful sentiment of loyalty in behalf of his master, the lion-hearted king of our early history. Sudden shouts of "Vive le roi! Vive le reine!" burst forth with irrepressible heartiness from officers at the table, spectators seated in the boxes and pit of the theatre, and private soldiers in the pit. Burgundy and champagne circulated too freely in successive toasts and demonstrations; the white cockade was exalted for the nonce to its old place of honour. Great was the wrath at Paris at this display of returning affection for royalty. Many of the nobles and several members of the royal family had already quitted France, and were raising loud cries in favour of civil war and foreign aid to the royal cause. The king was suspected of a design to join them at the moment a gleam of hope should dawn on his fallen fortunes. The idea of bringing the royal family by force to Paris, and compelling them to reside at the forsaken palace of the Tuileries, had been frequently mooted by the leaders of the revolution; and there were many in the National Assembly who held that the deputies would be safer in the capital than under the shadow of the court. This notion was now put forward with increasing earnestness by all the leaders of the Parisian mobs, and an insurrection of women on the 6th of October was adroitly turned to account to bring about the desired event. Early on that day the fish-women and market-women generally, with a horde of abandoned creatures from all the slums of Paris, gathered in the Faubourg St. Antoine and marched to the Hôtel de Ville, forcing every female they encountered on their way to join their noisy ranks. One of their number seized a drum at a guard-house and beat it through the streets, calling recruits to their procession. Some carried brooms and mopsticks, others rusty firearms, old swords, pokers, and a variety of missiles; others carried ropes for the necks of uncompliant officials and aristocrats. Thus equipped, and supported by a rearguard of male ragamuffins, armed with pikes and stones, the Amazons press forward to the Hôtel de Ville, where the serried ranks of the National Guard shoulder their muskets, open a path for foes they deem not worthy of their steel, and the she-devils flock thick and fast into all the rooms and innermost recesses of the centre of government in the capital of France. The frightened municipals, as much bothered as the military by the insoluble problem of how to deal with a horde of furies, keep aloof. The shrill utterances of the army of viragoes bore reference chiefly to the scarcity of food, the blame of which they laid at the door of the king and queen, whom they facetiously called the baker and the bakeress at Versailles. The men brought crowbars to bear on every door and chest. Money, muskets, cannon, swords, bayonets, and pikes, are quickly transferred from municipal custody to the hands of roughs of both sexes. Books, documents, and papers are heaped in one large pile, and lights are just being applied, with the intent to burn down the Hôtel de Ville, when attention is suddenly arrested by the proposal for an instant start to Versailles, where the court and the National Assembly might be forced to provide food for the needs of the hungry multitude.

The adroit proposer of this scheme had in view as his main object the saving of the building, and he was well aware of the prevalent wish of the populace to have the court brought to the capital. The bait took, and away went the motley throng, to the dismay of the mayor and his military coadjutors, who consumed many hours in discussing how to cope with the myriad famished tigresses and their furious helpmates, now hastening to dictate terms to the royal family and the National Assembly.

The military force under Lafayette, composed of the National Guard, the French Guard that had fraternised with the insurgents, and a mixed mass of volunteers, began its march from Paris at about the same hour that the petticoat army arrived at Versailles and swarmed about the entrance of the great hall. At that moment the National Assembly was still discussing the articles of the new constitution. The women, restrained with the utmost difficulty from crowding *en masse* into the hall, send in a deputation of fifteen of their number to confer with the assembled estates of the realm. They have for their spokesman the man who suggested their march to Versailles; but, with an utter disregard of order, they disturb the formal statement of their grievances and their demands by many a shrill-toned interruption. The galleries and even the body of the hall itself are quickly filled by the footsore and mud bespattered female mob, who can no longer be kept at bay by door-keepers and militiamen. The high price of bread and the starving condition of the unemployed poor form the prime grievance; the dishonour put upon the tricolour at the recent military banquet comes in for a fierce rebuke. An interview with the king is demanded. The president of the Assembly arranges to bring a selected few of their number to the royal presence. Louis receives the coarse she-deputies with so much kindness and commiseration, coupled with earnest assurances that he will do his utmost to secure cheap supplies of food for his suffering subjects, that their wrath is soothed, all their enmity exorcised, they requite his unaffected kindness with every demonstration of gratitude and respect, and declare to those who sent them: "Never was there so good a king." But the hungry crowd, in whose behalf they act, were not to be appeased by second-hand assurances of royal benignity and sympathy. The palace is besieged, and it is only by exercising the utmost forbearance, coupled with the greatest vigilance, that the king's body-guard escape a deadly conflict with the female host and their allies, who were bent on taking the palace by storm. This trying hour was turned to ungenerous account by the president of the National Assembly, who exacted, during the pressure of this great emergency, an unconditional acceptance on the part of the king of those articles of the constitution to which he entertained well-founded objections. While this trying ordeal is passing in the royal apartments, the Assembly proceeds with its debates, not without much unseemly interruption from the rude female auditory, now interspersed among the members in all parts of the hall. In the midst of a speech on the new penal code a fish-woman shouts out: "We want no penal code; the thing we want is bread. Make that babbler hold his tongue; the question is bread." To the great relief of the Assembly the French Guard and the National Guard come in at midnight from Paris. Lafayette had caused his men, while on the way to Versailles, to swear fidelity to the king, the laws, and the nation, as he now explains to the Assembly and the royal family, pledging himself for the loyalty of his soldiers. Having thus reassured and quieted the deputies and the court, he asks to have the custody of the palace confided entirely to his men. This point is only in part conceded. The body-guard and the Swiss remain at their posts in the interior of the palace, while the outer posts and approaches are entrusted to the Paris army. The night was far advanced before these arrangements for the security of the royal family were completed, and all the different guards, watches, patrols, and sentries ordered to their respective posts. At three o'clock Lafayette retired to rest, worn out by the fatigues and harassments of a long and anxious day. At the same hour the National Assembly adjourned for a few hours, leaving their huge chamber in the occupation of the hungry, wet, and weary female mob. Louis had been made aware that his presence in the capital was regarded as an indispensable guarantee for the public tranquillity and security, and it was now too late to entertain the hope of flight. Still he hesitated to comply with the wish that he should go to live in Paris, and the prime movers and directors of the revolution wished to avoid the appearance of compelling this step on the part of their prisoner-king. By some underhand process, which has never been cleared up, means were now found to terrify the court into prompt compliance with the general wish. The National Guard certainly failed in the trust confided to it—that of keeping the outer posts of the palace against the rush of marauders. The weather, wet and cold, had lent its help to tranquillise the turbulent mob, by driving them to every possible shelter. Many of them, however, remained through the night in the street, where they kindled fires and regaled themselves on the flesh of the horses slain in the fray with the gardes-du-corps. These orgies, enlivened by the din of songs unknown to ears polite, and by maniac dances round the watch-fires, come to a sudden close between four and five in the morning. The revellers pass with a furious rush through the outer patrols of soldiery, and swarm in one of the inner courts, where they easily bear down the few body-guard in charge of an entrance to the palace. And now they are streaming up the staircases, every step of their progress fiercely contested by the life-guard. Some of these faithful defenders of their king are killed on the staircase, two are hauled out into the Marble Court, where they are instantly beheaded by the ferocious Jourdan Coupe-Tête. The plunderers and assassins press onward for the queen's apartment, from which she is hurried off in her night-clothes by her terrified attendants into the apartment of the king. Locks and doors are forced in quick succession; the terrified royal family is in momentary expectation of perishing under the furious strokes of the murderers; the mob are thundering at the door of a chamber where gentlemen of the body-guard had taken refuge, and were just preparing for a final and hopeless struggle with overwhelming numbers. At this critical moment a body of the centre grenadiers, the old Gardes-Françaises, who had fraternised with the National Guard, came to the rescue. Sweeping before them the gang of cut-throats, they call to their old companions in arms: "Open to us, gentlemen of the body-guard; we have not forgotten how you saved us at Fontenoy." The door was barricaded with piled-up furniture, but the entrance was promptly cleared and opened by direction of Louis. Then follows one of those emotional and ecstatic passages so common in French history, so puzzling to people of reserved habits and phlegmatic temperaments. The recent deadly animosities between the two corps vanish in a moment; hugging and kissing, an interchange of hats and trappings, are the outward signs of an eternal friendship and fraternisation. Lafayette is among the spectators of this reconciliation and frantic rejoicing, and is welcomed by the royal family as their deliverer from the bloodthirsty invaders of the innermost sanctuaries of their domestic life. But by this time the armed mob in all its strength and fury is surging under the palace windows, and the cry resounds from all quarters: "To Paris! The king to Paris!" Louis signifies his consent, and appears on a balcony with the queen and Lafayette. The sovereign mob sends up some unaccustomed loyal salutations: "Long live the king!" "Long live the queen!" mingled, however, with "Vive le nation!" and "Le Roi à Paris!" And after a few hours a multitudinous throng, gloating over its victory, escorted the royal househould to the capital. The procession contained among its most conspicuous elements several hideous mockeries of regal pageantry. The grand state carriage, in which sat the king, the queen, and several members of their family, was frequently surrounded by drunken harlots and coarse fishwives, screaming their foul obscenities and thrusting their she-devil faces against the windows. Prostitutes astride on cannon; ferocious she-monsters bedecked in grenadiers' hairy caps and sundry other odds and ends of military accoutrements; red-handed ruffians carrying pikes and clubs; disarmed Swiss guard and gardes-du-corps under charge of Versailles militiamen; National Guard intermixed with the insurgent females: such were some of the most striking features in this sinister procession. A hundred deputies, in a mixed assortment of carriages, and a line of waggons laden with corn from the Versailles stores, followed in the rear of the royal carriages. This inauspicious journey occupied six tedious anxious hours. Then came the infliction of well-meant but most inopportune municipal civilities, in the Hôtel de Ville, before the ill-starred Louis and his household were conducted to the long-forsaken palace of the Tuileries.

The National Guard of Paris, under Lafayette as commander-in-chief, now formed the principal military force in the kingdom. The palace and the person of the king were guarded exclusively by detachments of this force, and as it was well understood, though not formally declared, that the royal family now no longer enjoyed the option of residing elsewhere, the royalists dubbed Lafayette the jailer of their prisoner-king.

A fortnight after the transfer of the court from Versailles to Paris the National Assembly took up its quarters also in the capital. But many of the deputies never appeared again at their posts after that night of terror which ended in the captivity of the king. They passed with crowds of the aristocracy beyond the frontiers of France, awaiting in eager expectancy a counter-revolution, which never came in their time, and never came at all in the form that would have contented them.

Lafayette now filled for a time the first place among the directors and controllers of the great political movement in France. He seems to have aspired to be first minister in the limited monarchy which he and Bailly and Mirabeau, with a large following of moderate men in the National Assembly, were bent on establishing. But the general was, in reality, rather the tool than the head of his party. The accident of his election to the command of the National Guard placed him in the front rank of politicians, a position for which he was nowise qualified, as events quickly demonstrated. His unbounded vanity exposed him to many a cutting sarcasm; Mirabeau fixed on him the not inappropriate nickname of Grandison Cromwell. He had the good sense, however, to discover that he was not possessed of the statesmanlike grasp of mind requisite for the high position to which a capricious stroke of fortune, rather than any commanding or pre-eminent talent, had exalted him. His friend Morris, one of the knot of American republicans then in Paris, gave him much sound, but not very palatable advice, founded on an exact estimate of his powers and his shortcomings. The American frankly reminded him he could not possibly act both as a minister and a soldier; that men of high capacity ought at once to be invested with authority in all departments of the shattered government. With a sagacious forecast of impending perils, Morris added to his verbal counsels a written warning that the proposed constitution was not adapted to the condition of the nation; that the National Assembly, late the object of enthusiastic attachment, would soon be treated with disrespect; that the extreme licentiousness of the French people would render it indispensable to increase the royal authority; that under such circumstances the freedom and happiness of the French must depend on the wisdom, integrity, and firmness of his majesty's councils; and consequently that the ablest and best men should be added to the administration. He then proceeds, with a presentiment too soon to be realised: "I consider the present time as critical, and that, if neglected, many irreparable mischiefs must ensue. Such are the bodings of a mind not easily ruffled or alarmed, but feelingly alive to the interests of friendship and devotedly attached to the liberties of mankind. * * * The jealousy and suspicion inseparable from tumultuous revolutions, and which have been already maliciously pointed against you, will certainly follow all your future steps; * * * the foundation of your authority will crumble away, and you will fall the object of your own astonishment."

Lafayette renounced the idea of being minister, but the hints, and warnings, and outspoken advice of his friend were received with increasing coldness. Morris soon discovered that his unwelcome, though highly judicious lecturings, had sundered the ties of a long friendship. Mirabeau, the first orator in the Assembly, but notorious throughout Europe as a most unprincipled libertine, aspired also to the post of minister. To pave the way for this advancement, he made an effort to induce the Assembly to revoke the rule under which ministers of the crown were excluded from seats in the Assembly. The court favoured the project, for Mirabeau was a firm adherent to monarchical government, while his brilliant talents gave him enormous influence. But the Assembly took the alarm, and passed a decree which not only continued the exclusion of ministers from seats in their body, but declared every member of the existing Assembly to be ineligible for office as a minister. Soon after this Mirabeau struck a bargain with the court, by which he engaged to render all the help of his eloquence in support of the interests of royalty in requital for a magnificent pension from the king's privy purse. But his efforts to become a minister, his after intrigues with the court, the payment in full of his many creditors, his change of residence from poor to sumptuous quarters, and the many other indications of his sudden opulence, soon gained for him the character of a venal and trading politician, and thus weakened the force of his brilliant oratory, and ultimately undermined his influence in the Assembly and his popularity out of doors. Trenchant legislative changes, meanwhile, were the order of the day. Democratic tendencies in the structure of the new constitution received an enormous impetus from the removal of the Assembly to Paris and the flight of a large section of the *noblesse* and higher clergy, who, after the terrible night of the 5th and 6th of October, despaired of saving the tottering throne and the upholding any of the immunities of their own aristocratic order, except through intervention from without, and civil war within their native land. Political clubs gained a vast accession to their influence by the infusion of new blood, for most of the members of the Assembly joined one or more of these associations. The Breton club, now grown too numerous for its old quarters, removed to the great hall of the ancient convent of the Jacobins in the Rue St. Honoré, and from that day took the title of the Jacobin Club. Among its members were all the most restless and violent spirits in that epoch of seething political theories and of daring innovation on every settled practice or principle of government, and every preconceived notion on the social, moral, religious, or political aspect of human affairs. Soon the National Assembly itself took its tone from this club, which had for its leaders the mob orators of the Palais Royal and the most violent, inflammatory writers, hungering and thirsting after newspaper glory, and pandering always to the wildest passions of the Parisian mob to secure it. Under the stimulating influence of contact and fusion with the fervid politicians of the clubs, the National Assembly continued in Paris the same course of demolition of everything ancient which had been initiated at Versailles. Talleyrand, then bishop of Autun, proposed and carried a measure for the disendowment of the church. He contended that the nation had the right to make a new disposition of church property, and that the time had come when the property of the church, which belonged to the state, ought to be sold to pay the debts of the state. This was only another form of the doctrine then recently propounded by Turgot, in his memorable article on Foundations, to the effect that the legislature could always destroy particular foundations if the public good called for such a step. In vain did his clerical brethren, in and out of the Assembly, raise their voices against any invasion of the proprietary rights of their order. All the ecclesiastical property, which was of enormous amount, was declared by an overwhelming majority to be at the disposal of the nation, and a decree was passed for the confiscation and sale of all church lands and monastic establishments, subject to the payment of moderate pensions to the dismissed inmates, and a suitable provision for the support of ministers of religion and the expenses of public worship. The monks and nuns were at the same time liberated from the obligation of their vows.

On the proposition of Sièyes a new territorial division of the kingdom was adopted. Eighty-three departments, each with its subdivisions of districts and communes, and all governed by one system of local administration, under municipal officers elected by the people, took the place of the old division into provinces, with their conflicting laws, customs, and exceptional rights and usages. This most salutary change was quickly succeeded by the suppression of the provincial *parlemens* and the *parlement* of Paris. These antiquated courts were no longer of any service to the nation, but they had performed one great service, that of keeping up from age to age at least a smouldering spark of liberty, otherwise extinct. The members of these courts had paid for their privileges, and were therefore entitled to pecuniary compensation on the abolition of their functions, the stoppage of their perquisites, and the cancelling of their immunities. But the Assembly turned a deaf ear to all appeals, protests, and remonstrances from these antagonists to the new order of things. The financial necessities of the government were now urgent in the extreme. Necker's loan project failed to command the confidence of capitalists; the treasury was empty; the debts of government were enormous: four hundred millions of livres were required for the service of the coming year. It was decided to put up the church lands for sale, and to dispose of some of them by state lotteries. But men were afraid to invest in property which might be snatched from their grasp at an early date in a counter-revolution. In this emergency the civic authorities of Paris offered to become purchasers of a large amount of the church property, which they undertook to sell in smaller lots to private purchasers, and to pay the proceeds of their sale into the national exchequer. Other municipalities quickly followed the example of the metro polis. But these corporate authorities had little or no present stock of coin with which to make the purchase. They, however, readily obtained leave to issue municipal billets or bank notes, on the security of their land purchases. These notes, called *assignats*, were accepted by the government in lieu of cash, and passed over to the public creditor, on the understanding that at some undefined date the municipalities who issued them were pledged to redeem them by payment in coin to the value set forth in each note. The Assembly forthwith adopted on behalf of the state the scheme started by the municipalities. Four hundred millions of livres, in this new form of paper money, were created and forced into circulation, the church property still in the hands of government being the declared security for the redemption of the national *assignats*. Such was the origin of the memorable *assignat*—a form of paper currency which was destined to teach France and all civilised nations a lesson never to be forgotten. Meanwhile, the sudden and violent uprooting of all established ideas and institutions brought no alleviation to the starving masses. On the contrary, their distresses were augmented by the large diminution in the number of employers, and consequent stoppage of wages; for shoals of wealthy men quitted France, carrying with them all movable property. Bread continued as dear as ever; the distresses of the necessitous classes goaded them into repeated acts of turbulence and defiance of authority; riots were of daily occurrence, and life was often sacrificed; many atrocious acts were committed by the mob in the very presence of the National Guard, who often made no attempt to interrupt red-handed ruffians and miscreants in their furious assaults on the life and property of reputed enemies of the revolution. Thus closed the year in France.

In England home politics were of secondary concern in presence of absorbing events across the Channel. The dawn of constitutional government among our nearest continental neighbours excited at first a generous and all-pervading sympathy throughout the country. Joy and hope, and enthusiastic tributes of admiration found free flow from the tongues and pens of all political parties with reference to every act in the drama of political regeneration, from the spirited conduct of the Paris *parlement* and the meeting of the Notables, down to the assembling of the States-General. Every Englishman who had heard of the poverty and oppression of the French people, the barriers excluding them from employments of the higher sort, the tyrannous and wholesale use of *lettres de cachet* and other instruments of arbitrary power, the exemption of the higher orders from their share of the burdens of the state, the hindrances to industry and internal trade, and the undeveloped condition of all the material resources of the country, rejoiced over the first promising tokens of a beneficent change. No one foresaw the excesses to which new-born liberty was to give rise until the destruction of the Bastille; and even that event, though accomplished by mob violence and aided by insubordinate soldiery, was regarded as the type of fallen tyranny, and called forth the freest expressions of exultation from quarters not too apt to condone any infringement of law and order. The rigid Hannah More, in a letter to Horace Walpole, "cannot help hoping that some good will arise from the sum of human misery having been considerably lessened at one blow, by the destruction of the Bastille," though she is "sorry that the lawless rabble are so triumphant." At this stage every one wished the revolution to succeed, and to result in the establishment of free institutions. Burke, the first to entertain misgivings, shares at the outset in the general jubilation, and even after some weeks' reflection betrays more satisfaction than alarm at the storming of the famous stronghold of despotism. Writing to Lord Charlemont in August, he says: "Our thoughts of everything at home are suspended by our astonishment at the wonderful spectacle which is exhibited in a neighbouring and rival country. What spectators, and what actors! England gazing with astonishment at a French struggle for liberty, and not knowing whether to blame or to applaud. The spirit it is impossible not to admire." He adds, with a retrospective glance at the tiger-like thirst for blood which had signalised earlier insurrections of the people: "But the old Parisian ferocity has broken out in a shocking manner." At the close of July, Romilly, then in his thirty-second year, wrote to Dumont, a conspicuous member of the States-General, in the following terms: "The revolution has produced a very sincere and very general joy here. It is the subject of all conversation, and even all the newspapers, without one exception, though they are not conducted by the most liberal or the most philosophical of men, join in sounding forth the praises of the Parisians, and in rejoicing at an event so important for mankind." The bloodless revolution a century earlier in their own land was the type which Englishmen too easily persuaded themselves would form the lode-star and supply the chart for guiding their neighbours in a similar enterprise. The remembrance of William III.'s landing in Torbay, and the great political changes immediately following, was kept up by an ultra-Whig association, the "Revolution Society," which held an annual gathering in London. This year, in celebrating the memory of the English Revolution, the association recorded, in a glowing address to the National Assembly, their congratulations on the recent political changes in France. Lord Stanhope and Dr. Price carried the address over to Paris, and were received with many demonstrations of high satisfaction. Not a little nonsensical bombast was vented at public meetings in many of the large towns in England and Scotland, where admiration of the French revolution gave rise to the founding of societies and clubs in sympathy with the movement. Dr. Price expatiated in indiscreet rhapsodies on the glorious change going forward in France, which, in his view, was the commencement of a general amendment in human affairs. He inferred that the dominion of kings was about to be changed for the dominion of laws; that the dominion of priests was giving way to the dominion of reason; that the kingdoms were starting from their sleep and breaking their fetters; that the light struck out after setting America free was reflected to France, there to kindle into a blaze that would lay despotism in ashes, and warm and illuminate Europe. Under his guidance a corresponding society was subsequently established for the interchange of political communications with the Paris clubs. Such extravagances naturally provoked a reaction in the tone of public feeling, which before the close of the year exhibited a large alloy of distrust, alarm, and anxiety, in mixture with the ardent approbation which had greeted the earlier incidents of the great social and political convulsion. Propagandists from the French clubs betook themselves to most of the large cities of Europe; London was selected as the scene of work by several of these missionaries of revolution. A section of the press commenced the advocacy of republicanism, and teemed with abuse of the established order of things in church and state, and with praises of the work in progress under the tricoloured badge. That little or no real mischief sprang out of these threatening clouds in the political horizon at home, was due to the force of that natural moderation of national feeling which, in dealing with mischievous doctrines and principles, avoids violence and coercion as long as possible, and relies rather on the efficacy of free discussion in dissipating error. Counter-demonstrations in public meetings, and the broadcast dispersion of printed refutations of un-English notions on social and political affairs, sufficed to disenchant a large majority of the infected. But our ruling classes were not free from alarm. The session of parliament which opened on the 21st of January, 1790, supplied, before its close, abundant evidence of this. The king's speech, delivered by his majesty in person, was marked by a studied evasion of any direct handling of the topic which filled every mind. It spoke indeed of "the interruption of the tranquillity of other countries," and told of his majesty's grateful sense of "the inestimable advantages of peace," and of "the blessings so long derived from our excellent constitution;" and stated in the briefest manner that the affairs of the Continent "had engaged his most serious attention." The debates on the address were nowise reticent on the all-absorbing theme. Lord Valletort, in moving the address in the Commons, contrasted the prosperity and content prevalent in England with the misery and anarchy dominant in France. Taking no account of the provocation which had led to the revolution, he described the event as the most disastrous and injurious which had ever befallen the nation since the foundation of the monarchy. The other speeches were to the same effect, and the general applause with which the House received repeated compliments to the excellence of the constitution, and the wise and prudent administration of the existing executive government, afforded ample proof that the recent transactions among our continental neighbours were no longer viewed in the same favourable light as in the previous summer. In the debates on the army estimates early in February, Fox ventured to sing the praises of those French soldiers who had sided with the insurrection; maintaining that, in refusing obedience to the orders which required them to act against the people, they had set a glorious example to all the military of Europe, showing that men by becoming soldiers did not cease to be citizens. He opposed any increase in our own military forces, urging that the mighty and unexpected change which had taken place near our shores was not one to raise alarm here, nor to excite indignation. Up to this day Burke and Fox were attached by the ties of a long and cordial friendship, personal and political. A severance of cherished associations was now to take place. Burke had arrived at convictions wholly at variance with those of Fox on the revolution in France. By a great effort he had refrained from expressing his opinion on the subject in preceding debates. He could no longer control his emotions. Like Fox, he was averse to any augmentation of our military forces, but not for the same reasons. He held that France was now paralysed so far as the power of harming other nations was in question. "The French had shown themselves the ablest architects in ruin that had hitherto existed in the world. They had completely pulled down to the ground their monarchy, their church, their nobility, their law, their revenue, their army, their navy, their commerce, their arts, and their manufactures. They had done their business for us, as rivals, in a way in which twenty Ramilies and Blenheims could never have done. . . . Our present danger, from the example of a people whose character knows no medium, is, with regard to government, a danger from anarchy; a danger of being led, through an admiration of successful fraud and violence, to an imitation of the excesses of an irrational, unprincipled, proscribing, confiscating, plundering, ferocious, bloody, tyrannical democracy." He held that the tendencies of the movement were wholly anarchical. "On the side of religion, the danger is no longer from intolerance, but from atheism; a foul, unnatural vice, foe to all the dignity and consolation of mankind." With reference to Fox's laudation of the soldiers who had refused to act on the orders of the court against the people, he was sorry his right honourable friend should have dropped a single word of exultation on such an act. Then, after the prelude of a touching tribute to the genius and the virtues of Fox, the gifted and philosophic statesman continued, in a strain of the most fervid and impassioned eloquence, to denounce the whole course of the revolution, in its origin, its progress, and its aims. He declared his undying hostility to jacobinical principles, and that he would abandon his best friends and join with his worst enemies in order to avert the calamity of such a change at home as that which he deplored in the case of France. He held that the reforms on which the French valued themselves were a disgrace to them. "Instead of redressing grievances, and improving the fabric of their constitution, they first destroyed all the balances and counterpoises which served to fix the state, and to give it a steady direction; they had rashly destroyed all these things, and melted down the whole into one incongruous, ill-concerted mass. As soon as they had done this, with the most atrocious perfidy and breach of faith, they laid the axe to the root of all property, and consequently of all national prosperity, by the principles they established, and the example they set in confiscating all the possessions of the church. They made and recorded a sort of institute and digest of anarchy called the Rights of Man, in such a pedantic abuse of elementary principles as would have disgraced boys at school. By this mad declaration they had subverted the state, and brought on such calamities as no country, without a long war, had ever been known to suffer, and which must in the end produce such a war, and perhaps many such. He felt the deepest concern that this strange thing called a revolution in France should be compared with the glorious event commonly called the Revolution in England. The two things were just the reverse of each other in every particular. With us it was the curse of a legal monarch attempting arbitrary power; in France it was the case of an arbitrary monarch beginning, from whatever cause, to legalise his authority. The one was to be resisted; the other was to be managed and directed; but in neither case was the order of the state to be changed, lest government might be ruined, which ought only to be corrected and legalised. With us, we got rid of the man, and preserved the constituent part of the state. There they get rid of the constituent parts of the state, and keep the man. What we did was, in truth, in substance, and in a constitutional light, a revolution, not made, but prevented. We took solid securities, we settled doubtful questions, we corrected anomalies in our law. In the stable, fundamental parts of our constitution we made no revolution, no, nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy; perhaps it might be shown that we strengthened it very considerably. The nation kept the same ranks, the same orders, the same franchises, the same privileges, the same rules for property, the same subordinations, the same order in the law, the revenue, and in the magistracy; the same lords, the same commons, the same corporations, the same electors."

Fox responded, deprecating most earnestly the threatened severance of a much-prized friendship, and reciprocating in the warmest manner the kindly sentiments expressed towards himself by Burke. "Such was his sense of the judgment of his right honourable friend, such his knowledge of his principles, such the value which he set upon them, and such the estimation in which he held his friendship, that if he had put all the political information which he had learned from books, all which he had gained from science, and which any knowledge of the world and its affairs had taught him, into one scale, and the improvement which he had derived from his right honourable friend's instruction and conversation were placed in the other, he should be at a loss to decide to which to give the preference. He had learned more from his right honourable friend than from all the men with whom he had ever conversed." Fox then attempted to vindicate his own principles and yet to reconcile them with Burke's. "He was equally the enemy of all absolute forms of government, whether an absolute monarchy, an absolute aristocracy, or an absolute democracy. He was averse to all extremes, and a friend only to a mixed form of government like our own. The scenes of bloodshed and cruelty, which had been acted in France, no man could have heard of without lamenting; but still, when the severer tyranny under which the people had so long groaned was considered, the excesses which they committed in their endeavours to shake off the yoke of despotism might, he thought, be spoken of with some degree of compassion; and he was persuaded that, unsettled as their present state appeared, it was preferable to their former condition, and that ultimately it would be for the advantage of this country that France had regained her freedom. Never would he lend himself to support any cabal or scheme to introduce any dangerous innovation into our excellent constitution. He would not, however, declare that he was an enemy to every species of innovation. That constitution which we all revered owed its perfection to innovation. His right honourable friend might rest assured that they could never differ in principles, however they might differ in their application of principles." Burke rejoined: "He was exceedingly glad that he had drawn from his right honourable friend an explanation not less satisfactory to his mind than to the whole House and all who heard it." Then Sheridan, the close ally of both in the parliamentary strife of recent years, and a co-manager with them in the conduct of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, struck in with an eloquent but highly indiscreet laudation of the revolution, charged Burke with "deserting the camp, to defend despotism and assail the principles of freedom," and called him "a libeller of liberty, and the enemy of men who were labouring for the noblest objects." Burke indignantly replied that such language ought to have been spared, if only in deference to the remembrance of departed friendship; that the language indeed was not new, "since it was only a repetition of what was to be heard at the reforming clubs and societies with which the honourable gentleman had lately become entangled, and for whose plaudits he had chosen to sacrifice his friends, though he would in time discover that the value of such praise was hardly worth the price paid for it. Henceforward they were separated in politics for ever." The Whig party used many strenuous efforts to heal this untoward schism in their ranks, but with little effect. Sheridan moodily refrained from further participation in debates for about a year, while Burke made use of every possible occasion to disenchant the House and the public at large of any sympathy for the movement in France. Pitt warmly recognized his new ally, adding that he had conferred a great obligation upon the country by the zealous and seasonable attachment which he displayed for the British constitution. The Whig party and its organs in the press shared forthwith in the disruption among its leaders.

Reaction in the sentiment of the nation at large on questions of reform exhibited its force in most pronounced forms. The Dissenters had nearly succeeded in the session of 1789 in securing the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, which imposed sundry disabilities upon all who were not members of the established church. The attempt was now repeated. On the 2nd of March Mr. Fox brought forward in a very full House a motion for the abolition of these religious tests. Pitt and Burke vigorously opposed the proposal as inopportune, now that a wild spirit of innovation was abroad. The injudicious conduct of the Dissenters during the recess had alienated many of their best friends from their cause. Their speeches and writings overflowed with applauding references to the example of France, which they held to be a fit example for adoption at home. Burke read many extracts from such inflammatory writings, and founded on them a convincing argument that restraint rather than indulgence was called for by the alarming exigencies of the time. Upon a division the motion was negatived by two hundred and ninety-four against one hundred and five, showing a majority nearly twenty-fold greater than that which rejected the similar motion the year before. So also, two days later, Mr. Flood's motion for a moderate measure of parliamentary reform was received with so little favour that it had to be withdrawn. This scheme contemplated the addition of one hundred members to the House of Commons, in a ratio proportionate to population, to be chosen by resident householders. The framer of the bill argued that a new body of constituents was wanting, because the existing voters, the freeholders, held only a small part of the property of the kingdom, and yet some six or eight thousand electors of this stamp returned a majority of the representatives who decided for the whole, and acted for eight millions of people. The new franchise should take account of numbers as well as of property; the electors should be numerous, because numbers were indispensable to uphold the spirit of liberty; they should have a competent share of property, because property was conducive to the spirit of order. Anticipating the objection that this was not the time for reform, Mr. Flood contended that it was for want of a timely and temperate reform that France was now immersed in the vortex of a revolution, and held that those who opposed reform might be enemies to revolution in their hearts, but were really friends to it by their folly. Windham, one of Burke's most zealous disciples, opposed the motion in a vigorous speech, contending that, in point of time, it was as unseasonable as the expedient of repairing a house while a hurricane was raging. Pitt had advocated reform on several previous occasions, but scouted the notion of any such movement at so critical a juncture; adding, that if the motion before the House were the precise resolution which he himself had formerly proposed, he should now vote against it through a conviction of its impropriety.

Fox met Windham's metaphor with the declaration that "no season could be more proper for the commencement of repairs than when a hurricane was near, and ready to burst forth." Burke, Wilberforce, and others, declared their decided and unyielding opposition to the bill, and it was thereupon withdrawn without a division. The king took every opportunity of venting his royal displeasure against projects of reform, holding that the American revolution had grown out of the concessions made in small things to the discontented colonists; that the movement in France, the offspring of the earlier movement in America, had been encouraged and developed by the unwise concessions of Louis XVI.; and that for himself, he was resolved to shut the door against great changes by keeping it closed and barred against all changes.

No other critical question of home politics cropped up during this session, which however was nowise barren of business. On the 31st of March Dundas unfolded the Indian budget in a speech which prophesied many good things that never came to pass, and which was quickly falsified in its most material items by the occurrence of events widely different from his forecast. Descanting on the excess of income over expenditure, he confidently promised an early clearance of the debt of the company. England, he asserted, had no danger to apprehend in India from any European rival, and no risk to fear from any combination of the native princes. A long career of peace and prosperity was confidently anticipated. At that very time, as it soon transpired, the French and Tippoo Sultan were meditating a formidable league for the extirpation of the English from India. Francis pulled the roseate-hued budget to pieces, warning the House that there was no real improvement in the financial condition or prospects of India, no money return from that possession, but only a return or transfer of debts which the company could never pay, and which would ultimately fall on English tax-payers. In April Mr. Pitt made his financial statement, which also was replete with topics for present congratulation and hopeful expectations. The revenue exhibited a continuous growth; the shipping and number of seamen were one-third more than at the outbreak of the American war; the strength and resources of the country were growing rapidly; six millions of debt had been wiped off; no new taxes were needed; the country was eminently prosperous; commerce had greatly advanced; smuggling was repressed to an extent that sensibly augmented the revenue of the kingdom; the supplies needed for the public service were scarcely in excess of those for the previous year; peace might fairly be counted upon with all nations. These manifold blessings he ascribed, under Providence, to the excellent form of government the nation enjoyed. In conclusion, he held it to be a most sacred duty of the House to defend against all innovations that happy form of government which assured the nation so much prosperity. In a committee of the House on American claims, Pitt dwelt on the losses sustained by the family of Penn, and obtained leave for a grant of 4000*l.* per annum, to them in perpetuity. Among other sums voted as compensations for losses or rewards for service, Dr. Willis got a pension of 1000*l.* per annum for his successful treatment of the king in his recent malady; and the Speaker's salary was augmented from 3000*l.* to 6000*l.* per annum, in order to enable him to sustain adequately the hospitality and state which he was expected to uphold. Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion of previous years on the slave-trade, but the hearing of evidence filled up most of the time that could be given this year to the subject, and consequently no bill was brought into the House.

The trial of Warren Hastings made very little progress during this session. Burke made a statement on the subject in the House of Commons on the 11th of May, laying the blame of delay on Hastings and his counsel, who persisted in the reading of all documents at full length, instead of extracts of such parts only as related to the charges. The lords, too, had ruled that no partial quotation from any document could be received as evidence, but that either the whole contents or no part thereof should be brought foward. He thereupon moved two resolutions, which were passed, empowering the managers to limit their evidence to such points only as in their discretion might seem fit, and to insist only on such charges as could most promptly be brought to a decision. Major Scott made counter charges in the newspapers, putting the blame on the managers, who were accused of a great crime in instituting the prosecution, and of yet worse crime in not closing it long since. This was voted a gross libel on the House of Commons, and it was resolved that Scott should be censured in his place. Burke alleged that not less than 20,000*l.* had passed through Scott's hands in bribing the press for similar calumnies and libels in disparagement of the managers of the trial, and that Warren Hastings supplied the funds for this nefarious service with the view to defeat the ends of justice.

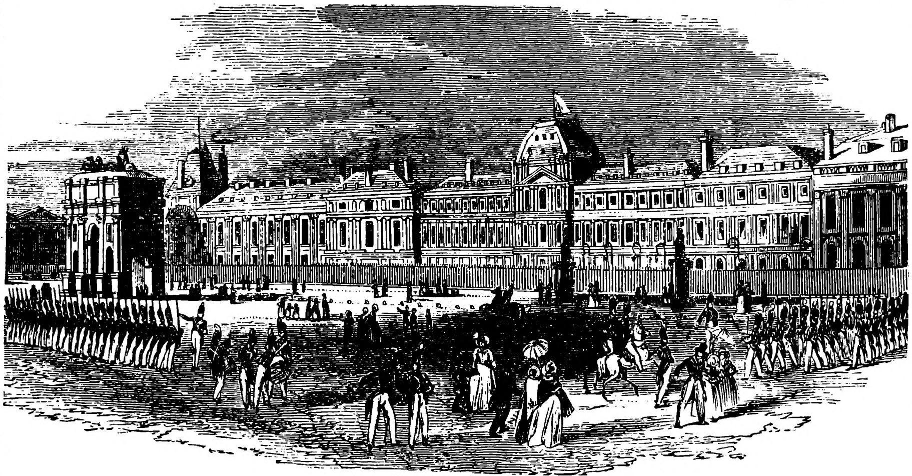
Only three weeks after his confident assurances of unbroken peace, Pitt surprised parliament with a royal message, expressing apprehensions of coming hostilities with Spain. The following are the circumstances leading up to the threatened war. In the course of Captain Cook's last voyage, some of his officer and crews purchased furs from the natives in or about Nootka Sound, in the vicinity of Vancouver's Island, which they carried to China and sold there at a large profit. The transaction attracted the notice of English traders in Canton, and several adventurers, with the sanction of the Governor-general of India, opened up a direct traffic between the remote north-west coast of America and the ports of China. The trade proved highly remunerative, and in 1788 the merchants formed an establishment on the shore of the Sound to facilitate their business. At that time there were no European settlers within thousands of miles of the spot, but the Spaniards, in reliance on the obsolete title which had been conferred upon them by the Pope some three centuries earlier, asserted a claim to all the coasts and islands on the western side of the American continent, between Cape Horn and the sixtieth degree of north latitude. Without a word of warning, they now proceeded to give effect to this monstrous pretension. Two of their ships of war entered the Sound, took possession of the settlement, removed the British flag, captured two English merchantmen, sent the crews as prisoners to a Spanish port, and sold the cargoes. The facts first came to the knowledge of the English government through the Spanish ambassador, who urged that measures ought to be taken by the English government to prevent its subjects from frequenting those shores, or carrying on fisheries in the neighbouring seas. Several months passed in negotiation. The Spaniards seemed determined to uphold their imaginary claim to remote lands in which they never had the smallest semblance of occupancy. They refused to make amends, commenced preparations for war, and appealed to the French for support under the terms of the family compact. But when it appeared that French aid was not forthcoming, and that England was resolved, at whatever cost, to exact full satisfaction for the insult to its flag, and the injury suffered by its subjects in person and property, the Spaniards suddenly gave way. Nootka Sound was restored, and reparation made for the seizure of persons and property, and Spain renounced for ever her old claim to ownership, whether in the territory or the fisheries, of the Pacific shore of the American continent, except where she held or might afterwards acquire actual settlements. The English, immediately on the conclusion of this quarrel, took possession of Vancouver's Island, which after the lapse of fourscore years begins to offer some return for the three millions expended in preparations for war before Spain yielded to Pitt's demands.

The session closed on the 10th of June, with a speech in which the king notified his intention of dissolving the present parliament, now near the full completion of its legal term. He expressed to both Houses his sense of their affectionate loyalty to his person, their uniform and zealous regard for the true principles of the constitution, and their unremitting attention to the best interests of the nation. He dwelt with satisfaction on the large growth of manufactures, commerce, and navigation, the expansion in the revenue, and the security given to our remote dependencies. In the Irish parliament some warm debates occurred on abuses of government patronage, the creation of sinecure places, and the stoppage of a pension of 400*l.* a year which had been granted to Lord Strangford at the request of the Irish peers, in consideration of his merits, his poverty, and his rank, but of which he was now deprived by government because he had opposed Pitt's Regency Bill in the previous session.

Continental affairs occupied much of Pitt's attention this year. To check the aggressive tendencies of Austria and Russia, especially in the direction of Turkey, the English government had already occupied itself in the formation of a defensive league, which included Great Britain, Prussia, Holland, Sweden, Poland, and Turkey. Special efforts were now made to induce both the imperial courts to send representatives to a congress for the settlement of all pending disputes. Austria, now under the rule of Leopold, brother of the late Emperor Joseph, exhibited pacific dispositions. But Russia, under the Czarina Catherine, could not yet be persuaded to relinquish her aims on Turkey, and declined to share in the congress, which was held at Reichenbach, in Silesia. Leopold was induced to withdraw from the war against Turkey on the basis of mutual restitution of conquests; the maritime powers and Prussia engaging to co-operate with him in securing the return of the Netherlands to Austrian rule, on condition of a full amnesty being granted to the insurgent inhabitants, and that all their ancient rights and privileges, laws and institutions, were restored. Meanwhile French doctrines had taken hold of the third estate, or common people, who formed themselves into an association under the name of the Patriotic Assembly, and put forth an address to the States General, which, since the revolt, had exercised sovereign authority. The address demanded a constitution on democratical principles. The nobles and clergy, with their adherents, resisted the pretensions of the democrats, and two parties were forthwith formed in the state. At this crisis Leopold, now disentangled from his alliance with Russia, issued an address to the Netherlanders, offering a complete amnesty, and the redress of all grievances, if they would return to their allegiance, adding that he was resolved to maintain his rights of sovereignty. This was followed soon afterwards by a manifesto in which Leopold pledged himself under an oath to abide by the guarantee of Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland, to govern Belgium entirely in accordance with the constitution that was in force under Maria Theresa. The mediating powers made known to the provisional government their adhesion to the emperor's proposals. Large numbers of the inhabitants returned forthwith to their old allegiance, as a happy escape, on the one hand from the government of priests and nobles, bent on restraining the freedom and controlling the sentiments of the people, and, on the other, from the disquietudes of a democratic republic. The party already in power, however, refused submission, and made some ineffectual resistance to the advance of an Austrian army, which was received with welcome by the mass of the people. Taught by former experience, the Austrians made a mild use of their easy conquest. By the end of the year Belgium was again in the full possession of its old constitution. The Russians, meanwhile, pressed on the war against the Turks, and on Christmas-day concluded their protracted siege of Ismail by a furious and successful assault. Pillage and massacre on a frightful scale formed the hideous business of a long night. The butchery of unresisting and helpless Turks of all ages and conditions was, by Suwarroff's savage hordes, continued for many hours after the defenders of the place were all slain. The carnage ceased not until thirty thousand victims of all ages, sexes, and conditions, had perished. Suwarroff, who had lost ten thousand of his own men in the siege and the final assault, felt no compunctions for this unheard-of atrocity. With a hideous mockery of gratitude to the Supreme Being, he notified the event to his own government in the words: "Glory to God and the empress, Ismail is ours!"

The war this year between the Swedes and Russians resulted in several decisive victories, both by land and sea, on the side of the former. Threatened in the Baltic by the allies, who were pledged to protect the Swedish territory, and deserted in the south by the Austrians, Catherine made overtures for peace with the Swedish king, and her proposals were accepted.

Events in France continued to fix the attention of neighbouring nations. Louis XVI. made every effort to accommodate himself to his altered position, but this was no easy task. The relations between the throne and the people were undergoing a rapid transformation. At the opening of the year few of the attributes of sovereignty remained in possession of the nominal king. In February he attended a meeting of the National Assembly, at which he expressed his acquiescence in the changes already effected, adding, that in concert with the queen, who shared in all his sentiments, he would prepare the mind and heart of his son for the new order of things that circumstances had brought about. "I will accustom him," said the king, "to seek happiness in the happiness of the French, and ever to acknowledge that, in spite of the language of flatterers, a wise constitution will preserve him from the dangers of inexperience, and that a just liberty adds a new value to sentiments of affection and loyalty." Speaking of his own personal sacrifices, he added: "I feel a compensation that satisfies me, a full and entire compensation, in the increase of the national happiness, and this sentiment comes from the very bottom of my heart. I will defend, therefore, I will uphold constitutional liberty, the principle which the public wish, in accordance with my own, has sanctioned." These frank, generous, and self-sacrificing sentiments called forth the liveliest demonstrations of delight in the Assembly and in the crowded auditory filling the galleries. Thanks were voted by acclamation to the king, and he was conducted back to the Tuileries by a shouting and rejoicing multitude. The deputies, in imitation of the voluntary vow of Louis to uphold the new constitution, took an oath to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and to support the new order of things. This example of the Assembly was imitated in every district of the capital and throughout France. General rejoicings seemed to testify to a general reconciliation of conflicting interests. But this transport of joy and hope and mutual confidence was of very brief duration. Sinister rumours of royalist plots, the continued flight of the clergy and the aristocracy, and the incessant intrigues of the emigrés or refugees to bring about a counter-revolution, quickly broke the spell. Then came the *federations*—the formation of bands or leagues of the



THE TUILERIES.

most enthusiastic friends of democratic government, who bound themselves by an oath "in the face of God and their country" to be true to one another, to liberty, and to the National Assembly, even unto death. These associations began in the south, as a measure of precaution and protection against the expected attacks of furious royalists, who were gathered in large numbers at Turin, and spread quickly throughout the country. Each place federated with neighbouring places, village with village, towns with towns, departments with each other, the ceremony being in each instance enlivened by festive gatherings, music, and the firing of guns. The National Assembly gave all encouragement to the movement, and at length, as the 14th of July was drawing near—the first anniversary of the taking of the Bastille—they resolved to celebrate the day by a grand national fête and federation in Paris. In the ferment of delight and excitement growing out of preparations for this celebration of the triumph of liberty and equality, a new impetus was imparted to the democratic movement. One of its earliest fruits was a decree of the National Assembly by which all titles of nobility were abolished, coats of arms and escutcheons consigned to the limbo of obsolete vanities, and the wearing of liveries and other badges of personal dependence and servitude forbidden. The marquis de Noailles, in giving in his adhesion to the proposal, said: "Let us no longer acknowledge any other distinctions than virtue, wisdom, and valour. We do not say, Marquis Franklin, Count Washington, Baron Fox, but plain Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and Charles James Fox." The king, now a mere passive instrument at the bidding of the Assembly, signed the decree without demur. The national mind was in a glow of enthusiasm; Paris itself exhibited the very effervescence and fever heat of demonstrative joy. The municipality charged itself with preparations for the coming festival of democratic liberty and fraternity. It was decided to have a pompous spectacle and a magnificent festival in the Champ de Mars. Twelve thousand workmen were hired for the construction of an amphitheatre on an immense scale, such as should admit of giving each one of the many teeming myriads of spectators from all parts of France a full view of the actors and the ceremonies of the celebration. No structure of wood, it was thought, could support the weight of the prodigious number to be accommodated, so artificial slopes of earth were preferred. A large area was excavated to supply material for the solid amphitheatre. The army of hired workmen laboured with a hearty good-will, but the time before them, it was feared, was insufficient for the completion of so vast a labour. Then all Paris lent its help. The National Guard supplied its daily contingent of thousands of volunteers; all classes, men and women from every section of the capital, came forward with all the ardour of volunteers, and bore their part in the task. "Seminarists, nuns, Carthusians, grown old in solitude, were seen quitting their cloisters, hurrying to the Champ de Mars, with shovel upon their shoulders, bearing banners adorned with patriotic emblems." Ferrières, a spectator of the enthusiastic rush of the Parisians to this self-imposed labour, goes on to tell that "The Capuchin draws the truck with the chevalier of St. Louis; the porter with the dandy of the Palais Royal; the sturdy fishwoman drives the wheelbarrow filled by the hands of delicately-nurtured ladies. Wealthy people, indigent people, the well-dressed mingled with the ragged, old men, boys, comedians, clerks, shopmen, exhibited to the astonished eye a scene of life and bustle." The work goes on till nine each night, when the mixed multitude wends its way homeward in orderly groups by torchlight, and vents its enthusiasm in songs, with the accompaniment of fifes and drums. The day arrives; vast troops of federates, delegates from all the eighty-three departments of France, are hospitably lodged in Paris; by six in the morning of the 14th three hundred thousand spectators take their places on the grass-covered slopes made by human hands, and the vast inner space begins to fill with the multitudinous actors in the great drama of the day. A procession of fifty thousand armed men, composed of selected quotas from the National Guard of each department in the kingdom, with troops of the line, representatives of the naval force, and the whole of the Parisian National Guard, passed through Paris amid the greetings of an immense concourse of people, and entered the area enclosed by the grassy slopes of the amphitheatre. The central spot in the enclosure was occupied by a lofty platform, called the altar of the country, gaily decorated with flags, flowers, evergreens, and patriotic mottoes. On this platform was an altar with magnificent furnishings, for the Catholic ceremonial of high mass. The king and the royal family, with all the high functionaries of state and the members of the National Assembly, took their places on raised seats fronting the altar, beneath a gaily decorated awning. Then three hundred priests ranged themselves about the altar, and Talleyrand took the lead in the performance of mass. After this ceremonial Lafayette ascended the altar, accompanied by deputies of the army, navy, and National Guard, and in the name of the troops and federates took the oath to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king. The vast assembly of soldiers and spectators, at a signal from Lafayette (the raising of his right arm), joined simultaneously in the same oath; with right hands raised aloft the huge throngs shouted "*Je le jure!*"—"I swear it!" Then the king, rising from his velvet-covered throne, and stretching his right hand toward the altar, said: "I, king of the French, swear to the nation to employ all the power that is delegated to me by the constitutional law of the state to maintain the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by me, and to cause the laws to be executed." The queen at this moment stepped forward, and raising the dauphin in her arms, called out to the people: "Here is my son; he joins as well as myself in these sentiments." At this moment a gleam of sunshine—the first which had beamed forth after many hours of pelting rain—added its gladdening influence to the contagious enthusiasm, and a very ecstacy and delirium of joy took possession of the assembled multitude. Loyal greetings rent the air; drums and trumpets sent forth a very tempest of enlivening music; cannon boomed; embracings, kissings, and dancings testified that even drenching torrents of rain were powerless to damp the effervescent emotions of the great French multitude. All Paris, for a week following, was one festal scene; illuminations, bonfires, fireworks, feasts, entertainments, dances, rejoicings, balls, regattas, reviews, kept up the general excitement. Surely this is a fair prelude to an early future, big with blessings to the nation! So thought many a thoughtful spectator of this endless rejoicing and festivity, and so argued more distant observers of the great national drama. But all these flattering auguries were quickly falsified by events. This touching festival of the federation was but a fugitive emotion; its force and effect on the national mind evaporated in fewer days than sufficed to complete the preparatory arrangements in the Champ de Mars. The joyous reconciliations, the loving greetings, the interchange of vows and oaths, left no more abiding impression than that of a passing cloud. Providence, says Ferrières, punished the mutual perfidy of performers and spectators in the scene. "It has stricken both the monarch and subjects who violated their oath." In the terrible calamity that soon afterwards desolated France, Carra, Danton, Marat, Robespierre, Camille Desmoulins, and the throng of fiery and furious democrats who reigned in the clubs, and poured their daily streams of gall and bitterness among the populace, hurled a continuous torrent of abuse against the whole affair, and denounced the promoters and managers of the fête as the rogues and swindlers who managed French affairs. With the moral poison daily streaming from the pens of such journalists was sometimes mingled deep truths that, under more auspicious handling, might have proved of saving efficacy to the nation. Marat wound up one of his fiercest appeals to popular passion, in which he had dwelt on the seven months' famine, the interruption of all kinds of work, the universal decay of trade and manufactures, and all the miseries of the people—with the apostrophe: "Ah! thoughtless citizens! Are you ignorant of the fact that liberty is not made by a vain and frivolous nation, without morals, without character, without principles, changing with every wind and every new doctrine?" But, as if in the dread that such occasional good seed should bear fruit, it was never sown without an insidious accompaniment of evil. The writer of the foregoing passage adds: "You have been sadly deficient in prudence. Let not your enemies however count on your support or your momentary enthusiasm. Whatever may be the form of oath your lips have pronounced, your heart has only sworn to be true to the country, and to liberty and equality. Any other engagement into which you may have been surprised will vanish like a dream, and at the first palpable treachery of the court and aristocracy, your audacity will be the spark to kindle the fire that is to consume them all." Under the incessant lecturing of such teachers, the accepted oracles of the multitude, the people soon came to believe they had been befooled and snared into a compromise and concession at a time when they ought rather to have been following up the advantages secured by incomplete and partial victories over their oppressors. Already the very name of king was scouted by the rampant republicans, without check or hindrance. Louis Capet, the boy Capet, the wife of Louis Capet—such were now the names under which the representatives of fallen royalty were mentioned by the leading republican orators and journalists. The fête of the federation very distinctly marks a stage in the revolution. The deputies from the provincial National Guard, and the other military and naval forces, returned to their comrades fully indoctrinated with the most advanced ideas of the clubs, and quickly communicated the infection in their several localities. The whole military force of the nation was thus demoralised, insubordinate, and ripe for any mischief, within a month of the festival in the Champ de Mars. Bouillé, who commanded the forces in garrison at Metz, and along the whole eastern frontier, was in secret correspondence with the royal family, whom he wished to aid in escaping from France now that the last prop of the throne was broken. Plans to this end were eagerly discussed in the royal circle, but the king was wanting in courage and enterprise for the undertaking. Political clubs sprang up in most of the regiments; liberty and equality, as taught in the Jacobin journals, were the never-failing themes of discussion; violent animosities divided the old officers, of the aristocratic class, from the plebeians who had only recently gained their commissions, and who were deeply imbued with the new political philosophy. To aggravate the other causes of murmuring and disquiet, there were considerable arrears of pay due to the troops.

In the month of August the disaffection and insubordination culminated in widespread mutiny, which quickly became a very formidable insurrection in the garrison at Nanci. Six battalions of infantry and a regiment of horse banded together, imprisoned their officers, broke open the arsenal, distributed arms among several thousands of the turbulent mob and deserters from other regiments who joined them, exacted money from the town authorities, threatened to ransack the city, and set at defiance the National Assembly, which had now assumed executive as well as legislative functions. There were fully ten thousand armed men under the standard of revolt, and they had artillery and abundance of ammunition at their command. Bouillé led against them not more than a third of their number, being the whole of the men he could trust, and forcing his way into the town, beat the insurgents after a sanguinary street fight of three hours' duration. The soldiers who thus fell in the cause of order were honoured as martyrs by the National Assembly and the municipal authorities in Paris, but execrated as royalists and traitors to the people, the slaves of despotism and aristocracy, by the furious Jacobins, whose influence was rapidly expanding, and was destined ere long to swamp and supplant the authority of the National Assembly itself. The truculent Marat, in his journal called "The Friend of the People," denounced all the leading men in the Assembly and the chief municipal authorities as traitors, adding: "Those who are your enemies are not the nobles and clergy so much as those who make the laws. Those who head the band are the king's atrocious ministers, are the deputies of the people, seduced by promises or corrupted by presents." The furious tirade proceeds to specify by name Mirabeau, Sièyes, Dupont, and other members of the Assembly who had favoured the suppression of the revolt at Nanci, and who were now stigmatised by this audacious demagogue as "vile and cowardly deserters of their country, who had rallied, with the courtiers, the municipal administrators, and the staff of the Paris National Guard, round the king, to make the executive power triumph, and to sacrifice the nation to one who was only its servant." In fact, the first promoters and directors of the earlier stages of the revolution were now wincing under the incessant onslaughts of ultra-revolutionists, who were as little satisfied with the political ameliorations already achieved as more moderate men had been with the state of affairs antecedent to 1789. Before the close of 1790 these irreconcilable parties had already come into collision in so many forms, as to leave no room for doubt that a further and yet more direful political and social upheaving was about to convulse the country afresh. The danger of the royal family was daily increasing, but the king recoiled from the thought of flight or civil war, under an ever-present remembrance of the fate of Charles I. of England. Failure in such an attempt, he felt convinced, would insure the destruction of himself and family, and he could never be persuaded that the chances of successful flight were tempting enough to outweigh the risks of re-capture. The queen, however, under the persuasion that death stared them in the face already, and could only be avoided by escape from France, entered earnestly into successive schemes of flight, but heroically preferred to stay and share the fate of her husband, if she could not secure his and her son's safety as well as her own.

We recur now to some events at home towards the close of the year. Parliament met on the 26th of November, 1790, for a brief autumnal session. The speech from the throne announced the commencement of hostilities in India; the war between Prussia and Turkey; that a pacification had been effected between Russia and Sweden on the one hand, Austria and Turkey on the other; and that the British government was using its good offices to bring about an accommodation of differences between Austria and her revolted subjects in the Netherlands. No mention was made in the king's speech of events in France, though these were now more than ever uppermost in the minds of public men. Burke's genius had just achieved its most splendid triumph, in the issue of his memorable work, "Reflections on the Revolution in France, and on the Proceedings in certain Societies in London in relation to that event." In this book he inveighed with great asperity, and in language sparkling with eloquence and brilliancy, against the societies which, in London and elsewhere, had commemorated the capture of the Bastille, and otherwise expressed their admiration for French proceedings, and their sympathy with revolutionary principles. His lofty appeals to loyalty, his impassioned denunciations of the anarchists in Paris, his dread of innovation at home in a crisis of democratic madness among the French, his predilections for aristocracy, his pity for fallen royalty and a pillaged national church, exerted a powerful influence on the minds of a whole generation. The book converted shoals of the timid and the unreflecting into supporters of arbitrary rule; for its false and flattering picture of the virtues and the merits of the exiled nobles and the injured royal family, took no account whatever of the oppressions and sufferings of the mass of the community. In his sympathy with the governing classes, the upper ranks of society, to which he belonged, he forgot or undervalued the interests and the rights of the people at large, and in this oversight he was too readily followed by many of his old political associates. The Whig party was sensibly weakened and seriously discredited by desertions from its ranks. The indiscriminating praises lavished on the French revolution by indiscreet friends of liberty in England, resulted in fixing on the name of Whig the meaning of a favourer of democratic principles, such as had just borne fruit in anarchy and bloodshed among our neighbours. The cause of reform in our home institutions was thus thrown back indefinitely, and social bitterness marked the intercourse between those who most dreaded the spread of democratic principles, and those who were jealous of the undue influence of the aristocracy and the crown. In the debate on the address, little or no reference was made to the political conflagration raging in France. The treaty with Spain, and the expenses of the late armament on the Nootka Sound quarrel, were the chief subjects of after debate. Pitt justified the maintenance of the navy at its augmented level by the statement: "I will make no scruple to declare that there are circumstances in the present situation of Europe, which make his majesty's ministers think it highly necessary to keep up a naval armament for a time to more than the ordinary extent." Funds for the armament in question were provided by the imposition of additional taxes for a limited period on sugar, spirits, malt, and game licences; and half a million of government money, then resting in the Bank of England for payment of unclaimed dividends, was temporarily diverted from its first destination, and spent on naval purposes. A permanent addition of 300,000*l*. per annum to the revenue was anticipated from the operation of checks to prevent the evasions and frauds practised in the taxes upon bills of exchange and receipts. In the House of Lords the convention with Spain was severely handled by the marquis of Lansdowne, who contended that we already possessed, under old treaties, a full title to the benefits supposed to be now, for the first time, acquired; and that we were now doing the work of other nations, and of the United States in particular, in exacting concessions, of which the advantage was thrown open to all the world.

Now that a new parliament was sitting, the question arose whether the impeachment of Hastings still held good. It had long been a moot point in constitutional law, whether or not the dissolution of parliament quashed all pending proceedings under an impeachment. Burke contended that no dissolution of parliament affected an impeachment, supporting his opinion by copious references to times in which trial by that method was of frequent occurrence. Erskine differed from this conclusion, but Pitt supported it, urging that the solitary case in the time of James II., which was adduced on the other side, must be held to be of no force, because it took place under a sovereign who so perverted the constitution, and corrupted the practice of the courts of law, that his acts were in effect all reversed by the revolution which set him aside.

Among the men of mark who died this year, special mention is due to Howard, the philanthropist. His work and his virtues are eloquently summarized in Burke's splendid tribute to his memory: "Howard had visited all Europe; not to survey its sumptuous palaces or stately temples; not to take measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, or to form a scale of the curiosities of modern art; not to collect medals or to collate manuscripts; but to dive into the depths of dungeons, and plunge into the infection of hospitals; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten, attend to the neglected, and visit the forsaken; to compare and collate the distresses of all men in all climes."

The parliamentary business of 1791 commenced with a demonstration by Francis in favour of Tippoo Sultan, the formidable opponent of British rule in India. If the British must form alliances with the native princes, how much better for them, Francis urged, would it be to fight on the side of the man with the strongest battalions. Tippoo had 150,000 men at his command, besides a well-appointed train of artillery and a full treasury, yet we were preferring the alliance of such princes as the rajah of Travancore, the nizam of the Deccan, and the Mahrattas. Pitt and Dundas easily demolished the case of the ex-member of council. Tippoo was the inveterate enemy of the English; our interests, no less than our honour, obliged us to help our allies, whose territories Tippoo had invaded.

In February Burke brought forward a motion, which was carried, to shorten the trial of Warren Hastings, by restricting the further proceedings in the case to such parts only of the impeachment as related to contracts, pensions, and allowances. But the Lords consumed much time before they endorsed the resolutions passed in the Commons in December—that an impeachment did not cease with the dissolution of parliament. With a view to relieve the accused of the hardship of further delay, the manager proposed an address to the king, praying him not to prorogue parliament until the completion of the trial, but this motion was negatived. The evidence for the prosecution was finished on the 30th of May, when Hastings obtained leave to address the court on the further progress of the trial, the end of which was still four years ahead. He concluded a speech of great vigour, eloquence, and earnestness with the following brilliant peroration: "To the Commons of England, in whose name I am arraigned for desolating the provinces of India, I dare to reply that they are, and their representatives persist in telling them so, the most flourishing of all the states of India. It was I who made them so. The value of what others acquired, I enlarged, giving shape and consistency to the dominion which you hold there. I preserved it, I sent forth its armies with an effectual, but economical hand, through unknown, and even hostile regions, to the support of your other possessions, to the retrieval of one from dishonour and degradation, and of another from utter loss and subjection. I maintained the wars which were of your formation, or that of others, not of mine. I won one member of the great Indian confederacy from it by an act of seasonable restitution; with another I maintained a secret intercourse, and converted him into a friend; a third I drew off by diversion and negotiation, and employed him as the instrument of peace. I gave you all, and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace, and a life of impeachment." This powerful plea of general merit went far to atone, in public estimation, for a long string of utterly indefensible acts. By direction of the court, the evidence for the defence was postponed till next session.

The inroads of Russia on Turkish territory had long formed matter of uneasy cogitation in the cabinet. Early this year Pitt addressed some energetic remonstrances to the court of the czarina, who haughtily replied that she would admit no interference in her quarrel with Turkey. This answer was communicated to the House on 28th of March, in a message from the king, who notified that he had deemed it requisite, in the interest of the balance of power in Europe, to enter into negotiations with Prussia and Austria, with the view to united action, and that the fleet would need to be kept up at its present strength.

Fox and other members of the opposition deprecated hostile action on our part, using arguments that forcibly remind readers of a later time of the speeches of Cobden and Bright in opposition to the Crimean war. "What injury," it was objected, "had we received from Russia? Were all the advantages of our trade with that empire to be sacrificed for the sake of a Turkish fortress? and could wisdom or policy warrant Great Britain in going to war to preserve a barbarian power, which, for the sake of religion, humanity, and civilization, ought to be utterly extirpated?" Pitt and his colleagues, on the other hand, justified their contemplated hostile movement by arguments of the same tenour as those with which Palmerston enlisted the almost unanimous support of a later generation in a war to check the aggrandisement of Russia and the spoliation of the sultan. Ministers urged that the extension of Russian rule, and the depression of Turkey, would work incalculable mischief to our commercial and political interests; that the possession of Oczakof would pave the way to the seizure of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Egypt; that such extensions of Russian rule would ultimately give to the colossal tyranny of the north the supremacy of the Mediterranean; and that present resistance to Russian encroachment was in keeping with the general tenour of English policy, the preservation of the balance of power, and the conservation of the general interests of Europe. Pitt carried his motion for an address to the king, approving this contemplated intervention. But hostilities were averted by timely concession on the part of the empress, who relinquished all her recent conquests on the Danube, keeping only Oczakof. The tottering power of the sultan was thus bolstered up for a time, rather, as on a later occasion, through the fears than the affections of his friends and allies.

Wilberforce renewed his efforts for the abolition of the traffic in slaves. His motion was for the prohibition of any future importation of negroes into the British plantations, and left untouched, for the present, the rights of existing owners of slaves, Pitt and Fox lent their powerful aid to the humane proposal, but commercial interests were deaf to the most convincing arguments in favour of abolition. It must in fairness be added that the dreadful insurrection of French negroes in St. Domingo, which followed close upon the heels of the revolution, and was attributed to that event, scared many old supporters of abolition from the notion of any advance towards liberty to the blacks. The motion was defeated by a majority of seventy-five votes, but a bill was passed securing the establishment of the Sierra Leone Company, who founded a settlement on the African coast, to raise by the labour of free negroes the same class of productions that were obtained through slave labour in the West Indies.

The attempt made twenty years earlier by Burke and others to pass a bill for empowering juries to try the question of law as well as of fact, was renewed this session by Fox. He secured the support of Pitt, Erskine, and other ministerialists, who treated the measure, not as a party question, but as one of constitutional right. The bill passed the Commons, but was rejected in the Lords as a dangerous innovation. In the next session, however, it was again brought forward, and became law.

A bill for the relief of Roman Catholics from the operation of numerous penal statutes, on condition of their taking a prescribed form of oath, was another among the liberal acts of legislation this year. Catholics were now put upon a footing of equality with other nonconformists, in regard to eligibility for public employments. A further important legislative reform was foreshadowed in Mr. Grey's motion for a committee to inquire into the effects of imprisonment for debt. Burke lent the help of his eloquence to expose the blots and cruelties of the existing system. The tardy progress of ideas on the subject is illustrated in the fact that nearly fourscore more years passed away before the early aims of legislative reformers on this branch of social economy were realized.

The final and irrevocable breach between Fox and Burke, and the severance of the Whig party into two divergent sections, dates from this session. In the course of debates on a bill for the better government of Canada, opinions were expressed, as was to be expected, on general principles of representative government, and on the special modifications needed in a community of colonists to adapt to their circumstances the political institutions of the mother country. The bill contemplated the establishment of distinct legislatures for Lower Canada, with its French population, and Upper Canada, occupied by more recent settlers from the British islands. Each province was to have its governor, representing the sovereign; its legislative council, answering to the House of Lords, and consisting of members nominated for life, or else hereditary, at the option of the king; and its provincial assembly, or House of Commons, chosen by freeholders, for seven years, like representatives in England. The home government renounced the right of taxation, and generally made a large advance towards conceding the principle of colonial self-government. No noteworthy opposition occurred in any stage of the bill, but in the course of the third reading Fox indulged in criticisms on the proposal for hereditary members of the upper legislative chamber. He deprecated the establishment of hereditary titles among the French Canadians at the very moment such titles were being abolished in France; and among other objections to hereditary titles among the colonists of English origin, held that a colonial nobility would form a source of irritation to their republican neighbours. Fox further indulged from time to time in flattering references to events in France, and in various ways he and some of his most ardent partisans turned to account all occasions of showing their entire disagreement with Burke in respect to the revolution. Smarting under the accumulated effect of many stings, Burke gave vent to his pent-up wrath in a speech full of abuse of the revolutionary government in France. This took place on the 6th of May, on the question that the Quebec Bill be read paragraph by paragraph. The speech had little direct connection with the subject of debate, and accordingly members of the opposition frequently and loudly interrupted it by calls to order. The ministerials as loudly asserted that Burke was in order, and both sides were moved to a pitch of very angry excitement. Pitt intervened with praises of Burke's persistent hostility to French principles, and held that he was in order. Fox followed with a vehement protest, intermixing rebukes and compliments in bewildering profusion, vindicating his own views, and calling in question the consistency of his friend. Burke rejoined, in an animated and angry comment, on the unfriendly, harsh, and malignant character of the attack by which he was assailed, and added that if his steady and unfaltering adherence to the British constitution must needs provoke enemies or impel old friends to desert him, he was prepared for that or any other penalty; to risk all, and as public duty taught him, with his last breath exclaim: "Fly from the French constitution." Fox here interrupted the speech with a few whispered words, in an earnestly conciliatory tone, urging that there was no loss of friendship. But Burke rejected the overture by the loud and prompt rejoinder: "Yes, there was a loss of friendship; he knew the price of his conduct; he had done his duty at the price of his friend; their intimacy was at an end!"

Then followed a touching personal colloquy, in which Fox, with tears in his eyes, and his utterance checked by choking sobs, appealed to the memory of long years of mutual affection, in which their attachment had grown with their lives, and urged that there was still no need for severance of a cherished friendship, notwithstanding that they held irreconcilable views on the revolution in a neighbouring nation. But these conciliatory and pathetic words were mingled with less amicable utterances, in which Fox defended his own views, and repeated some of his former objectionable remarks on those of his offended friend. Burke was not to be appeased, and to his dying hour he refused again to hold intercourse with Fox. This memorable quarrel between the leaders of the Whig party marks the commencement of a period of long-continued social bitterness, in which the alarmists on the one side opposed exaggerated distrust of political change, to equally overdrawn aspirations, on the other hand, of benefits to flow to this and all nations from the example of the French.

The budget for the year was prefaced by a report drawn up by a financial committee of the House, setting forth the improving character of the national balance-sheet. The services of the year required 5,728,000*l.*, for the raising of which no new tax was needed. On the 16th of June parliament was prorogued.

Our continental neighbours, meanwhile, were furnishing ample grounds for misgiving on the part of the most timid politicians in England. Mirabeau became president of the National Assembly in January, 1791. He stoutly withstood the pressure of extreme democratic views; opposed the measures of severity and violence that were contemplated in respect to the emigrants; supported the royal prerogative in relation to the commanding of the national forces, and the right of declaring peace and war; resisted manfully the dictation of the clubs and mobs; and opposed with great force and ability the encroachments of factions that were ever striving to stifle the moderate party in the Assembly. In his capacity as a journalist he contended with ever-increasing earnestness for constitutional moderation. Marat, a rival journalist—destined soon to become a real and terrible power in guiding the turbulence and fury of the revolution—was already urging the want of hundreds of gibbets, and pointing to Mirabeau as one among hundreds and thousands who deserved hanging for their lukewarmness in the cause of the nation. But Mirabeau, although widely suspected, and often accused of being in the pay of the court, continued, by virtue of his unbending courage and marvellous eloquence, to hold the first place among the leaders of opinion in the Assembly and among the public at large, until death arrested his career in the very noon of manhood, when he was just commencing the splendid task of healing the wounds of the revolution. Unremitting excitement, overwork of the brain, and a constant round of debaucheries and sensual excesses, brought on premature exhaustion, under which he perished, as from a slow consuming fire, at the age of forty-two. With an exact prevision of coming disasters, he said to a friend who attended his dying bed: "When I am gone they will know how to value me; the misfortunes which I have arrested will rush in from all parts of France. The criminal factions which trembled before me will no longer have any bridle. The Commons won a victory in declaring themselves a National Assembly, of which they have never ceased to show themselves unworthy. They have desired to govern the king instead of governing by him, but very soon neither he nor they will govern. A vile faction will dominate over all, and fill France with horrors." He died on the 2nd of April, and was honoured by his grateful country with the tribute of a splendid public funeral. A torchlight procession of myriads of citizens marched before and after the funeral car, to the accompaniment of solemn music. The coffin was deposited in the church of St. Geneviève, which by a decree of the Assembly was thenceforth to be called the Pantheon, and to bear the inscription, *Aux grands hommes la patrie reconnaisante.* Mirabeau was not long a tenant of the tomb dedicated by a grateful country to its great men. Only two and a half years after his sepulture a decree of the Convention pronounced him an unworthy aristocrat, and his remains were thrust out from companionship with the dust of Voltaire, Rousseau, and the other illustrious dead whose memorial tombs and busts are still to be seen in the vaults under the Pantheon.

Meanwhile the emigrant nobles assembled in armed array at Coblentz, where they indulged in foolish boasts of their intention to put down the revolution and reinstate the old order of things. In communication with these were the discontented clergy, many of whom were now busied in preparing the minds of the peasantry for a revolt and a counter-revolution. The armed emigrants on the frontier were encouraged by the tacit approval of all the courts of Europe, and cheered by the undisguised favour of the Austrian emperor, brother of the queen of France. The anarchists in Paris, no longer restrained by Mirabeau's resolute efforts to repair the havoc he had contributed to make in the political and social system of France, exulted over his death, and redoubled their efforts to arouse the furious passions of the people, and to overthrow the comparatively moderate party that had hitherto guided the revolution.

Paris was filled with constant rumours of plots to carry off the royal family. A furious mob beset the royal carriages as they were passing under escort of the National Guard from the Tuileries to the suburban palace of St. Cloud, and insisted that the king and his family should remain in Paris. In vain Lafayette and Bailly attempted first persuasion and then force. To the argument that change of air was requisite for the royal family, the mob replied that the king should not quit Paris; and that his object was no other than to escape to the frontier and bring in the army of emigrants and foreigners. When Lafayette attempted to force a way through the throng, his insubordinate guard refused to act against the people. Humiliated and dejected, the royal family returned on foot to the palace, and in the four succeeding months occupied themselves in earnest with a scheme to escape from their thraldom. Then came the flight from Paris, on the night of the 20th of June. A Swiss nobleman, in the confidence of the king, took out a passport for a Russian baroness, her two children, a travelling companion, a valet, and a waiting woman. The Swiss procured a large travelling coach. He assumes the disguise of coachman. The king is the valet; the queen the waiting woman; the governess enacts the part of the Russian lady of distinction; her travelling companion is the queen's sister. Thus disguised, the royal fugitives pass the palace precincts unmolested. After some mistakes, in which a precious hour is lost, they take their places in the coach, awaiting them in a neighbouring street. Relays of horses have been duly provided, and the general of the army on the frontier, Bouillé, has arranged for escorts of dragoons to be at all but the earlier stages of the route, to aid the escape. Chalons is safely reached by five in the afternoon of the 21st; as the shades of evening close in, the lumbering coach, with its six horses, draws up at the post-house of St. Ménehould. The post-master, Drouet, before the vehicle is again in motion, gets a glimpse at some of the faces inside, and his suspicions are at once aroused. The face of the valet he has seen on the new paper money, the assignat; that of the waiting woman he rightly guesses to be Marie Antoinette. The carriage is not far on its way to Clermont when Drouet, who had been in the cavalry, passes ahead, mounted on a swift horse. He rouses the National Guard at Varennes, and with help thus obtained capsizes a waggon on the bridge, and thus blocks the way. The royal party at length reaches the bridge twenty-four hours after quitting Paris. Drouet and half-a-dozen National Guard demand the passports. They detain the carriage until the arrival of the procureur of the town, named Sausse, a grocer. Presently the whole party is obliged to dismount, and for some hours they rest in two dirty little rooms over the grocer's shop, the king taking a supper of bread and cheese, with a bottle of Burgundy. The alarm bell peals forth its clamorous din through the summer night; a mixed multitude gathers round the mean resting-place of royalty, and early in the morning the party is on its way back to Paris, escorted by a large force of National Guard. Various misadventures had thwarted Bouillé's well-laid plan for supplying military escort; by the time his dragoons reached the bridge of Varennes the passage was obstructed and the National Guard mustered in force. There was no help for the general and such of his staff as had shared in the plot except in precipitate flight. Before night they had crossed the frontier into Luxembourg. The journey of the royal fugitives back to Paris was tedious, and not free from danger. Noisy and angry mobs uttered threats and insults, and the successive relays of National Guard who escorted the cortége were scarcely more respectful. Barnave and Petion were deputed by the Assembly to meet the captive party and conduct them back to the Tuileries. The municipal authorities had placarded Paris with a public notice, forbidding any demonstrations, loyal or disloyal, on the return of the captives, and the caution was not disregarded. "Whoever applauds the king shall be flogged; whoever insults him shall be hanged"—were the words of warning affixed by authority on the walls in all quarters of the capital. The five days of the king's absence from Paris were signalized by numerous demonstrations against royalty. Thomas Payne, an Englishman who hated the institutions of his own country, and had gained a wide notoriety by his writings in America in favour of the establishment of republican government, was at this time in Paris, in intimate association with the most turbulent of the revolutionists. He drew up a form of proclamation to the people of Paris, urging them to take advantage of the flight of the king, which, he held, involved a forfeiture of the throne, and at once to establish a republic. Similar productions appeared in many of the journals; the clubs debated whether the question of king or no king should not be put to the vote of the nation at large; and the Parisian mob was quickly possessed with the idea of abolishing royalty. In the National Assembly itself some speakers openly declared that the king had forfeited his throne, and the nation ought to bring him to punishment. On the other hand, a powerful minority of the moderate party, two hundred and seventy in number, entered a formal protest against the usurpations of the Assembly, declaring that it had invaded the small prerogative secured to the king under the new constitution, deprived him of personal freedom, and put in force its own decrees without regard to his veto. The clubs now prepared a form of petition to the National Assembly, demanding the abolition of royalty. The populace were urged by innumerable placards to meet in the Champ de Mars, and to sign the petition on the following Sunday, the 17th of July. Vast crowds assembled accordingly, and under the leadership of men who were soon to achieve an evil and sanguinary renown, multitudes added their signatures to a petition calling upon the Assembly to crown its labours by the punishment of the king and the abolition of royalty. Disturbances and bloodshed ensued, and the National Guard were put into requisition to disperse the riotous crowd—a task which was not accomplished until volleys of musketry had laid low a large number of the insurgents. This well-timed severity scared some of the most daring heroes of the clubs into hiding-places. But the lack of energy on the part of the friends of order, and the indecision of the National Assembly, gave speedy encouragement to fresh gusts of the revolutionary storm. The hotbeds of sedition, the rabid clubs of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, might have been suppressed at this crisis, and a constitutional monarchy established.

The opportunity passed away unimproved for lack of a master spirit, such as Mirabeau, to arrest the work of destruction. The Assembly was now approaching the end of its labours; the separate committees had all sent in their reports on the sections of work delegated to them; it remained only to combine into one act the many decrees regarding the constitution. The king gave his sanction to the scheme on the 14th of September, and for a brief space harmony was restored between him and the body that had usurped his powers. In an evil hour the National Assembly passed a self-denying ordinance, excluding all its members from the Legislative Assembly, which was now to be convoked under the provisions of the constitution. As if to aggravate the evil consequences of a measure which required the new legislators to be utterly void of experience, the qualifications of electors and representatives were pitched at so low a level, that out of seven hundred and fifty-eight members who constituted the new Legislative Assembly, only about fifty were possessed of property to the value of 100*l.* per annum. Rank and property were no longer represented, and the friends of monarchy were in a decided minority. The Legislative Assembly held its first meeting on the 1st of October, and occupied its earliest hours in discussions, small in themselves but significant of coming controversies of highest moment. The terms "sire" and "majesty," and the gilded chair of state which is placed in the hall for the accommodation of the king, provoke the protests of republican representatives, who are further averse to uncovering in his presence. More serious questions come under discussion before the close of the year. A decree is passed inflicting the loss of their landed and other property on all the *noblesse* who had fled their country and should not have returned by the coming new year's day; another of like tenour deprives of their emoluments all priests who decline to take the oath binding them to the new order of things in church and state. In the debates arising on these measures, the threatened interference of foreign sovereigns, foreshadowed in the conference at Pilnitz in August, was vigorously denounced and defied. One member, speaking of the king of Prussia and the emperor of Austria, and their contemplated intervention on behalf of the king of France, launched against them a challenge couched in stirring oratory. "They would bring back our *noblesse!*" said the deputy for Provence. "If all the nobles of the earth assail us, with their gold in one hand and their swords in the other, the French people will combat that imperious race, and force it to endure the penalty of equality. Let us tell Europe, that if this nation draws the sword, it will throw away the scabbard, which it will not seek again till crowned with the laurels of victory; that if cabinets engage kings in a war against the people, we will rouse the people to a mortal strife with sovereigns." The ministry, none of whom were members of the Assembly, though all were of the constitutionalist party, were now thrust out, under the odium of being parties to a correspondence with foreign courts inimical to the interests of the French people. Necker had gone long before. Leading men in the ranks of the Girondists or republicans, among whom Roland and Dumouriez were the most conspicuous, succeeded to the vacant places. Lafayette and Bailly ceased to hold office at about the same time. At this stage of its history the government of France has been well-defined as a mongrel and monster constitution, with too much of a republic for a monarchy, and too much of a monarchy for a republic.

In England, meanwhile, the clash of discordant views on the character and tendency of the French revolution had produced results more serious than the sundering of political parties and the breach of personal ties among public men. On the one hand, many public speakers and writers, politicians and divines, held up the leading doctrines of the French revolution to the admiration and imitation of their countrymen; while, on the other side, the alarmists, following the lead of Burke, adopting his "Reflections" as their text-book, and stimulated by the ceaseless harangues of political theologians in the established church, raised the cry that church and state were in danger. Dr. Priestley, a distinguished Unitarian preacher, and eminent as a man of science and as an able writer on miscellaneous questions of the day, wrote a reply to Burke's famous "Reflections," in which he called in question political and religious establishments at home, and indulged in a flowery vision of the manifold blessings that would flow from the glorious movement among our continental neighbours; a movement in which he foresaw only the diffusion of liberty, virtue, and happiness, and the realisation of a political millenium for all nations. To the same effect were his "Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham," where he resided, and where he held a prominent place in a local association in sympathy with the revolution in France. On the 11th of July a seditious handbill called attention to the meeting appointed for the 14th, and invited the friends of freedom to assemble and commemorate the destruction of that high altar and castle of despotism, the Bastille; to remember that their own parliament was venal and corrupt; the clergy legalised oppressors; and the crown too weighty for the head that wore it. This inflammatory address excited a great ferment in the town. The magistrates offered a reward of a hundred guineas for the discovery of the author of it. The promoters of the forthcoming meeting promptly and explicitly disavowed any share in the act, or any sympathy with the seditious teachings of the handbill. Priestley and others prudently gave up the intended celebration. But nearly a hundred of their party adhered to their original purpose; these met at the appointed time at a tavern, where they dined, and gave expression to their views in favour of French liberty. The affair passed off quietly and the company separated; but a counter demonstration by some indiscreet opponents of the revolution society gave rise to most deplorable and disastrous results. The rival commemorations were held in two neighbouring taverns, and mobs gathered about each house, ripe for mischief. The energy of the rabble, contrary to its usual course, took in this instance the side of the magistrates, who gave tokens of approval when some of the retiring guests of the other party were greeted with hisses, groans, and shouts of "Church and king!"—the watchword on this occasion among the tumultuous crowd. On this slight encouragement the rabble made a rush into the tavern from which the admirers of French liberty had just emerged, calling out that they "wanted to knock the powder out of Priestley's wig." Not finding the obnoxious doctor, they made havoc of the furniture and smashed the windows. Then a fresh current for their destructive humour was suggested by a foolish friend of law, order and orthodoxy. "Go to the meeting-house," was the hint given to the spoilers, and they promptly acted upon it. Within an hour Priestley's chapel and another large meeting-house were in flames, and the mob was on its way to the doctor's residence, a mile and a half out of town. Fortunately for the inmates they were warned in time to escape; the dwelling itself was plundered and burnt, together with an extensive library and a valuable collection of scientific apparatus and manuscripts.

Other burnings and plunderings occupied the rabble for three full days, the victims in every instance being members of dissenting communions in and near Birmingham. The magistrates engaged additional constables to stem the riot, but to no purpose. They also tried the effect of a placard, addressed to "Friends and Brother Churchmen," in which they urged a discontinuance of burnings and plunderings, on the thrifty plea that restitution would have to be made at the expense of the parishes in which the despoiled and ruined dwellings were situated. Tranquillity was only restored on the arrival of some squadrons of light dragoons from Nottingham. Many of the rioters were brought to trial. It was difficult to get evidence, but three men were convicted and suffered the extreme penalty of the law. The rabble who perpetrated this wanton destruction, carried with them, it must be confessed, the tacit if not the open encouragement of less ignorant, and therefore less excusable fanatics, who indulged their intolerance under the pretext of loyalty and religion.

Late in the year Talleyrand visited London at the instance of the French government, though not as a formally accredited representative. His mission was to learn the state of public opinion, to sift the views of statesmen, and to disarm distrust and alarm as to the changes brought about in his own country. War was looming in the near future. Roland and Dumouriez were anxious to conciliate England and insure its neutrality. But Talleyrand met little or no encouragement in his attempts to ingratiate himself with official people and high political society in London. He returned early in the spring of 1792 to Paris, but came again almost immediately to London, as principal negotiator in a full embassy, the nominal chief of which was Chauvelin. Two men of letters were included in the suite, one of whom, Dumont, was then garnering materials for his history of the revolution. He tells that Garat, his companion in the ride from Dover, was enthusiastic in his praises of the tokens of prosperity and happiness which everywhere met his gaze. In contrasting the neatness of dress and contented air of the Kentish peasantry with the misery and rags he had just before noted among the country people of Picardy, he exclaimed: "Ah! what a pity, what a pity, if they set about to revolutionise this fine country! When will France be as happy as England?"

The parliament of Great Britain began its session of 1792 on the last day of January. The speech from the throne dwelt, as in the two previous years, on the marked prosperity of the nation, and the influence of that prosperity in confirming the attachment of the people to a constitution which happily combined in harmonious action the principles of liberty and order. Foreign affairs were spoken of as presenting hopeful auguries for a long continuance of peace, so far as England was concerned, and the belief was expressed that reductions might speedily be effected in the naval and military expenditure of the kingdom. The debates on the address traversed much of the ground that had been taken up in the previous year. Fox and his friends again blamed ministers for their jealousy of Russia, and Pitt again furnished satisfactory reasons for sleepless vigilance in checking Russian encroachments. He was deeply impressed with the fact that the interest and the honour of England demanded an ever watchful attention to the principle of preserving the balance of power in Europe, lest the preponderance of any one state should afford it the opportunity of crushing the rest. For a century past the Turks had proved themselves effective allies or formidable enemies as the case might happen; it was clear the ruin or depression of the Ottoman empire would immensely disturb the existing equipoise, and endanger the safety of many states. The Russians had long aimed at the sovereignty of the Black Sea and its shores. Should they succeed in acquiring possession of the Turkish ports, they would thus gain a basis on which to found a naval power of the first magnitude, dangerous to Europe at large, and perhaps fatal to that prosperity which was secured to Britain by the predominance of its fleets. On these grounds he held it to be incumbent on any English minister to oppose all obstacles to the dismemberment of the Turkish dominions, and in every way to check the progress of Russian encroachment. Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Liverpool, made an effective maiden speech on the ministerial side, taking a review of our foreign relations generally, and contending that the restless ambition of Russia would thenceforward make that power our chief anxiety. As respects France, he ventured on the rash prediction that her strength and influence were now utterly at an end, and England might at once and for ever dismiss all apprehensions of harm from her ancient and once formidable rival. The same sentiment in regard to France evidently possessed the minds of many leading statesmen in this country. Pitt's comments on the topics of the royal speech turned chiefly on the section relating to improvements in the national income. After dwelling in considerable detail on the agreeable theme, he confidently asserted that there never was a time in the history of this country when, from the aspect of continental affairs, fifteen years of peace might more safely be counted upon than at the moment of his speaking. The whole speech was replete with gratifying statements illustrating the constant growth in the resources of the nation, which the eloquent minister traced to their causes in the natural energy and industry of the people, the recent prodigious advance in productive power of the country through the development of machinery, the enterprise of its merchants, and the accumulation of capital. He added: "From the result of the whole I trust I am entitled to conclude that the scene which we are now contemplating is not the transient effect of accident, not the shortlived prosperity of a day; but the general and natural result of regular and permanent causes. Though we may yet be subject to those fluctuations which often occur in the affairs of a mighty nation, and which it is impossible to calculate or foresee, yet, as far as reliance can be placed on human speculations, we have the best ground, from experience of the past, for looking with satisfaction on the present, and with confidence toward the future."

The close of the year supplied a background of deep shade to temper the dazzling brightness of Pitt's picture of its dawn. Fox rendered the tribute of a genial and generous spirit to the majestic eloquence and sound political philosophy of his rival. He accepted, without reservation, Pitt's enumeration of the causes of the prevailing prosperity. Sheridan, however, denied that the circumstances of the time warranted any remission of taxes, and held it incumbent on government to employ the anticipated surplus in reducing the burden of debt. The money bills, founded upon the budget, passed the Commons without any serious opposition. A subsequent bill provided that one per cent. of all new stock created by the raising of loans should be applied to the increase of the sinking fund established in 1786. In the Lords this measure was roundly abused by the surly Chancellor Thurlow, who declared the scheme to be nugatory and impracticable, adding: "The inaptness of the project is only equalled by the vanity of the attempt." Some further explosions of this sort against his political chief provoked the dismissal of the insubordinate chancellor before the close of the session. Early in April Wilberforce brought forward his annual motion for the immediate abolition of the slave-trade. In the preceding two months upwards of five hundred petitions had been presented to parliament against the inhuman traffic. Pitt made a magnificent speech in favour of the motion, but declined, as in previous years, to make it a cabinet question. Dundas proposed a gradual instead of an immediate abolition, in order to ease the planters from the inconvenience of a sudden derangement of their business. This was carried, after several unsuccessful attempts to fix a date. Delays in the Lords gave slave-owners a respite from any definite measure till the following year.

Parliamentary reform again came under discussion. On the 30th of April Mr. Charles Grey—the same persistent reformer who, under the title of Lord Grey, carried the Reform Bill forty years later—gave notice of a motion for reform in the representation of the people. Pitt, as in the previous year, contended that the time was inopportune. The present season, he asserted, was nowise fitted for hazardous experiments. Could it be forgotten what lessons had recently been given to the world in a neighbouring state? Referring to the various new political associations, whose members sought to bring about extensive changes in the constitution, he was deeply concerned to see in the lists of members the names of men who made no secret of their hostility to the very groundwork of our government; who desired the abolition of monarchy, hereditary succession, and all the cherished foundations of order and subordination in a state. To the end of his days he would oppose all efforts in that direction, and rather than hazard the national well-being by rushing into violent changes, he would renounce for ever his former hopes of parliamentary reform. Fox followed with the remark that the applause bestowed on the speech of the minister showed clearly enough that the subject was not popular within the walls of parliament. Out of doors, however, the question was regarded in a very different light, and unless some concessions were made to the reasonable demands of the people, the task of preserving public tranquillity would not be easy. As an illustration of the fact that the proceedings of the House were at times at variance with public feeling, rather than a true reflection of the national sentiment, he referred to the recent armament designed to act against the Russians. The House was in favour of war, and voted the funds for it; but the country pronounced for peace, and ministers, despite their large majorities, were awed into neutrality. The people were nevertheless paying for an armament for which they had given no consent. Within a few days of this debate ministers issued a royal proclamation against seditious writings, and against correspondence on the part of political societies with foreign associations. Magistrates were exhorted to the vigilant exertion of their powers for the discovery and punishment of the offenders; and the people, to obedience and co-operation. On the 25th of May a resolution was passed in the Commons, expressing concurrence in the objects of the proclamation; but the obvious risk of great abuse of power in fettering the freedom of the press called forth many energetic protests. Grey indulged in bitter comments on Pitt's desertion of his earlier principles and professions, asserting that his later policy was a constant tissue of contradictions; that he promised everything and performed nothing; that he never kept his word with the people, and was a thorough apostate to his old political creed. Fox followed in a strain nearly as pungent, but Pitt was not to be moved from the placid calm which he so well knew how to preserve in worse storms than this. In the House of Lords the most remarkable speech on this subject was made by the prince of Wales, who had hitherto been a firm supporter of Fox, but now passed over to the side of Burke. He held that the matter at issue appeared to be whether the constitution was or was not to be maintained; "whether the wild notions of untried theory were to conquer the wholesome maxims of established practice; and whether those laws under which we had flourished for so long a term of years, were to be subverted by a pretended reform, which the people would not sanction. As a person nearly and dearly interested in the happiness of the people, he should feel it treason against his own principles if he did not declare his disapprobation of those seditious publications which had occasioned the present motion. On this basis he voted for a concurrence with the Commons in their wise and salutary address." The style of this first oratorical effort of his royal highness in the House of Peers savours strongly of Burke. The resolution passed without a division in both Houses, and ministers lost no time in taking action under it. Thomas Payne fled to France to avoid the penalties in store for him, and was forthwith elected a member of the National Convention. Supplementary to this movement against disturbers of public order, a bill was passed establishing a paid magistracy for London, and providing for the more prompt suppression of whatever had a visible tendency to disturb the peace. In lieu of the ordinary, and too often inefficient, justices of the peace, stipendiary magistrates were appointed; constables were invested with authority to take into custody any suspected persons who could not give a satisfactory account of themselves; the persons so arrested could be committed as vagabonds after examination before a magistrate. Lord Rawdon renewed, but without success, the attempt of the previous year to soften the rigour of the law affecting insolvent debtors. Fox carried his measure enabling juries to decide on the law of a case as well as on mere questions of fact. He was less successful in a motion for the relief of dissenters from certain disabilities laid upon them by old statutes, his opponents retorting to his charge of intolerance by quotations from the writings of Priestley and other dissenters, in proof of their avowed purpose to uproot the established church, and introduce French principles into the constitution. On the 16th of June came the prorogation speech, in which the king deplored the outbreak of fresh hostilities on the continent. This referred to the invasion of Poland by the Russians, and the first collision between the Austrian army and the revolutionary forces on the eastern frontier of France. The bearing of our own government towards that of France had long been such as to betoken an early rupture; but neutrality was still on the lips of statesmen, notwithstanding that the intense ferment in the public mind left little prospect that the country could long be kept out of the coming struggle.

The autumn of this year was signalized by enormous over-speculation in canal shares. The success of canals recently constructed engendered a fever heat to promote new projects of the sort in all directions. But shares which rose to a fabulous premium before any actual outlay was incurred in construction, were suddenly reduced to a small fraction only of their original price, through the shocks and alarms of political events which came in with hurricane force to disturb the finances of the country. Multitudes were ruined by these rash speculations.

Events in France continued to fix the earnest attention of all classes, and to furnish ever fresh material for excitement and the clash of jarring opinion. Moderate men seceded from the political associations which drew their inspiration from Paris; but such desertions, far from tempering the rashness of those who remained, seemed rather to quicken the indiscreet zeal of not a few of the too ardent disciples of the new political philosophy. At the same time, however, loyal associations, promoted by the landed gentry and clergy, sprung up in many towns and villages, and zealously counteracted the labours of the revolutionary societies. On either side, as usual in such cases, there were zealots whose extreme aims in opposite directions were equally injurious to the cause of rational reform. Meanwhile, some of the evil fruits of French liberty were impressing this and other nations with ample grounds for distrust. The prisons and streets of Paris were crimsoned with the blood of thousands of murdered priests and gentlemen, whose only crime was one not named in any statute book—the suspicion that they were unfriendly to a government which had despoiled them of their birthright and sealed the ruin of their order. Throngs of the exiles in London, including many clergymen, were without proper clothes, having hurried over in mean disguises, that exposed them as much to the derision as to the compassion of the populace. Somewhat later the wants of these sufferers exceeded the reach of private benefactions, and parliament voted a monthly subsidy of 8000*l.* towards their maintenance, with the entire approval of the public at large.

Continental affairs now claim some attention. The war between Russia and Turkey was at an end. Two of the sovereigns, who, in the early months of the year, meditated an armed intervention in the affairs of France, were removed by death in the month of March. Gustavus III., king of Sweden, was shot at a masked ball, by Ankerstroem, one of the insurgent nobles whose privileges were abrogated by the king and the nation three years before. His successor was a boy of tender age. The cautious and pacific Leopold, brother of the queen of France, had but recently attained the dignity of kaiser when death removed him from the scene of expected strife. He was succeeded by Francis II., his eldest son, who exhibited none of the hesitation of his father in meeting the inevitable collision with revolutionary France. The year was eventful in the number of unlikely political combinations and disruptions to which it gave birth. Nations that had been foes for generations, buried their traditional animosities and became fast friends. Prussians and Austrians fought shoulder to shoulder against Frenchmen; Russians shared with Prussians the spoils of conquest, and purchased the forbearance of their old allies, the Austrians, by yielding to them also large provinces, of which they robbed a sister kingdom. Before the close of the year unhappy Poland was dismembered, and allotted among her ravenous neighbours. The crime which the monarchs of Russia, Prussia, and Austria thus severely chastised, was that the Polish nation, with the concurrence of its king, had dared to adopt a free constitution, under which there were to have been a legislature, consisting of two chambers, toleration for all forms of religious belief, equality of civil rights, and an hereditary, instead of an elective, crown. A system of government so alien to all the instincts of despotism, was intolerable to the Empress Catherine, and scarcely less offensive to her brother despots. The nascent liberties and the independence of Poland were smothered under the irresistible weight of this monster conspiracy of tyrants, against which the opponents of democratic tyranny raised no protest. Burke applauded the rational change in the government of Poland, and lamented the cruel fate which blighted its fair prospects; but he scouted with his fiercest oratory the suggestion that England and France should make common cause in preventing the ruin of Polish independence. The war between France and Austria began in April. Dumouriez had insisted for some time that every day's delay strengthened the force to be confronted, and that France ought to strike the first blow while the Netherlands were still in a mood to resist the Austrians and side with the French troops. Energetic protests from the Assembly were fulminated against the gatherings of armed emigrants at Coblentz, Treves, and Brussels, and against the increasing armaments of the Austrians all along the eastern frontier of France. The young emperor, Francis II., notified that his warlike preparations would not cease unless the French nation renounced the changes adopted in its form of government since June 1789, restored the property of the church, and cancelled its other revolutionary work. The anger of the people, fierce enough already, was stimulated to the pitch of frenzy by the presumption of the Austrians in thus insisting that they must undo the work of the revolution. Louis had no choice but to fall in with the universal sentiment of the nation; he appeared in the Assembly and announced his desire that war might be declared; the proposal was forthwith adopted with acclamation. The first collision between the untried revolutionary soldiers and the disciplined Austrian troops was adverse to the former, who took to flight in the most ignominious style, altogether out of keeping with their national character for bravery. The prospect of invasion roused a fierce spirit in Paris and all the large towns. The capital was held to be in danger, and a cry arose for a camp in the outskirts of Paris, in which should be assembled federals from the provinces. These were military levies of a lower social stamp than the National Guard, who, for the most part, were of the well-to-do citizen and shopkeeper class, while the federals were drawn from the ranks of operatives of every sort. The National Guard now represented the strength of the constitutional party; the federals were the most furious revolutionists in the nation; and in any collision between the established authorities and the populace, would be sure to side with the latter, and turn their arms against the National Guard. The middle classes, under a sense of their own danger, were now for rallying round the throne, and stemming the tide of the wild democracy which would carry the sway when allied with a vast gathering of federals in and near the capital. But their caution came too late. The Parisian mob had by this time acquired a sort of discipline in insurrectionary movement, or rather the leaders of the revolution had gained experience in exciting the populace, and directing its movements with effect. When the king ventured to exercise his veto against a decree of the Assembly for the formation of a federal camp near Paris, and another for the banishment of non-juring and disaffected priests, the republican party, comprising the Jacobins and Girondists, addressed themselves in inflammatory harangues to the mob, and got up menacing petitions and alarming demonstrations, with the object of intimidating the court and the constitutional party into compliance. These preachers of sedition taught their too docile disciples in the Faubourg St. Antoine that Louis Capet, by his single will and word, stopped the raising of a federal army in order that the enemies of France might march unopposed on Paris; that he discharged all ministers who were friends of the people; that he encouraged aristocrats and priests, the sworn enemies of the revolution, and allies of the Austrians. A general arming of the people was everywhere insisted on. Pikes were fabricated in thousands, and distributed in quarters already ripe for insurrection. On the 26th of June, the anniversary of the tennis-court gathering in 1789, a rabble of thirty thousand men and women, under the direction of Sauterre the brewer, half of them carrying pikes or other weapons, passed in procession, with music, tricoloured streamers, and emblems with inscriptions, first to the hall of the Legislative Assembly, and thence to the palace of the Tuileries. They broke into the palace and thronged into its largest hall, where the king met them with a calm and courageous demeanour, demanding to know their wants. They insisted that he should give up his veto, pass the decrees against the unsworn priests, and consent to the establishment of the federal camp. Threats, insults, and ribald jests were showered in quick succession upon the helpless king and his family, but the amazing self-command with which Louis confronted the trying ordeal put the mob into good humour. Rudeness of the most aggravated kind, but no act of actual violence, marked the whole course of their intrusive visit. Great indignation was felt and expressed throughout the country at this outrage. Lafayette came to Paris with an address from the army under his command in Belgium, obtained leave to appear in the Assembly, and demanded an inquiry into the origin of the late excesses, and the punishment of their instigators. The Jacobins thereupon denounced him as an enemy of the people. The ferment now grew daily hotter and hotter between the friends of order, now in a minority, and the republican party. But the struggle between order and anarchy was of brief duration. Many of the departments sent up fierce bands of federals in defiance of the king's refusal to sanction the revolutionary camp. And now the constitutionalists retired before the avalanche of democratic violence; the Assembly, governed entirely by the Jacobins, pronounced the country in danger; the prisons were quickly thronged with royalists; and a cry was raised for the dethronement of the king. The allies, meanwhile, had passed the frontier, and were threatening an advance on Paris. The duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussian army of seventy thousand men, added to the fiery ferment in the national mind by an injudicious manifesto, in which the Assembly and municipal authorities were commanded to liberate their sovereign, and undo the work of the revolution. The proclamation further reproached the usurpers of authority with the many deeds of violence perpetrated at their instigation by insurgent mobs; declared it to be the fixed purpose of the allies to arrest the progress of anarchy, and restore the legitimate authority of the French king; and threatened exemplary vengeance, and the destruction of Paris, as the inevitable punishment of further outrages on the royal family.

This ill-judged menace exasperated the insurgents to fury. They accepted it as the programme of their mortal enemies, the court party, whom they were now bound to destroy in order to secure their own existence. The dethronement of the king was clamorously discussed in the clubs, and on the 3rd of August a deputation, headed by Pétion, attended at the bar of the Assembly, and demanded that Louis should be deposed. This was the aim of the Girondists, or republican party, who contemplated nothing in the way of bodily hurt to the royal family, but simply the abolition of the royal office. The Jacobins had other views. They were bent on the extirpation of the family in which the principle of royalty was visibly embodied, and on the destruction of the political party, the constitutionalists, who still adhered to the theory of monarchical government. They were now busy organising one of the greatest crimes ever perpetrated in a civilised state—a crime so hideous that we gladly draw a veil over its worst horrors, as not directly appertaining to the history of our own land. On the evening of the 9th of August, the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, and the club of the Cordeliers, resounded with the cry "To arms!" The fierce federals from Marseilles formed the nucleus of an insurgent crowd that gathered through the night at different points of rendezvous. At midnight the tocsin sent forth its sound of alarm. The National Guard assembled at their posts, but they soon proved to be but half-hearted men, quite as likely to betray, as to stand by the cause of order. At an early morning hour on the 10th the insurgent columns began their march to the beat of drums and the stirring strains of that famed Marseillais chorus, which blends an elevated patriotism with a hideous ferocity. The authorities of various kinds were assembled at their several posts, but they seemed to be spell-bound for any effective service on that night of terror. The insurgents made short work of the civic powers at the Hôtel de Ville. The municipality was expelled, and a magistracy of violent demagogues installed in its place, with the title of the *commune*. The defence of the approaches to the Tuileries belonged to the National Guard. So far from resisting the attack of the armed mob, they passed over to the ranks of the assailants. The Assembly met in their hall at the first alarm, but that section of it which alone was loyal to the king, and friendly to the maintenance of the new constitution, kept away, and consulted its own safety in concealment or flight. Mandat, colonel of the National Guard, received orders early in the morning to quit his post, and repair to the Hôtel de Ville to take instructions. He obeyed, and was murdered at the doorway of the hotel, the dupe of a stratagem by which the insurgents succeeded in disarranging the plans for the defence of the palace. At early dawn the mob swarmed in thousands about the Tuileries, and after a time forced a way into its courts and gardens. The National Guard scarcely made a show of resistance, and soon mingled with the pouring tide of invaders, or withdrew out of harm's way. The Swiss guard, eight hundred in number, were charged with the defence of the interior of the palace, and they faithfully performed their trust. Just before the assailants and defenders joined in actual conflict, the king and his family, under escort of some National Guards and the newly installed officials from the Hôtel de Ville, passed out by one of the approaches that chanced not to be obstructed like the rest, and took refuge in the midst of the Assembly. In his hurried and confused flight, the king gave no orders about the defence of the palace, but he sent from the Assembly a message for the Swiss guards to withdraw, and take post at the Assembly. About two hundred of them passed out, under fire of the insurgents, and made their way as directed. The rest of the faithful Swiss, with some royalist gentlemen, who had made their way in the night to the palace to assist in any emergency, withdrew from the outer courts, and occupied the stairs, passages, and most accessible rooms. At about nine o'clock a strong column of federals and pikemen forced their way into the inner court, and a party of them entered the vestibule, and began to pull away some furniture and planks that were placed as a barricade to the staircase. The Swiss on the stairs now attacked the aggressors, and killed or drove out this first body of them. But swarming throngs of pikemen came forward, mingled with bodies of Marseillais and other federals, and a fierce and bloody strife occupied the next two hours. In that interval every one of the Swiss perished, fighting heroically, and contesting step by step each part of the palace. All the office-bearers about the court, priests and laymen of various grades, and such gentlemen or soldiers as fell alive into the clutches of the fierce mob, were summarily butchered. Then followed a general pillage and destruction throughout the apartments of the palace. The assailants lost three thousand men in the attack. The bloody work was soon followed by deeds of horror, in comparison with which this day's achievements lose their blackness. As a prelude to the wholesale massacres of royalists shortly to follow, the king was now deposed by a decree of the assembly, and immured with his family in a building called the Temple. It was further decided to call a national convention to settle the form of future government. A new ministry, meanwhile, was appointed on the authority of the assembly, composed exclusively of republicans. Danton, the leading orator of the Jacobins, the instigator of the most lawless proceedings in the past, and the director of some of the most awful atrocities yet to follow, was now installed in the high dignity of minister of justice! His principal colleagues were Roland, Servan, Clavière, and Lebrun. Petion was reinstated as mayor of Paris, the post from which he had been suspended for his culpable connivance with the outrage at the Tuileries on the 20th of June. Danton had a complete ascendancy in the commune, which indeed was of his creation. The commune wielded the mob, and evil work in abundance was forthwith provided for that many-headed monster. Lafayette made some ineffectual attempts to raise a revolt of his soldiers against the provisional government. Failing in this, he sought safety in flight, but fell into the hands of the Austrians, who imprisoned him. The commander of another division of the army opposed to the invaders was dismissed, and Dumouriez obtained the command of both. Large reinforcements were sent to him. Meanwhile the Prussians advanced and took possession of Verdun, a step which was regarded as the certain prelude to their victorious advance on Paris. The assembly addressed the people in stirring words, inciting them to patriotic exertions in voluntary labour on the entrenchments, and other defensive works round the capital. The commune, under the guidance of Danton, took its own course, uncontrolled by the assembly or the ministry, in dealing with such inhabitants of Paris as were either known, or thought to be, in sympathy with the invaders. On the pretence of searching for arms, the commune ordered every citizen to be within his own house at and after six o'clock in the evening of the 29th of August. The real object of the house-to-house visitation was to secure the persons of the royalists. Before dawn of day the prisons were thronged with destined victims of an awful fate. On the 2nd of September the city was startled with the peal of the tocsin, and the firing of cannon. Danton announced in the assembly that the tocsin was not the signal of alarm; it was only the signal under which the commune was about to attack the enemies of the country. Later in the day word was brought to the assembly that the mob had massacred two hundred priests in one of the prisons, and were crowding round the gates of the other prisons. No serious attempt was made to stay the slaughter. The assassins were headed by Cerat, an intimate associate of the pitiless Danton, and the bloodthirsty Robespierre. The first victims, the two hundred clergymen of various grades, from bishops downwards, were confined in an old convent, the gates of which were forced by the murderous band. Then pistol, dagger, pike, and knife, were brought to bear on the terrified priests, who were slain in their cells, the garden, the cloisters, or wherever found. Members of the commune held a sham trial at other prisons, such as the Abbaye, and La Force, which consisted simply in identifying each prisoner before this mock tribunal, from entries in the prison registers. At the Abbaye the invariable sentence pronounced by the pretended judge was, "To the prison of La Force." This was the appointed signal, or death-warrant; the unsuspecting prisoner no sooner passed into the courtyard than he was butchered. At the prison of La Force the sentence was similarly expressed, in words designed to cheat each victim into the belief that he was to be merely transferred to the Abbaye. The Princess Lamballe, a beautiful and most accomplished lady, the intimate friend of the queen, was among the slaughtered. Her head was cut off by a fiendish wretch, and carried exultingly on a pike under the very windows of the chamber where Marie Antoinette remained in durance. With tiger-like ferocity the assassins stayed not their hands from the work while a single prison remained tenanted. As if to deprive themselves, to the end of time, of any excuse or palliation of their savagery, they ruthlessly massacred prisoners whose offences were in no degree connected with politics. The Bicetre prison contained several thousands of persons, mostly of the lowest social grades, confined for a variety of misdemeanours. "This prison," says Peltier, a French writer, "might be called the receptable of every vice; it was a hospital, also, for the cure of the foulest and most loathsome diseases. It was the sink of Paris. Every captive there was put to death. It was impossible to calculate the victims, but I have estimated them at six thousand. The work of death never ceased for an instant during eight days and nights! Pikes, swords, and guns, not being sufficient, they had recourse to cannon to exterminate the captives. Then, for the first time, were prisoners seen fighting for their dungeons and their chains. In this instance the wretched victims turned upon their murderers with all the energy of despair, and thus retarded pitiless slaughter. The assassins had the audacity to send to their masters, the commune, a request for military aid, to help them in quelling the fierce resistance of their multitudinous victims. In the aggregate, not less than eight thousand perished in this hideous butchery, the authorities making no attempt to stay the bloody work, although the city had then within its bounds some fifty thousand troops, and the legislative body was in daily session. The wretches who planned these wholesale atrocities were proud of their handiwork, and held it up to the imitation of the provincial towns. A sort of manifesto was issued by the Paris commune, to which were attached the signatures of Marat and six other officials, who constituted *the committee of surveillance*, urging the municipalities throughout France to follow the example of the capital. This document, after gloating over the bloody work still in progress in the Paris prisons, gave to the French people the warrant for like atrocities elsewhere, and supplied the following sedative to the national conscience:—"Apprised that barbarous hordes are advancing against it, the commune of Paris hastens to inform its brethren, in all the departments, that part of the ferocious conspirators confined in the prisons, have been put to death by the people—acts of justice which appeared to it indispensable for repressing by terror the legions of traitors encompassed by its walls, at the moment when they were about to march against the enemy; and, no doubt the nation, after the long series of treasons which have brought it to the brink of the abyss, *will eagerly adopt this* useful and necessary expedient; and all the French will say, like the Parisians—We are marching against the enemy, and we will not leave behind us brigands to murder our wives and our children." Such is the strain in which the municipal authorities of the first city in France could exult in the butchery of priests, women, and prisoners! The ministry and the assembly were dwarfed into insignificance before the terrific and fiend-like energy of the commune. But inhumanity was not universal in that God-forsaken land. In the provinces, the local authorities and the national guard interposed, in many instances, to stay the hands of miscreants bent on imitating the massacres in Paris. It is estimated, nevertheless, that three or four thousand perished in the prisons of the provincial cities. French historians have attempted to soften the hideous character of these foul massacres, by the suggestion of a variety of excuses and palliations. Some have urged that on the arrival of the foreign armies in the capital, the prisons were to be thrown open, and that the bulk of the prisoners would have purchased their pardon by serving the king, and crushing the patriots. Louis Blanc, in defiance of overwhelming testimony that fixes the guilt of long premeditation and arrangement on the leaders of the

Jacobins, broaches the absurd theory that the approach of the foreign armies stirred the people with a sudden and frenzied impulse, that vented its fury in a spontaneous and unpremeditated rush upon the prisons. Lamartine, however, claims no such excuse for the actors in those scenes of blood. He thus metes to each his due share in the indelible and inexpiable guilt:—"After having for a long time cast the blame upon a sudden and irresistible popular impulse, attempts have been made to limit the crime to a very few actors. History has no such complaisance: the conception of the massacres belongs to Marat, the approval and responsibility to Danton, the execution to the committee of surveillance, accompliceship to many, and cowardly tolerance to all. * * * A people who need to be intoxicated with blood to urge them to defend their country, is a nation of villains, and not a nation of heroes. Heroism is the opposite of assassination; and as for the revolution, its *prestige* was in its justice and morality; this massacre sullied it in the eyes of all Europe." The advance of the Prussians and Austrians, meanwhile, was brought to a sudden and unexpected halt. Dumouriez received reinforcements that brought his army up to seventy thousand men. After several retrograde movements, he took up an advantageous position on some high ground at Valmy, where he repulsed an attack of the allies. This small success inspired his army with a confidence it had not hitherto felt, in its ability to cope with veteran troops, that Frederick the Great had often led to victory. The nation at large was elated to a pitch of enthusiasm. The immediate effect was such as to afford an excellent illustration of the French proverb, "Nothing is so successful as success." The Prussians relinquished their conquests in France, and retreated to Coblentz. Their losses from the ravages of dysentery were enormous; their failure to realize the great expectations that had been formed of them was irreparably damaging to their character. Burke thus expresses his intense disappointment at a sequel of insignificant performances following so speedily on the Duke of Brunswick's large promises and haughty menaces:—"The united military glory of Europe has suffered a stain never to be effaced." His indignation was nowise mollified by the circumstance that France was now a Republic. The Convention met on the 22nd of September; its first act was to decree the abolition of royalty, and the adoption of republican government. A quick succession of military triumphs and easy conquests in Belgium, Germany, and Italy, followed this second revolution, and encouraged the belief that they were due to the newborn vigour, energy, and enthusiasm to which the change gave rise. Dumouriez marched against the Austrians, beat them on the 6th of November in the bloody battle of Jemappe, and entered Brussels as a conqueror. He and his lieutenants were masters of the whole of the Austrian Netherlands before the close of the year. Another army, under Custine, took Mayence, Frankfort, Spier, Worms, and Treves; Savoy and Nice fell without a blow into the hands of a third army, which was to operate against the Austrian forces in Italy. The national exultation over these splended military successes had no softening influence on the vindictive rage with which the unfortunate Louis was regarded. Since the storming of the Tuileries, he and his family were close prisoners in the gloomy tower of the Temple. They had no other personal attendants than the republican Clery, the king's valet. When the Convention superseded the Legislative Assembly, the charge of the royal captives fell to the commune, a set of pitiless gaolers, who kept the king apart from his two children and the queen, except at their meals, and even then a municipal guard was present to prevent any form of confidential intercourse. Pens, ink, paper, and any probable instruments of suicide, were denied to the royal sufferers—precautions ominous of a dark purpose that was soon to be declared. The Convention decided to put the king upon his trial, and appointed a committee, who drew up an act of impeachment, charging him with conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and of attempts against the general security of the state. As if to defy all the kings of the earth, and scare them from any effort to avert the doom impending on the discrowned sovereign of France, the Convention passed a decree on the 19th of November, offering help to the enemies of kings in all countries, and proclaiming a brotherhood between the French revolutionists and the revolted subjects of monarchs throughout the world. The Convention consisted almost exclusively of republicans, who, however, were by no means unanimous in their views on the form which republicanism ought to take in its application to the government now to be shaped for France. They were divided into two main sections on the first great question to be disposed of—what should be done with the deposed king. These were the Girondists, who desired the condemnation, but not the death, of the king; and the terrorists of the mountain, that is, the Jacobins, who filled the raised seats in the hall of assembly, who were bent on raising an impassable barrier, an irrevocable division, between the ancient order of things and the sovereignty of the people. The terrorists, strengthened by the votes of the hesitating and timid among the other section of the convention, whose alarm for their own safety prompted them to side with the popular wish, carried the day. The sentence of death was communicated to Louis on the 20th of January. On the following morning he was hurried to the scaffold, where he met his fate with the resignation of a martyr. The surrounding rabble, spontaneously hushed into profoundest silence, must have heard with some pity and compunction his final words:—"I die innocent; I forgive my enemies; and you, unfortunate people!" Further utterance, if any, was drowned under the roll of drums. Three executioners seized the unfortunate prince, whose hands were already fastened together, and threw him down under the guillotine. The fatal blade descended, and consummated a long and awful tragedy, in which the oppressions and misrule of a long line of tyrants was visited on the head of a pious, harmless, and too compliant king.

In England public sentiment was fast maturing in the direction of taking part in the league against France. Parliament was convened on the 13th of December, three weeks earlier than the date first decided on. The royal speech dwelt on the efforts of his majesty's government to maintain a strict neutrality in the contest then raging; adverted to the aggressive policy of the *de facto* government of France; to its disposition to excite disturbances in neighbouring states, in disregard of the rights of neutral nations, and the engaging in wars of conquest and aggrandizement; on these grounds, the English Government felt obliged to augment the naval and military forces, as a precautionary and defensive measure, calculated both to maintain internal tranquillity and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving the blessings of peace. The coming breach of amity was yet more distinctly foreshadowed in the diplomatic correspondence between Lord Grenville, Foreign Secretary, and M. Chauvelin, who still remained in London, although the English ambassador had been withdrawn from Paris in August. On the 31st of December Lord Grenville states: "If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights." Pitt was earnestly anxious to preserve peace on any terms consistent with safety. Moderation, forbearance, entire sincerity, and an earnest clinging to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of France, mark the whole tenour of his public and private utterances up to the close of 1792. By this time, however, the higher and middle classes of English society had come to look upon war as the less of two evils, the greater being, in their alarmed imaginations, the possible spread of French principles among our own population. In their fear of their own disaffected countrymen, and of the danger of democratic opinions, they held the friendship of France to be a worse evil than its hostility. The well-to-do ranks at this time shared very generally in an opinion which Pitt only tardily and most reluctantly adopted, "that nothing but a vigorous and open hostility could afford complete and adequate security against revolutionary principles, while they retain a proportion of power sufficient to furnish the means of war." The execution of the king hastened the crisis. M. Chauvelin had been accredited to this country while his government was still a monarchy, at least in name. On his claiming to be received as minister plenipotentiary of the French Republic, Lord Grenville returned his documents, telling him he had therein assumed a title which could not be acknowledged. Angry remonstrance in rejoinder widened the breach, and transactions in France showed a design to go to war with this country. On the 31st of December the French Minister of Marine, in a letter addressed to the friends of liberty in the seaports, stated: "The government of England is arming. . . . The king and his parliament intend to make war against us. . . . We will make a descent on the island; we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty; we will plant there the sacred tree; and we will stretch out our arms to our Republican brethren. The tyranny of their government shall soon be destroyed." Two days after the death of Louis, the French envoy was ordered to quit the kingdom. On the 28th of January, a royal message informed the House of Commons of the necessity of further increase in the naval and military forces, to enable his majesty to maintain the rights and security of his own territories, discharge his treaty obligations to his allies, and oppose the aggressions of France. In the debate on this message (Feb. 1), Pitt made a detailed statement of the offensive line of conduct pursued by the French government towards neighbouring states, England among the rest; and stated it to be the conviction of his majesty's advisers that all hopes of an amicable understanding were at an end. He then moved an address to the king, expressing the concurrence of the House in the policy of preparing for war, and pledging it to make suitable provision for all exigencies. The following is the most material passage in the address, and the groundwork of the Opposition speeches:—"To assure his majesty that it is impossible for us not to be sensible of the views of aggrandizement and ambition, which, in violation of repeated and solemn professions, have been openly manifested on the part of France, and which are connected with the propagation of principles incompatible with the existence of all just and regular government; that, under present circumstances, we consider a vigorous and effectual opposition to these views as essential to the security of everything which is most dear and valuable to us as a nation, and to the future tranquillity and safety of all other countries." Fox was quite as hearty as Pitt in reprobating the execution of Louis, and the atrocities committed in the name of liberty. He, however, held that if the French chose to overturn their government, they were not thereby infringing any right of England, and we were accordingly not warranted in going to war with them for such a cause. He severely handled that part of the premier's speech which condemned those political principles that formed the groundwork of every equitable government, and were only blameworthy in their abuse, not in their rightful use. In conclusion, he added: "Let not the fatal notion go abroad that kings have an interest different from that of their subjects; that between those who have property and those who have none there is not a common cause and common feeling." Other speakers urged that French cruelties, provoked and excused by the invasion of the allied armies, and the Duke of Brunswick's haughty threats of vengeance, were not inadequate ground for war; that in respect to the balance of power, on the European system, this was a mere political fiction, and a pretext for meddling and interference, by which England was too often drawn into war for the benefit of other nations; that as to our treaty obligations towards Holland, then threatened with invasion, it was absurd that Great Britain should go to war for the purpose of securing to the Dutch the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt. It was known in advance that the large section of the Whigs who acknowledged Burke as their chief, were pledged to support the ministerial policy in respect to France. The address was carried without a division. Fox continued, nevertheless, to condemn a warlike policy, and laboured strenuously on many subsequent occasions in favour of negotiating for peace, insisting unremittingly that events in France afforded no proper warrant to our government for making every Englishman a sufferer, through the imposition of burdens for war purposes. Pitt was really averse to war, but the violence of public opinion carried him into it; he accepted the position, and acted up to it. On the side of France there was quite as little yearning for peace as in the British Parliament. The silly addresses of members of political societies in London; the exaggerated reports of the French envoy on the rapid spread of republican sentiments in England; the consequent belief among the novices in political life, who now held sway in Paris, that a large section of the English people would side against their own government in the coming contest; these considerations, coupled with the fierce republican fanaticism that was now aroused to fever heat, and eager for the fray with all who would thrust back upon them the institutions against which they had successfully rebelled, urged the French to take the initiative in the impending strife. They boldly accepted the challenge implied in hostile preparations on this side the Channel. On the very night when St. Stephen's was ringing with the oratory of Fox in favour of the maintenance of amicable relations, and against that address to the king which formed the warning note of coming war, the National Convention unanimously resolved on a declaration of hostilities against England and Holland.

Some of the closing days of the old year, and the opening of the new, were occupied in the passing of an alien bill, under which enlarged powers were conferred upon the executive for dealing with obnoxious or suspicious foreigners. This was a precautionary measure, aimed chiefly at emissaries from the revolutionary societies in Paris. In the course of the debates on this bill occurred what is known as the "dagger scene," in which Burke, the great orator and political philosopher, made a fool of himself, greatly to the chagrin of his friends, and the uproarious delight of his political opponents. A Birmingham manufacturer had received an order for the supply of three thousand daggers. He repaired to London, took the sample with him, and gave information to the government, under the impression that so unusual a demand was connected with some contemplated atrocity on the part of the out-and-out admirers of French liberty, equality, and fraternity. The weapon was shown to Burke, then on his way to the House. He asked, and obtained leave to carry it with him. In the course of his speech that night in favour of the bill, he declaimed against the perfidious and sanguinary acts of the revolutionists. The boundary line between the sublime and the ridiculous is not a broad one. Burke crossed it at a bound. Drawing the weapon from his pocket, he held it up to the astonished gaze of the assembled senators, and then flung it fiercely on the floor, exclaiming, "That is what you are to gain by an alliance with France. Wherever their principles are introduced their practice will follow. You must equally proscribe their persons and their tenets from your shores."

The war with Tippoo Sultan, into which Lord Cornwallis had been drawn greatly against his will in 1790, was brought to a close on terms highly advantageous to the English, in the spring of 1792. Some of the incidents of this war belong to preceding years, but mention of them has been deferred until the completed transaction could be described as a whole. The act for the regulation of Indian affairs passed just before Cornwallis became governor-general of India, laid down as a principle that, "To pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of England. To this principle the new governor-general loyally adhered as long as it was possible to do so without sacrificing existing interests of his country in the East. But Tippoo Sultan, the implacable foe of the English, engaged in schemes of extensive conquest, and misinterpreting the moderation of the English for timidity and weakness, disregarded all pacific attempts to keep him from his purpose. His forces ravaged the territory of Travancore, which was entitled, under a treaty, to the assistance of the British in such an emergency. In 1790 two armies were sent to operate against the unscrupulous and formidable ruler, of Mysore, and the tide of invasion was rolled back on his own territory. Early in 1791 Lord Cornwallis took the command in person, and penetrated into the heart of Mysore. Under his personal direction Bangalore was taken by storm on the 21st of March. Two months later the army reached Arikeram, nine miles from Seringapatam, and defeated the Mysoreans, who took refuge in the extensive fortifications of the capital. But Cornwallis had moved too fast for his allies the Mahrattas, or they were too tardy in their movements, and the army from Malabar under General Abercrombie had not yet reached its appointed rendezvous. Moreover the supplies of food both for man and beast proved utterly inadequate; terrible losses from famine were the consequence, and the army was too much weakened to attempt with any prospect of success the siege of the city. To his deep mortification, Cornwallis felt compelled to destroy his battering guns, and relinquish the attack of Seringapatam for that season. He had been only one day on his retreat when the Mahratta army joined him, without any previous notice, and brought an abundant supply of provisions and beasts of burden. But the implements for the siege no longer existed, so the retreat was continued. Early in 1792, however, he resumed the enterprise. The interval had been spent in the capture of numerous hill forts, thus opening up lines of communication. On the 5th of February the British and their allies, about 22,000 in all, encamped within six miles of Seringapatam. On the following morning Cornwallis reconnoitred the positions of the enemy, whose force was 40,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry. They were encamped under the walls of the city, occupying three strong lines of works and redoubts, the batteries of which mounted 300 guns. The English commander resolved to attack that night, with his own army only. Nothing was said to his allies, and at half-past eight in the evening the British moved forward to the attack in three columns, numbering altogether 8700 men. The impetuous and unexpected onset threw the Mysoreans into the utmost confusion. Large numbers were slain or dispersed, and the rest found shelter within the fortifications. Then began the usual preparations for a siege, but Tippoo made overtures for peace. He was evidently at the mercy of his foes, and was therefore fain to submit to very hard conditions. He ceded half his dominions to the English, and engaged to pay an indemnity of 3,000,000*l.* for the outlay to which he had put them. His two sons were surrendered as hostages for the performance of his engagements, and peace was concluded in the month of March. The ceded territories were partitioned among the allies, the share of the British being Malabar and Coorg. This humiliation of Tippoo was effected just twelve months before the war broke out between England and France. When tidings of the breach between the two governments reached India, a military force from Madras fell upon Pondicherry and the other French settlements, and quickly added them to the English possessions before the arrival of the republican emissaries who were accredited to the court of Tippoo, with the view to engage him in fresh enterprises against British rule.

With the exception of this Indian war, which scarcely disturbed the current of home affairs, and imposed no burden on tax-payers at home, England had now enjoyed ten years of peace. In that period of comparative repose the nation had husbanded its resources and recruited its strength. The exhaustion and depression inflicted by a league of envious and jealous nations in alliance with the insurgent Americans were now things of the past. The nation was braced for fresh conflict, and its resources were augmented rather than diminished since the severance of its great colonial dependencies. At the beginning of 1793 the navy numbered 411 vessels of all classes, including 115 ships of the line, but less than half were in commission. The army, however, was on a very diminished footing, having been reduced greatly in the preceding year. Even with the increment of 10,000 men, added in the course of the first campaign, the total was only 32,000, and of this about one-third was employed on colonial stations. Seamen and marines to the number of 45,000 were voted for the service of the year. Pitt formed at the outset a most inadequate idea of the magnitude of the contest in which the nation was embarking. He relied too confidently on the weakening influence of an unsettled and ever-fluctuating system of government on the efforts which France might exert in the war against a formidable confederacy. In this view he was by no means singular. None of the statesmen of Europe formed any conception of the indomitable energy and invincible strength of resistance, founded on terror and despair, such as were on the eve of being called into play on the part of republican France.

On the 11th of March the budget was laid before parliament. The expenditure was calculated at 11,000,000*l.*; the ordinary items of income at 8,300,000*l.* To cover the deficit and provide a surplus for war contingencies, a loan was resorted to. The sum borrowed was 4,500,000*l.*, on the very disadvantageous terms of 72*l.* cash for each 100*l.* stock at three per cent. Such was the first modest instalment of that huge mountain of debt which the war now commencing was to entail on remotest generations of Englishmen. In order to break up the correspondence that had for some years subsisted between the political clubs in Paris and their friends and admirers on this side the Channel, a bill was passed putting prohibitory restrictions on intercourse, and declaring it treasonable to supply the existing government of France with materials of war. Mr. Grey's motion this year on parliamentary reform was supported by arguments drawn from the very source which supplied its opponents with their never-failing ground of refusal to listen to any proposal in a crisis of revolutionary commotion. It was contended that the time for reform was opportune, as the contemplated measure would silence disaffection; that there was no preventive so certain, no safeguard so powerful, as an uncorrupted House of Commons, emanating fairly and freely from the people. To the want of this was owing the American war and the vast accumulations of the national debt; had this been accomplished last year, it might have staved off some serious present difficulties. No set of Britons, Grey urged, could, unless bereft of their senses, propose the French revolution as a model for imitation; but were such principles even likely to threaten danger, the surest way of preventing it was to promote the comfort and happiness of the people, to gratify their reasonable wishes, and to grant that reform which was so earnestly desired. Whitbread argued that recent events in France were mainly to be attributed to the feelings of the governed being outraged by the grinding oppression of their rulers. On the other side it was held that the contemplated changes would result in democratic ascendancy, the fruits of which were exhibited in the nation which was now rousing all Europe to an attitude of hostility. The motion was rejected by an overwhelming majority. On the 21st of June parliament was prorogued. The Irish parliament passed a bill, on the recommendation of the king, by which Catholics were enabled to exercise and enjoy all civil and military offices, all places of trust or emolument under the crown, and also, with some reservations, the elective franchise. But Catholics were still restricted from sitting or voting in either House of parliament, or from filling certain specified offices, including that of lord-lieutenant, lord chancellor, or judge in either of the three principal courts, keeper of the privy seal, secretary of state, lord-lieutenant of a county, privy councillor, master in chancery, and some other official posts. This small instalment of emancipation was not conceded until after many persevering efforts on the part of the Catholics, in the course of which a convention of delegates from the towns and counties made a public and formal disavowal of such obnoxious tenets as the right of the pope to excommunicate princes; the taking of oaths with a mental reservation, holding them not to be binding; and the infallibility of the pope; the executive government could not have made a larger concession at that time without risking an explosion on the part of the over sensitive Irish Protestants, who were still averse to entrusting their Catholic subjects any share of political power. Until this year they were in a sense shut out of the pale of citizenship. Henceforward they began to put in a claim to entire political and civil equality with Protestants—a consummation not fully attained until the lapse of thirty-five more years.

As preliminaries to the war now commencing, treaties of alliance were formed with the states already engaged in hostilities with France, and with others then on the eve of drifting into the general vortex. The treaty with Russia bound each contracting party to continue the contest until France should be forced to relinquish its conquests. That with Sardinia bound England to furnish a subsidy of 200,000*l.* per annum towards the support of 50,000 men for general service against the enemy. Hesse Cassel was similarly to be paid for keeping 8000 men in the field. Later in the year alliances of the same description were entered into with Naples, Spain, Prussia, Austria, Portugal, and Tuscany, by which the treasure of England was laid under heavy contribution, and the property of future generations heavily mortgaged for the promotion of objects in which the subsidised states had the largest interest, and towards which they too often failed to render any equivalent in actual service to the common cause. Separate and selfish interests, rather than single-minded devotion to the common object of the confederacy, soon drew several of the more powerful states aside from the prime objects of the coalition. Want of unity, and the absence of a master mind to take the lead in military movements and combinations, deprived the huge confederacy of fully half its strength. In the first campaign, however, fortune was pre-eminently favourable to the allies. In February the French marched from Antwerp into Holland, and rapidly made themselves masters of Breda and Gertruydenburg. Thus far their career in the Netherlands had been one series of easy and rapid successes. The tide now turned against them. They were repulsed in an attack on Williamstadt. The two regiments of English guards under the duke of York bore a conspicuous part in the defeat of French at this place. Lord Loughborough, who had succeeded Thurlow as chancellor in the month of January, ascribed the salvation of Holland, and even much larger consequences, to the effective aid rendered by this small British contingent. In the debate on the 22nd of April, on the third reading of the Traitorous Correspondence Bill, he took credit to the government for its brilliant military operations, asserting that "To the promptitude in sending out those few troops, under the able command of an illustrious personage, was to be ascribed that Holland was saved; that the French were defeated and driven back; that all Europe, from Petersburg to Naples, was delivered from the plunder, the confiscation, the rapine, the murder, the destruction of order, morality, and religion, with which it was threatened by the prevalence of French arms and French opinions." This of course was the merest rhodomontade. Other causes more exigent than the check at Williamstadt obliged the French to make a retrograde movement at this time. The Austrians, under the prince of Saxe-Coburg, made a vigorous and successful onslaught on the republican army at Aix-la-Chapelle, and improved their victory by a rapid advance into Belgium. There also they obtained several important successes over the French armies under Miranda and Miazinski. By this time Dumouriez had received orders from his political chiefs at Paris to withdraw from Holland and secure what remained of Belgium. The imperialists, elated by run of good fortune, followed up the retiring forces, and inflicted on Dumouriez himself a crushing defeat at Nerwinden. This obliged the French to evacuate Belgium. Meanwhile Dumouriez, like Lafayette, his predecessor in the same command, was meditating a reactionary movement. He aimed to rally the greater part of his army around the cause of constitutional government, as settled in 1789, and plotted with the Austrians with the view to a co-operative advance on Paris. Failing to gain the support of his soldiers, he fled for his life. After many years of exile elsewhere, he passed the remainder of his days in England, where he died in 1823. One of the companions of his flight was the young duke of Chartres, who, after many strange vicissitudes, ultimately became king of the French. The defection of Dumouriez occasioned a very frenzy of agitation in Paris. The Convention established an extraordinary tribunal, with powers over the life and property of all suspected persons. This was the infamous revolutionary tribunal. Soon afterwards all the fury of the revolution was centralised in the committee of public safety. There was no appeal from the terrible revolutionary tribunal, whose special function was to try all conspirators, counter-revolutionists, reactionists, royalists, aristocrats, and traitors. The guillotine received its daily quota of victims. Death was the only form of retribution, meted out alike to lukewarm adherents of the new government and courageous opponents of mob law. The committee of public safety consisted of nine members, who were armed with despotic powers, extending to all departments of public affairs, civil and military. The Girondists were now fiercely assailed as the accomplices of the traitor General Dumouriez. Robespierre in the Convention, and Marat in the Jacobin club and other popular assemblies, denounced by name Vergniaud, Petion, Brissot, Gaudet, and Gensonne. Fierce tumults followed. The mob was again brought into play by the Jacobins to inaugurate another revolution.

On the 2nd of June a huge insurgent multitude, under the lead of violent clubbists, surrounded the hall of the Convention. They sent in a deputation that denounced the Girondists as enemies of their country, and demanded their arrest and punishment. Twenty-two of the Girondist members were arrested and consigned to the judgment of the sanguinary revolutionary tribunal. The rest of the party sought safety in concealment or flight; but very few of them escaped the guillotine or other forms of violent death. The committee of public safety now became the supreme power in the state, and Robespierre, who guided all its acts, was absolute dictator. Scaffolds were set up throughout France.

Most of the forty-four thousand townships had their own separate revolutionary committees, after the model of that in the capital, consisting of twelve men chosen by universal suffrage, and charged with the duty of domiciliary visits, examining and arresting the suspected, and giving certificates of good citizenship to those whose political notions were on the approved level of the time. The dread of being suspected and immured in prisons which, in all likelihood, would be cleared as soon as filled by fresh massacres, operated as a powerful stimulant in the direction of revolutionary fervour. The action of terror imparted a new energy to all the forces at the disposal of the central authorities. The deluded people were easily persuaded that the stoppage of trade, the rise of prices, and all the miseries of the country, were due to the plots of aristocrats, and the enmity and hostility of king-governed states. They thereupon became possessed with a fierce fanaticism in favour of the extremest form of revolutionary government, however oppressive, simply because it was the opposite of the old order of things which they had uprooted. They responded with enthusiasm to the call of the Convention for a levy of three hundred thousand men to fight in the crusade of liberty. Defeat and disaster fell thick and fast upon them, but only to arouse them to new and almost superhuman efforts. After the desertion of Dumouriez, the whole eastern frontier became the scene of defeat and humiliation for the republican forces. Dampierre, who succeeded Dumouriez, gave battle to the allies in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes. He was killed and his army scattered. The English guards, under the duke of York, contributed materially to the result. Then commenced the siege of Valenciennes, under the direction of the duke of York. The town capitulated in July; Condé, which was also invested and its garrison starving, followed the example; the Prussians at the same time were driving the French out of all their acquisitions along the Rhine; the Spaniards obtained signal successes over republican armies posted at the foot of the Pyrenees; Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, Bordeaux, took up arms against the anarchists of Paris; and to crown all, a formidable insurrection in the Calvados and La Vendée supplied ample work for large republican forces. At this crisis the fiendish Marat, the arch-terrorist of those mad times, perished under the avenging hand of a political enthusiast of the gentler sex. Charlotte Corday, a descendant of the poet Corneille, formed the resolve to put to death the monster who had been chiefly instrumental in destroying the Girondists, the party with whom her earnest patriotic sympathies were enlisted. Taking counsel with nobody, she suddenly withdrew from her home at Caen, journeyed to Paris, gained access to the apartment in which Marat, while sitting in his bath, was occupied in his usual work of an incendiary journalist, and stabbed him in the breast with a poignard. The guillotine punished her crime, but that grim instrument of death had no terrors for her. She died glorying in the thought that she had rendered a great service to her country.

The brilliant success of the allies in the spring and summer were counterbalanced by disasters in the latter part of the year. This was due entirely to the want of unity of purpose. Dissensions sprang up between the Prussian and Austrian commanders. After driving the French from Mayence and neighbouring towns along the Rhine, conflicting aims and selfish objects on the part of the sovereigns paralysed the vigour of ensuing operations in that quarter. A large part of the Prussian army was withdrawn to secure the recently acquired provinces of Poland. The French thereupon mustered fresh forces, and in a succession of attacks through the autumn and winter recovered their lost ground. Then again the English, with the Hanoverian and Hessian contingents, after capturing Valenciennes, proceeded to besiege Dunkirk, while the Austrians, who had before been united with them, undertook the siege of Quesnoy. This division of forces gave the republicans an opportunity which they promptly turned to account. They made a concentrated attack on the besiegers at Dunkirk with overwhelming forces, and obliged the duke of York to beat a hasty retreat, after severe losses in men and material. The attempt on Dunkirk by the English was a grievous blunder, prompted by maritime jealousy. Had their army remained in combination with the Austrians, the united force of eighty thousand men would have been too formidable for the raw republican levies, however numerous, to make head against for many months to come; while the prestige of recent successes would have lent vigour to the royalists now in insurrection in many quarters. The dispersion of the duke of York's army meanwhile gave new heart to the discomfited republicans, who promptly opposed vigorous and simultaneous operations to the disjointed and dilatory movements of the allies. The issues involved in this unhappy lack of unity of purpose at a critical juncture are thus summed up by Alison, a writer not prone to lavish censure on the political party who framed and controlled the plan of operations conducted by the duke of York:—"The impartial historian must confess with a sigh that British interests interfered with the great objects of the war; and that by compelling her contingents to separate for the siege of Dunkirk, England contributed to postpone for twenty years its glorious termination. Posterity has had ample room to lament the error: a war of twenty years, deeply chequered with disaster; the addition of 600,000,000*l.* to the public debt; the sacrifice of millions of brave men, may be distinctly traced to this one unhappy resolution." The committee of public safety now exhibited unexampled energy and resource in raising and organising masses of ardent soldiers at this opportune moment of national exultation. The whole of France was declared in a state of siege; the authorities were empowered to take any steps needful for the public defence; and conscripts in myriads were enrolled and disciplined in entrenched camps and fortified towns. In an incredibly short time an enormous military force was developed, and the whole aspect of affairs was thenceforward entirely changed. The Vendean royalist insurgents supplied occupation for large republican armies during many months of this year. At length succour was sent to them from England. But this help came too late. When Lord Moira, with eight British battalions and ten thousand Hanoverians and emigrants, arrived on the shores of Brittany, the expected signals were nowhere displayed. The heroic fifty thousand peasants, after many sanguinary fights with the disciplined armies of the Convention, were destroyed, their country laid waste, their dwellings burned, their aged, their feeble, their women and children, mercilessly slaughtered. And when the silence of death and the quiet of the grave reigned over their desolated pastoral country, the town of Nantes, which had favoured their movement, was subjected to the hellish fury of the implacable republicans. The details of promiscuous slaughter of unarmed and helpless townspeople of all ages and conditions, by fusillades of musketry, discharges of grape-shot, and wholesale drownings, is heartrending and sickening.

The same horrors were inflicted on the inhabitants of Lyons, where the violent Jacobin terrorists had provoked a rising of the citizens against their atrocities. Girondists, royalists, constitutionalists, and moderates of every type, banded together for self-preservation against the Jacobin anarchists. A battle took place between the two sections, in which the Jacobins, who had possession of all the municipal offices, were overthrown, and the leaders condemned to the guillotine. But republican armies swarmed about the doomed city; the inhabitants made a brave defence for two whole months, enduring all the horrors of famine and bombardment. It was not until shelter was scarcely to be found in the shattered dwellings, and sustenance was at an end, that the revolt was quelled. Some six thousand of the inhabitants were put to death in the course of the five months following the surrender of the town, in the same forms of merciless butchery as were brought to bear on the Vendeans at Nantes. Toulon shared the fate of Lyons, and for the same offence—insurrection against Jacobin tyranny. In this case siege operations on a large scale were brought to bear before the republicans gained possession of the place, for the royalists here had invited the English and Spanish fleets to enter the harbour and share in the defence. Lord Hood, at the request of the local authorities, took possession of the harbour, and manned the forts with his marines. Subsequently troops were brought from British stations in the Mediterranean. Some Neapolitan and Spanish soldiers, together with a body of French royalists, were also associated with the English forces, bringing the garrison up to a total of seventeen thousand by the time the besieging army of forty thousand men had commenced the attack. Military genius of the highest order came into prominence on the side of the besiegers, in the person of a young artillery officer, Napoleon Bonaparte. This was the first, as Waterloo was the last, occasion in the course of his long and resplendent military career, in which he was ever personally engaged in contest with English forces. The well-directed attack with two hundred pieces of artillery proved too formidable for the defence, which devolved principally on a small body of British. The ships could not be turned to account with any advantage: it became necessary to evacuate the place. Besides carrying away all the troops, the admirals gave refuge to nearly fifteen thousand of the wretched inhabitants, who thus escaped the massacre to which many thousands of their fellow townsfolk fell victims when the implacable republicans entered the place. Lord Hood took away seventeen of the French ships of war, and set fire to fifteen others, as well as the arsenal and naval store-houses. Sir Sidney Smith directed the burning operations in the harbour under a furious cannonade of the enemy's artillery, which was guided by the glare of the brilliant conflagration. The bloodthirsty committee of public safety sent down special commissioners after the evacuation of Toulon to carry out a sentence of awful vengeance on the devoted city. One of these officials wrote to headquarters on the 24th of December, five days after the allies had left, telling that twelve thousand labourers were at work on the demolition of the houses and public buildings of the town; that already eight hundred of the inhabitants had been shot; and that the guillotine disposed of two hundred victims daily! The army engaged in the siege of Toulon marched, on the completion of its mission there, to oppose the victorious Spaniards, who, during many preceding months, had contended with marked success against the republican forces in the provinces of France nearest the Pyrenees. These large reinforcements gave the republicans the superiority in the south as well as in the north and east of France. In the south-east another of their armies held the Sardinians in check and threatened the invasion of Italy. Meanwhile the reign of terror under the committee of public safety was fully inaugurated. As a sample of its operations we quote from the report made by Laplanche, a commissioner charged with carrying out the behests of Robespierre and his sanguinary colleagues: "Everywhere I have made terror the order of the day. Everywhere I have imposed heavy contributions on the rich and aristocrats. From Orleans I have extracted 50,000 francs; and in two days, at Bourges, I raised 2,000,000. Where I could not appear in person, my delegates have amply supplied my place. I have imprisoned all the suspected, put all the *sans-culottes* (ragamuffins) into authority. I have forcibly married all the priests; everywhere electrified the hearts and inflamed the courage of the people. I have passed in review numerous battalions of the National Guard, to confirm their republican spirit, and guillotined numbers of royalists. In a word, I have completely fulfilled my imperial mandate, and acted everywhere as a warm partisan of the Mountain, and a faithful representative of the revolution." The prisons of Paris were again thronged with the so-called enemies of freedom. Seventy-three members of the Convention, who were discovered to be adverse to the reign of terror, were arrested by order of the *decemvirs*, and thrown into dungeons, from which there was small hope of passing out alive, except on the way to the guillotine. Generals of the revolutionary army, such as Custine, who conducted the campaign on the Rhine, and led his soldiers to many a splendid victory; and Houchard, who raised the siege of

Dunkirk, fell into the large category of the proscribed, and perished on the scaffold for no other fault than that they could not always command success. The imprisoned queen now shared the fate of her husband. After enduring a long train of indignities in the Temple, she was at length consigned to a small dungeon in the Conciergerie, where she was kept in solitary confinement for the two months preceding her mock trial, deprived not alone of luxuries, but of common necessaries and decencies of even humble life The expectation of a violent death had long been familiar to her mind. She passed with unsubdued fortitude and religious resignation through the ordeal of brutal and obscene insults which were heaped upon her during the trial, and in the course of her journey a few hours afterwards, in a common open cart, from the prison to the scaffold. Her execution occurred on the 17th of October. Within the following two months several batches of political celebrities, representatives of earlier phases of the revolution, were immolated under the stroke of the insatiate guillotine. Among these were many of the former friends and colleagues of the reigning *decemvirs*, the best men of the republican party, the most virtuous and talented leaders of the constitutionalists—such as Vergniaud, the Girondist president of the Convention, and the most brilliant of the many eminent orators of his party; Bailly, the great astronomer, who had been drawn from the pursuits of science to take a conspicuous part in the States-General of 1789, and who was the first president of the National Assembly and mayor of Paris; Madame Roland, who, equally with her husband, was identified with all the best measures of the Girondists; Brissot, Barnave, Sillery, Carra, Lebrun, with scores of other ex-legislators, men of letters or of science, journalists, judges, generals. Whole families, too, were destroyed for no other crime than their relationship to obnoxious patriots, whose sympathies took another track from that of the faction latest in the ascendant. Scores of other members of the preceding parliaments—if that name is not missapplied, to represent the successive Legislative Assemblies of the revolutionary epoch—only cheated the scaffold by self-destruction, or by dragging out a miserable existence in concealment, under mean disguises, or in the endurance of privations, even to the extremity of famine, nakedness, and actual starvation. Roland, Condorcet, Clavières, Barbaroux, and Valazé, were among the suicides; Petion and Brissot were found dead on the roadside; others of their friends perished as miserably. The revolution, like Saturn, to use the similitude adopted in Vergniaud's grim forecast of the fate awaiting its promoters, was incessantly and greedily devouring its own offspring. Even the terrorists, when they had no other foes to destroy, found shades of difference among themselves; and for that very sufficient cause ranged themselves into hostile factions, and involved themselves in internecine strife. But atheists and deists had yet one work to accomplish in common before they flew at each other's throats. Christianity was publicly repudiated, and liberty, nature, and reason declared to be the only deities to whom worship was due. A festival was held in the cathedral of Notre Dame to inaugurate this new worship. Females in theatrical costume personated the new French deities. They were enthroned and worshipped in a public ceremonial, at which were present the government officials, the municipal authorities, and the National Guard of Paris. Troops of opera girls, crowned with wreaths and bearing torches, were brought into that sacred edifice, and bore a leading part in the ceremonial. After a mimicry of the rites of Catholic worship the procession passed from the cathedral to the Convention, where the goddess of reason was introduced to the assembled legislators, and her high-priest, Chaumette, thus addressed the president: "Sir, fanaticism has given way to reason. Its bleared eyes could not endure the brilliancy of the light. This day an immense concourse has assembled beneath those gothic vaults, which, for the first time, re-echoed the truth. There the French have celebrated the only true worship, that of liberty, that of reason." Loud shouts of "Reason for ever! Down with fanaticism!" greeted the atheistical speech. Notre Dame was voted the Temple of Reason. Sunday had already been abolished in a clean sweep that was made some time before of all established usages in the computation of time; so it was decreed that each tenth day the new worship should be solemnized by a public reading of the "Rights of Man," news from the republican armies, patriotic addresses, music and republican songs. Thus closed the year 1793 in France, under a rapacious and desolating tyranny that threatened all lives, decimated all fortunes, fixed the prices of all commodities, and abolished all established institutions, even to the ceremonials of religion.

The British parliament began its session of 1794 on the 21st of January, with debates in both Houses on events in France. Lord Mornington, in opposition to the motion of withdrawing from the war, made a most eloquent speech, which wound up in words prophetic of fresh convulsions, that actually happened within a few months afterwards. He maintained that France would not long entrust the framing of her laws, liberty, and religion, to the caprice of anarchists, such as the present possessors of authority, with whom it had been urged the British government ought to enter into amicable relations; that some new band of malefactors would drag the present tyrants to their scaffold, seize their lawless power, emulate the depravity of their example, and rival the enormity of their crimes. Burke contended for the prosecution of hostilities until the monarchy should be restored. Fox, Sheridan, the marquis of Lansdowne, the duke of Bedford, and others, deprecated the further prosecution of the war by England, now that Holland and Belgium were delivered from their republican invaders. They maintained that England had no interest or right at stake; that the French were not hostile to us; that we should fail to force upon them a monarchy; and in the attempt only rouse them to prodigious efforts, as in the case of the Americans, and to desperate exertions, ending in more important conquests than any they had yet achieved or attempted.

Sheridan was bitterly sarcastic against that section of the Whig party which was now co-operating with

Pitt. Adverting to the contrast made by a speaker on the ministerial side, between the excessive exactions required by the French minister of finance for warlike armaments, and the moderate burdens to be imposed on our own population, he remarked:—"There is no great danger of our chancellor of the exchequer making any such experiment. I can more easily fancy another sort of speech from our prudent minister. I can more easily conceive him modestly comparing himself with his rival, and saying: 'Do I demand of you, wealthy citizens, to lend your hoards to government without interest? On the contrary, when I shall come to propose a loan, there is not a man of you to whom I shall not hold out at least a job in every part of the subscription, and a usurious profit on every pound you devote to the necessities of your country. Do I demand of you, my fellow placemen and brother pensioners, that you should sacrifice any part of your stipends to the public exigency? On the contrary, am I not daily increasing your emoluments and your numbers, in proportion as the country becomes unable to provide for you. Do I require of you, my latest and most zealous proselytes, of you who have come over to me for the special purpose of supporting the war—a war on the success of which you solemnly protest that the salvation of Britain and of civil society itself depends—do I require of you that you should make a temporary sacrifice, in the cause of humanity, of the greater part of your private incomes? No, gentlemen, I scorn to take advantage of the eagerness of your zeal; and to prove that I think the sincerity of your attachment to me needs no such test, I will make your interest co-operate with your principles. I will quarter many of you on the public supply, instead of calling on you to contribute to it. * * * I will dexterously force on others the favourite objects of their ambition.'" He then proceeds in the same pungent, bantering strain, towards some ministerial supporters, who could not be said to aspire to office or emolument. These he describes as the alarmists, who were ever crying: "The throne is in danger, we will support the throne. But let us share in the smiles of royalty. The order of nobility is in danger! I will fight for nobility, says the viscount, but my zeal would be much greater if I were made an earl. Stain my green ribbon blue, cries an illustrious knight, and the fountain of honour will have a fast and faithful servant." But the most trenchant sarcasm and the most incisive logic were alike powerless to modify the large parliamentary majorities that gave their hearty support to the vigorous prosecution of war. The land forces were increased to sixty thousand, the seamen and marines to eighty-five thousand, for the service of the year. There were besides forty thousand foreign troops in our pay. A loan of 11,000,000*l.* was raised to cover the cost of these extra armaments. Despite much strenuous opposition, extravagant subsidies were voted, to assist several of the belligerents in keeping the field. Prussia was to get at the rate of about a million and a quarter of English money as a bribe for keeping the French out of Germany. Sardinia received 200,000*l.* a year as an incentive to defend its own territory, with the further guarantee that England would continue the war until France relinquished its grasp on Savoy, already wrested from the Sardinians. Similar profusion and prodigality characterized engagements made with other states, despite the energetic protests against the system. It was contended that help in money would yield no benefits commensurate with the outlay. Mr. Whitbread objected to making common cause with continental despots and traffickers in the blood of their subjects, who, if they succeeded in their crusade against republicanism, would destroy the liberties of Europe, and end by an attack on their unwary and too generous paymasters, the English, whose free constitution stank in the nostrils of all absolute monarchs. Canning first came under public notice by his speech in favour of these subsidies. Government now exhibited some of the old traits of intolerant Toryism, in keeping rather with the times of the Stuarts than of the House of Hanover. It made war at home, as well as abroad, against obnoxious theories of reform. The Scotch courts had recently pronounced sentences of great severity on some agitators for parliamentary reform. Muir, a young Scotch advocate, was transported for fourteen years, and Palmer, an English clergyman resident in Scotland, for seven years, on charges which at the utmost would in England have amounted to misdemeanour. Just as these offenders and others of the same stamp were on the eve of departure in a convict ship for Botany Bay, Mr. Adam, a barrister of eminence for professional and political ability, brought the case before parliament, with the view to a mitigation of punishment. Several animated debates ensued, in the course of which Mr. Adam maintained that Scotch law had been strained in the sentences passed on these men; that their crime could not legally be punished otherwise than by fine or imprisonment in Scotland, or a sentence of banishment from the country—such banishment, however, not to infringe on the right of the party to go where he chose, so only that he kept beyond the limits of his own country. Wilberforce, Sheridan, and Fox, gave their support to the motion, which however, with several others like it, was rejected by large majorities. In the course of the debates the duty of upholding the justice of the sentences on the prisoners devolved, as matter of course, on the lord-advocate. With a zeal not sufficiently tempered by discretion, this legal functionary held that he saw many reasons for bringing the law of England up to that of Scotland in point of severity, rather than of holding up to Scotch judges the milder punishments that would have been meted out for the same offences on the south side of the Tweed. Fox seized the occasion to administer a withering rebuke: "If the day should ever arrive which the lord-advocate seems so anxiously to wish for, if the tyrannical laws of Scotland should ever be introduced in opposition to the humane laws of England, it would then be high time for my honourable friends and myself to settle our affairs, and retire to some happier clime, where we might at least enjoy those rights which are given to man, and which his nature tells him he has a right to demand." Shortly afterwards a message from the king acquainted the House of Commons that upon information of seditious practices the books and papers of the "London Corresponding Society," and the "Society for Constitutional Information," had been seized, and his majesty had ordered them to be laid before the House. On the strength of the evidence which these papers were held to afford of treasonable designs on the part of the societies, ministers brought in a bill which was equivalent to suspending the Habeas Corpus Act. The preamble recited "that a treacherous and detestable conspiracy had been formed for subverting the existing laws and constitution, and for introducing the system of anarchy and confusion which had lately prevailed in France;" and on these alarming premises the bill empowered his majesty to secure and detain such persons as should be suspected of conspiracy against the crown and government. Fox protested against so stringent a measure, as uncalled for in the circumstances of the country, and as destructive of the dearest principles of English liberty. "Was it resolved," he exclaimed, "to demolish the British constitution, one part after another, under pretence of preventing its destruction by French principles? What object had the societies but to obtain universal suffrage? . . . Had France been protected by a Habeas Corpus Act, had its government been constrained by standing laws to respect the rights of the community, improper notions would never have found an entrance into that unhappy country. By parity of reason, they were only to be dreaded here if the safeguards of the constitution were removed. If the liberty of meeting to complain of grievances was to be taken away, what would become of our boasted constitution? And if it was to be withdrawn till the discontented were rooted out, or the thirst for power assuaged in government, it would never be restored, and British liberty would finally be destroyed." Grey was equally emphatic in condemnation of the bill. He levelled at Pitt some scornful and bitter reproaches for his abandonment of the cause of reform, and taking up the reverse position of a prosecutor of reformers. The bill passed by an immense majority in the Commons, and was adopted in the Lords without a division. Six conspicuous members of the obnoxious societies were forthwith seized and lodged in the Tower on a charge of high treason. Among these were Horne Tooke, a critic and keen controversialist; Thelwall, a political lecturer; and Joyce, tutor in Lord Stanhope's family. The trials came on in the autumn, the charge being that of "maliciously and traitorously conspiring to excite insurrection, rebellion, and war against the king, to depose him from his regal state, and to bring or put him to death." Such were the terrible inferences drawn under the dangerous and well-nigh obsolete theory of constructive treason; a theory which in effect held that political agitation for the purpose of altering the established form of government is an infringement of the right and dignity of the crown; that an attempt to deprive the sovereign of his rights is a step towards deposing him; that the attempt to depose is, in point of law, an overt act of compassing his death. Thus this insidious "constructive" argument aimed to stifle and extinguish all political agitation, inasmuch as the effort to carry a measure of reform by influencing public opinion would have been the highest offence known to the law. The temper of the times, agitated and alarmed by reverses recently sustained by the English forces and their allies in contests with the republican armies, was favourable to the enforcement of the fullest rights of the crown. But while the crown lawyers, as in earlier periods of our history, were prompt to use to the utmost the opportunity of magnifying the rights of the crown as against those of the people, the rights of the subject were sustained with an eloquence and ability never surpassed in the annals of British jurisprudence. Scott, the attorney-general (afterwards Lord Eldon), opened the first case in a speech of nine hours. Five long days were taken up in hearing the evidence for the prosecution. Then followed Erskine's six hours' speech for the defence —a magnificent sample of forensic eloquence and reasoning. The verdict of Not Guilty in Hardy's case left little room for doubt as respects the rest. Horne Took's trial consumed three days, and resulted in his acquittal. Among the witnesses examined for his defence was Mr. Pitt himself, who had to admit that he, too, had taken part in the meetings of a society, held at the duke of Richmond's, for the furtherance of parliamentary reform. Thelwall's case came next; it also occupied three days, and ended like the others. The rest of the prisoners were discharged, the prosecution being abandoned as hopeless. The asserters of popular rights made a very temperate use of their victory. Scared by the enormities committed on the continent in the name of political reform, the public at large shrank from what was held to be the hazardous experiment of change in the old and oft-condemned system of representation. Thus revolutionary excesses in France cheated England of its long-deferred reform bill, and for yet another generation the people consented to bear familiar evils, rather than risk the unknown ills that might follow in the train of political innovation.

A few weeks after the close of the session several of the Whig leaders received substantial rewards for their support of the ministerial policy. The duke of Portland became third secretary of state; earl Spencer was invited to preside over the admiralty; earl Fitzwilliam took the post of president of the council, from which he soon exchanged to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland; and Mr. Windham was made secretary at war.

The internal condition of France offered no encouragement to other nations to adopt its new form of government. The prisons were everywhere thronged, their inmates at this time numbering some two hundred thousand, the great majority of whom were guilty of no other crime except disaffection to the remorseless tyranny which was desolating their country. The guillotine continued its exterminating work; daily batches of from twelve to twenty passed from the prisons of Paris to the place of execution. Wholesale bloodshedding had so entirely lost its character of rarity, that the mob ceased to attend the spectacle when only ordinary *suspects* passed to their doom, and only came to the execution of celebrities of the revolution. At length came the turn of the promoters of systematic and hideous carnage—the chiefs of those sanguinary factions that coalesced until they had accomplished the ruin and destruction of the Girondists. Mutual hatred among the chiefs of these rival factions now began to operate in mutual extermination. There were degrees in ferocity; and the crime of one section of the terrorists, a crime inexpiable except by speedy death punishment, consisted in being lukewarm or moderate in comparison with their less scrupulous colleagues. On the 24th of March the guillotine disposed of nineteen members of the party that had been most zealous in putting down the worship of the Deity and substituting that of the goddess of reason—the party that included Hébert, Chaumette, and others who revelled in wholesale butchery, and had devoted thousands of innocent men and women to slaughter. Another lot of fifteen, beheaded ten days later, included Danton and Camille Desmoulins, who were now ruthlessly sacrificed by their fast friend and steadfast colleague, Robespierre, although but a few weeks had elapsed since he had acted in closest harmony with them in compassing the overthrow of the Hébertists. Mignet aptly characterises Danton and Camille Desmoulins, at the period when they fell under the machinations of a worse monster than themselves, as "the last who wished for peace between the conquerors of the revolution, and for mercy to the vanquished. After them, no voice was heard for some time against the dictatorship of terror. It struck its silent and reiterated blows from one end of France to the other. The Girondists had worked to prevent this violent reign; the Dantonists to stop it; all perished, and the more enemies the victors counted, the more victims they had to dispatch." The instrument of death now worked at accelerated speed in Paris. The Moloch who kept it going seemed indifferent in his choice of victims, so only he had shoals of them. Old and young, men and women, the lowly not exempt, the representatives of all forms of political opinions, are swept within the terrible jaws of the insatiable guillotine. The Princess Elizabeth, the amiable and pious sister of Louis XVI.; the duchess de Grammont; the duchess de Chatelet; the widow of Hébert; the widow of Camille Desmoulins; Lavoisier the chemical philosopher; Malesherbes, the faithful advocate of the king, with many members of his family, including his grand-children; wives of peasants, in bands of twelve or twenty; such were samples of the daily offering of victims of all sorts and conditions, throughout the four months of Robespierre's unlimited dictatorship. In June and July fifteen hundred heads were lopped off in Paris alone. The bloody work proceeded more briskly than ever after the dictator had deposed the goddess of reason, and caused the Convention to decree the existence of the Supreme Being. Before his fall arrangements were made for increasing the daily quota of victims to one hundred and fifty. But many of his stanchest adherents of earlier days, whose lives were in constant jeopardy from his tyranny, rose against him at last. Many members of the Convention and the committee of public safety learned that their names were in a new list of the proscribed. On the 27th of July a mutiny broke out in the submissive Convention. St. Just, standing beside Robespierre, was reading a report breathing vengeance upon traitors. when Tallien rose, and fiercely brandishing a dagger, electrified the assembly by a sudden interruption: "If the Convention dare not strike the tyrant, I dare!" From all sides loud shouts went forth, calling for vengeance on the tyrant triumvirs, Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon. Other names were quickly added to the list. The accused were hurried off to prison, but their friends, the municipals, prevented their admission, and caused them to be conveyed to the Hôtel de Ville. An armed force under Henriot was promptly gathered to sustain the tottering cause of the dictator and his allies. But the Convention as promptly collected a stronger body of military, which was placed under the command of Barras. At the moment when the opposing forces were on the point of rushing at each other, the troops under Henriot declared for the Convention, lowered their arms, and fraternised with the other party. Henriot rushed into the Hôtel de Ville with the fatal news, when one of his infuriated friends, imputing the failure to his cowardice, flung him from a high window into the street beneath. Devereux, one of the doomed tyrants, then attempted self-destruction. Robespierre shattered his lower jaw with a pistol-shot; his brother jumped from an upper-storey window into the street; several others faltered in the act of using knives or other weapons upon themselves; the whole were promptly secured and conveyed to the Conciergerie, whence in an hour they passed in grim procession to the place of execution, amid the exultant shouts of great throngs of spectators. The cortége halted in Rue St. Honorè, opposite the dwelling of Robespierre. At this point a woman pushed her way through the throng and shrieked in the ears of the fallen tyrant, "Murderer of all my kindred, your agony fills my soul with joy! Descend to hell, pursued by the curses of every mother in France!" He was the last of the batch of twenty-one placed under the stroke of the blade. Thus fell, on the 28th of July, this atrocious monster, the incarnation of the pitiless social and political theories of the Jacobins. With him perished Couthon and St. Just, if possible yet fiercer than himself in unappeasable appetite for slaughter. All Paris, especially in its prisons, thrilled with delight at this destruction of inhuman monsters—hateful, selfish, unprincipled, cruel, unscrupulous, and tiger-like in ferocity. Other batches of terrorists soon shared the fate of their leaders, and the club of the Jacobins was closed for ever. Then came at length the tardy cessation of pitiless butchery. Thousands of incarcerated *suspects* were set at liberty. As the Jacobins, in the zenith of their power, had vented their spite on the memory of Mirabeau by dragging his remains from their place of honoured sepulchre in the Pantheon, so now the conquerors of the Jacobins retaliated by similar indignities on the corpse of Marat. French writers estimate the victims of the revolution up to the close of 1794, at nearly half a million. Of these, eighteen thousand were decapitated under sentence of the revolutionary tribunals; thirty-two thousand inhabitants of Nantes, including old and young, women and children of all grades, were mowed down by grape-shot, or drowned in large batches; nearly as many suffered the same fate at Lyons; Marseilles and Toulon furnished another heavy item in the bloody account; while the loyal and virtuous Vendean peasantry, who sold their lives dearly, count with their slaughtered wives and children for three-fifths of the awful total.

The naval and military events of the year now claim attention. The militia regiments were strengthened and multiplied, and yeomanry cavalry were set on foot throughout the country. This was in response to the oft-repeated threat that a French invading army would cross, and help the English republicans to throw off the yoke of monarchical and aristocratical government. Patriotic subscriptions towards the cost of the war were everywhere set going. Volunteer enrolment for general defence was encouraged, and proceeded to considerable lengths. French emigrants were embodied for military service abroad; and some regiments of Hessians were brought over, and placed in temporary quarters in the Isle of Wight. Altogether the land forces, including volunteers and militia, amounted to 140,000, besides 60,000 German mercenaries. But with every augmentation of force for home defence, the number of military disposable for active service on the continent was absurdly small in contrast with the armies of the other principals in the contest. The British purse, however, played a large part in the allied operations, though it cannot be said, even in this respect, that the results were commensurate with the outlay. Our good allies were all ravenous for English money. The king of Prussia, on the failure of other arguments for extracting a huge subsidy from England, actually notified his withdrawal from the coalition. This threat secured the money, but not much of the stipulated service. The Prussian army, sustained by subsidies from England, turned its back upon the allies, and marched into Poland, there to share with Russia in the task of subduing the patriotic rising under Kosciusco, and to secure the spoils of a plundered and ruined kingdom. The Austrians, too, exacted prodigious subsidies from their never-failing paymasters in London. It is but fair to add that golden arguments with them proved more persuasive than with the Prussians, in the campaign of 1794. They kept a large army in the field, and performed a good share of fighting, not always unsuccessfully. But their work was like the perfunctory service of hirelings—lacking energy and activity. John Bull grumbled much, but paid all demands—only to stimulate the insatiable German appetite for ever-increasing supplies of English cash.

The coalition, with its many separate centres, complicated mechanism, and various springs of action, proved an indifferent match for the energetic republic which had now thrown down the gauntlet to all the monarchies of Europe. Despite the convulsions and distractions among the ruling factions of France, her military resources were organised and wielded with consummate skill. Under the presiding genius of Carnot, a new race of generals handled the Republican armies with astounding energy, unsurpassed daring, and creative enterprise. Most of these generals sprang from the ranks, and gained their elevation by the sheer force of inborn superiority. Such were Hoche, Murat, Jourdan, Pichegru, Massena, Soult, Moreau, Duroc, and Bernadotte, men entirely untrammeled by routine and the time-honoured dogmas of effete systems of tactics, and animated by the single aim of gaining victories for the Republic. Failure was tolerably certain to end in a summons before the Revolutionary Tribunal, a summary criminal court, which had but one punishment for all offences. Royal dukes and imperial generals of the old school, trained in implicit reverence for long-established tactics and strategy, were toppled over in quick succession by opponents without a pedigree, but full of resource and energy. In the campaign of this year, languid, sluggish generalship brought heavy calamities and disasters on the league of monarchs, while unity of aim and hearty co-operation among the plebeian leaders of the revolutionary forces resulted in the most brilliant and astounding successes. Lord Cornwallis was manifestly the fittest British general to command our section of the allied army, and it was highly probable the Austrians would have accepted him for general-in-chief. But the king of England was unwilling that his son, the duke of York, should be superseded by an Englishman, and the duke was equally unwilling to be placed under the orders of any foreign general of less than princely rank. To tide over these pitiful jealousies, the emperor of Austria took the field in person, as supreme commander. The composite army of Austrians, English, Dutch, Hanoverians, and Hessians formed a total of 150,000 men. An invasion of France and a march on Paris formed the first programme, and accordingly, in April, the army moved from Brussels in six divisions. Two of them, under the duke of York, crossed the frontier at Valenciennes, and laid siege to Landrecy. The fortress fell after a bombardment of ten days, but the allies soon met so many checks as effectually disposed of the notion of marching on to Paris. The French brought forward masses of troops full of revolutionary ardour to combat the invaders. Then followed a series of engagements between bodies of the opposing forces along the line of frontier, and the allies were soon compelled to fall back under the vigorous attacks of fresh masses of French. As in many previous and some later wars, Belgium became the battle-ground of nations. The details of these military operations have little interest in our time for the English reader, except for the share his own countrymen bore in the conflict. The Republican armies received orders from their government to give no quarter to any English or Hanoverians who might fall into their hands. Instead of retaliating, as customary among exasperated belligerents, the English commander, in giving notice to the forces serving under him of the ferocious decree, reminded them that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character; that it would ill become them, however great their resentment, to sully, by precipitate acts of cruelty, the reputation they had acquired among all nations. Nor was it in vain that he made an indirect appeal to the better feelings of his foes in that part of his address which announced, "In all the wars which from the earliest times have existed between the English and French nations, they have been accustomed to consider each other in the light of generous as well as brave enemies." To the honour of French soldiers they disregarded the murderous decree. The English beat back a formidable advance of the French in the neighbourhood of Cambray in April, bore a part in the fighting between that place and Landrecy, and defeated Pichegru at Tournay; but, after the first month of fighting, they met with an unbroken train of disasters. On the 18th of May they were attacked, at three o'clock in the morning, by double or treble their number, and suffered heavy losses and a total rout, in the course of which the duke of York narrowly escaped capture by a helter-skelter flight back to Tournay. The Austrians, to the number of fifty thousand men, under Archduke Charles and general Clairfayt, were within easy distance of the duke of York's columns when thus surprised and surrounded. Inspired to new exertions by this success, the French promptly pushed forward fresh masses between the severed divisions of the allies, and attacked them separately with superior numbers. Now that Poland engrossed the attention of the Prussians, they ceased to trouble or even to threaten the eastern frontier of France, so that Republican armies in that quarter were thus liberated, and marched under Jourdan from the Rhine, through Luxemburg, to the Sambre and Meuse, to share with Pichegru in the conquest of Belgium. Jourdan made havoc among the Austrian columns. Before his arrival they had inflicted heavy losses on the Republicans, driving them three times back across the Sambre, and holding Charleroi against repeated vigorous onslaughts. But Jourdan's arrival with forty thousand picked troops, seasoned by several campaigns, at once turned the scale. Charleroi fell on the 25th of June, just as the prince of Coburg's army of seventy-five thousand men was coming up to its relief. Then followed the great battle of Fleurus, outside Charleroi, in which the Republicans, after a stubborn fight, remained the victors, and the Austrians fell back on Mont St. Jean and Waterloo, and the other places near Brussels, which were afterwards to become memorable in the annals of war. Some fighting on a small scale now took place there, but the Netherlands were already virtually lost. Pichegru, in West Flanders, was as successful as Jourdan in the south, east, and centre. Beaten back from Tournay by the British, he turned upon Clairfayt's division of Austrians and routed them. More French came up under Moreau, and the duke of York fell back on Malines, to stop the way to Antwerp and Holland. The Austrian main army under the prince of Saxe-Coburg evacuated Brussels, which was forthwith occupied by the victorious Jourdan, in conjunction with Pichegru. The Austrians now turned southwards and eastwards, to keep up their communications with their resources, while the English, Hanoverians, and Dutch moved northwards. Bruges, Ghent, Ostend, and many other towns now in the grip of the republicans, were made to pay heavily for their liberation from monarchical rule. The frontier fortresses of Valenciennes, Quesnoy, Condé, and Landrecy were wrested from the allies in the course of the autumn, and the besiegers moved northwards and eastwards to join the tide of invasion in Belgium, Holland, and the Rhenish provinces. Jourdan and his lieutenants, Moreau, Kleber, Ney, Soult, and Bernadotte, pursued the Austrians, and drove them successively from Mons, Namur, Liège, Juliers, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cologne. The duke of York's army, now left to its own resources, and without the prospect of co-operation from the Austrians, met with a series of heavy reverses in conflict with overwhelming numbers. After plenty of hard fighting at Nimeguen, the English were forced to withdraw and leave the road open to Holland. Inspirited by a run of good fortune, the French decided to prosecute their onward movement, despite the setting in of winter. The retreating army, under the duke of York, stubbornly contested each fresh advance of their numerous pursuers. It was patent to the English government that its general was not qualified for his arduous post, but it was no easy matter to move his royal highness from the false position he had so disastrously filled. Pitt at length wrote to the king, urging the paramount necessity of putting an end to the duke of York's command on the continent. He came home in December, leaving the shattered remnant of a gallant army under the command of Walmoden, the Hanoverian general. The French were now in possession of most of the towns of Holland, the inhabitants, and even the Dutch troops, welcoming them. The prince of Orange fled, an exile, to England, and some two or three thousand of our countrymen, the sole survivors out of six or eight times that number a few months earlier, fought their way to Bremen, and embarked at the end of January for England. A provisional government was established in Amsterdam under the protection of France, and Holland became thenceforth an affiliated state, under the name of the Batavian Republic. Belgium, meanwhile, was treated as a conquered country, and annexed to France. The French were equally successful in their minor campaign on their southern frontier, as in the grand theatre of operations which resulted in the conquest of the Netherlands. The Spanish armies were driven back into their own country, and the French followed them, making considerable conquests before the close of the year. In the north of Italy, too, they got possession of all the passes of the Alps, took possession of Genoa, made incursions through Piedmont, and established themselves in advantageous posts, with a view to further conquests next spring.

Meanwhile the naval superiority of the British afforded some substantial consolations as a set-off against the military ascendancy of the Republican armies in continental Europe. Some single combats between frigates in the previous year had given a foretaste of greater triumphs, to which the public looked forward with their wonted confidence in the favourite national service. On the 1st of June, this year, a sea-fight on a grand scale came off in the channel. Lord Howe's fleet of twenty-six sail of the line and five frigates encountered the French fleet of as many line of battle-ships, but of greater aggregate tonnage, weight of metal, and number of men. A fierce battle at close range resulted in a brilliant triumph to the English, whose own ships, however, were too severely crippled to allow of their securing the full reward of their splendid victory. Seven of the enemy's ships hauled down their flags. Six of these were brought home by their conquerors. The other, Le Vengeur, with the ensign of her captors hoisted aloft, sank before adequate assistance could be given for the removal of her numerous crew. More than two hundred of them, however, were saved by the boats of the Culloden and Alfred. Yet, in the face of these well attested facts, French writers repeat to this day the absurd story that the heroic crew of this ship refused to surrender, fought while a single gun remained uncovered by the waves, and went down with their lost ship, defiant in death, and cheered with the din of their own magnanimous shouts, "Vive la République! Vive la Liberté! Vive la France!" Lord Howe's despatch tells that the enemy fought with their accustomed resolution, and no English historian has ever disputed their prowess or called in question their unfailing bravery throughout this hard-fought action. They managed to withdraw many of their ships, shattered as they were and riddled with shot, and carried into Brest a formidable reserve for future service. They were, besides, consoled by the safe arrival in port of the American convoy of the estimated value of 5,000,000*l.*, which must have been intercepted by the English but for the sterner work that fixed their attention in another quarter. The loss of the British, out of a total of 16,647 men, was 290 killed and 858 wounded. That of the French in the six captured ships alone was much heavier. Their total loss, including prisoners, is reckoned at 8,000 out of nearly 20,000 men. In the West Indies our fleets bore the chief part, in co-operation with a small military force, in the seizure of the French islands of Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucie, and smaller contiguous islands. In Corsica, Nelson's blue-jackets, the crew of the Agamemnon, assisted by a small body of troops, wrested several formidable strongholds from the Republicans, including Bastia and Calvi. The islanders, in their thankfulness to the English for their liberation, transferred their allegiance to the king of England. They, however, proved turbulent and intractable subjects in the brief term of their nominal subjection to the British crown.

Parliament assembled on the 30th of December. In the six months' session, which closed on the 27th of June, 1795, very little noteworthy legislation occurred. The Opposition made some attempts, but without success, to discredit the ministerial war policy. They dwelt on the disgrace and discomfiture that had marked the conduct of hostilities by the coalition of continental powers, and the useless waste of English blood and treasure in the attempt to force back upon the French a government which they had discarded. Pitt, Canning, Windham, and a phalanx of ministerialists, while admitting disasters and discouragements, dwelt hopefully on the few prosperous transactions of the past year, and augured the rapid exhaustion of the enemy's resources. All the losses of the allies put together fell short, it was asserted, of those of the French. Their forced requisitions would engender a fierce and inextinguishable hatred in the populations that fell temporarily under their sway. They would thus gain no strength by their extension of territory. Then the continuous expansion of their paper currency must, it was maintained, result in a speedy financial collapse. Overwhelming majorities supported the vigorous prosecution of war, in the persuasion, ostensibly, that such was the only effectual method of securing a solid and lasting peace. When the Austrian loan of £4,600,000 came under discussion, Fox quoted the recent example of Prussia as a caution against the system of golden props to the coalition, but without avail. Votes passed for 100,000 seamen and marines, 120,000 regular troops, 66,000 militia, 40,000 men for service in Ireland and the colonies, besides foreign troops in British pay, French royalists (*emigrés*), volunteers, fencibles, and yeomanry cavalry. In addition to ordinary sources of income, a loan of 18,000,000*l.* was voted to defray the cost of these enormous extra forces. The Habeas Corpus Act suspension was continued by the votes of large majorities in both Houses.

The trial of Hastings, which began nine years earlier, came to a close this year. In a thin House of Peers, before which he was summoned for the final judgment, he was acquitted of all the charges. The wearisome length of the trial had exhausted the public interest in it. The East India Company acknowledged its burden of indebtedness to the chief whose eminent abilities had extended and consolidated their power by defraying the expenses of the prolonged trial, amounting to £70,000, and by a further substantial grant to their illustrious servant.

Wilberforce made another effort this session for the abolition of the slave trade. The West Indian interest, however, still proved too powerful, reinforced as it then was by considerations of the danger, as shown by the example of St. Domingo and neighbouring islands, of removing the blacks from the restraint of enforced servitude. Among the many motions brought forward by Fox and his friends, with the view to disentangle the nation from foreign complications, special mention should be made of that of the 24th of March for an inquiry into the state of the nation. Fox's opening speech on this motion was complimented by the premier as among the most eloquent ever delivered in the House. The great Whig orator dwelt most forcibly on the vast expenditure on our own enormous armaments, the broadcast subsidies lavished on continental governments, the widespread disaffection in Ireland, and the growing feeling in England that the Commons had ceased to represent the nation, as was evident from the overwhelming majorities that continued to support the war policy of ministers despite the failure of all their projects.

The marriage of the prince of Wales to the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, which took place on the 8th of April, gave rise to much parliamentary discussion on the pecuniary position and prospects of his royal highness. Eventually it was determined that his yearly income should be increased to a total of 140,000*l.*, out of which 75,000*l.* was to be appropriated to the liquidation of his enormous debts, then standing at 630,000*l.* The princess, too, had a jointure of 50,000*l.* settled upon her in the event of her outliving the prince. This prodigality occasioned much dissatisfaction, which was aggravated by the remembrance that the prince had already, on two previous occasions, been under the necessity of appealing to parliament to liberate him from heavy incumbrances, the result of his reckless extravagance. The debaucheries and dissolute conduct of the prince and several of his brothers must have been a terrible thorn in the flesh of the decorous and religious king and queen. The Princess Caroline was not unaware that she was yoking herself to a notorious libertine, and she signified beforehand that she was prepared for the continuance of his profligacy. All this is fully set forth in Lord Malmesbury's account of his visit to the court of the duke of Brunswick, to negotiate the marriage. On both sides, indeed, the marriage was the merest sordid bargain; for the prince assented to it merely on the calculation that his debts would be paid by the nation, and his income be largely augmented on his making some show of conformity to the decencies befitting his station; while the princess was prepared to allow, on the part of her husband, an open and notorious disregard of his marriage vows, so only that she gained the splendid position of consort to the heir of one of the greatest thrones of Europe. There was no pretence of affection in the ill-assorted match. Its after history, to be noted in due course, was in keeping with the heartless conduct of all the parties to it at the outset.

Ireland was in a condition of alarming ferment. Motions for inquiry into the causes of disaffection were brought forward in both houses, but ministers pleaded that important reasons of state, which could not be specified without detriment to the public interest, rendered the discussion of Irish affairs at that time altogether improper and unsafe. In the previous year government had interposed to prevent the spread of revolutionary principles. Some prominent members of the secret society of United Irishmen were about to be tried for treasonable correspondence with the ruling powers in France when they sought safety in flight to that country. The lord-lieutenant, Earl Fitzwilliam, advocated Catholic emancipation as a means of pacifying Ireland. This would certainly not have satisfied the Protestants of that day, nor was the central government disposed to try the experiment. Earl Fitzwilliam was recalled and Lord Camden installed in his place. As the war on the continent deprived Irish students of their former facilities for attending foreign universities, a measure was now passed in the Irish parliament, establishing the college of Maynooth, for the education of the future priests of Ireland. This concession, while it exercised little or no effect in allaying the irritation that was rife among the Catholics, occasioned among the ultra-Protestants a discontent which has never ceased to operate. The two parties were ready to fly at each other's throats. All the vigilance of the authorities was powerless to prevent frequent nocturnal conflicts, in which *Defenders* and *United Irishmen* on the one side, and *Peep-o'-day Boys* and *Orangemen* on the other, sacked and burned each others' houses and resorted to frequent acts of bloodshed. These faction fights and persecutions were complicated by the leaning of the authorites towards that side which was as much distinguished by its loyalty to the throne as by its hatred of Romanism, so that impartial justice was something of a rarity on the part either of magistrates or juries. An armed yeomanry force was added this year to the regular troops and militia as a measure of precaution against French invasion, or of a rising of the disloyal. This force rendered great service to government. The mere existence of a body of 37,000 volunteer cavalry, eager to uphold the existing institutions of their country, deterred the insurgents from taking open and active measures of a revolutionary character for several years. The United Irishmen, meanwhile, were notoriously intriguing with the French government. Rowan, Tandy, and Wolfe Tone, who had fled to Paris, in 1794, to escape the punishment of their treasonable practices, were in constant communication with leaders of their party who were still at large plotting mischief in Ireland. In the summer of 1796 two of these, Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor, had an interview in France with General Hoche, and settled the plan of a French descent on the shores of Ireland, simultaneously with which there was to be an extensive rising of the Catholics. The aim of the scheme was an entire severance of Ireland from the British crown.

Several of the parties to the confederacy against France withdrew from the war early in 1795. The Dutch had now changed sides. By the treaty of the 16th of May, they engaged to pay an immense sum to their new allies towards the military expenditure incurred in the overthrow of their monarchy, and the establishment of the Batavian Republic; to give up Dutch Flanders to the French, in lieu of which compensation was to be made at the expense of neighbouring states; to aid the French with twelve ships of the line and eighteen frigates, together with half their military force; and generally to act the part of good and steadfast allies. As Holland thus sided with France, England promptly dealt some crushing blows on her new and vulnerable foe. The Dutch colonial possessions and mercantile navy in all parts of the world fell an easy prey to their late allies, who, in the course of the year following the treaty of amity between the French and their new friends, acquired possession of Cape Colony, Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, Amboyna, Cochin, Chinsura, and most of the Dutch settlements in the western hemisphere. Spain, too, ceased to fight against France, but was not yet ranged on the side of the Republic. France restored her conquests in the Peninsula, and received in exchange the Spanish portion of St. Domingo. Despite the large subsidies extracted from England without rendering the promised service, Prussia, too, consulted her own separate interests by a treaty of peace, under which her provinces on the left bank of the Rhine were ceded to France, while, by secret articles in the compact, the latter power engaged to find compensation for the sacrifice out of other German territories. Tuscany, also, following the example set by more powerful states, propitiated the formidable Republic. These defections from the coalition might well have warranted England in turning her back on continental Europe. Posterity in the remotest future will lament that Pitt's administration, holding steadfastly to the opposite view, pertinaciously pursued hostilities against the French, in every sea and in every land, at the expense of enormous burdens on their own times, and the dead weight of a mountainous load of debt, to cripple the national energies through untold generations. On the withdrawal of Holland, Prussia, and Spain from the coalition, the British government looked to another quarter to strengthen the half-ruined league. The Empress Catherine was induced to join in an alliance, offensive and defensive, with King George and the Emperor Francis.

The Russian fleet, of twelve ships of the line and eight frigates, was thereupon sent to join Admiral Duncan in the blockade of the Dutch fleet, which was ready to follow the behests of the French government. At a later date Russia played a more important part in the contest; at present her energies were concentrated in fixing her iron grip on her recent conquests in Poland.

In the spring of this year the French resolved on the recapture of Corsica. As a prelude to this enterprise, they equipped at Toulon, and put to sea, a formidable squadron of seventeen ships of the line, to cope with the smaller naval force of the English, then assembled in the gulf of Genoa. Admiral Hotham, with fourteen ships, encountered and beat off his enemy of superior strength, capturing two large ships. The rest of the French fleet returned to Toulon to await reinforcements. Hotham was not up to his work. Nelson, then captain of the Agamemnon, urged that the captured ships should be left in charge of the Illustrious and Courageux, which had been severely punished in the action, while the rest of the fleet followed up the retiring enemy. The easy-going old admiral replied, "We must be contented, we have done very well." Nelson's mettle was roused by this lack of enterprise in his superior officer: "Had we taken ten sail," he rejoined, "and allowed the eleventh to escape, I would never have said we had done well." It was his fate to chafe some years longer under the control of other seniors of the same stamp before his genius found full scope, and rendered the naval power of his country an efficient counterpoise to the military superiority of France. A few months later, another partial engagement between the fleets took place, near Frejus, in the course of which the French ship Alcide, of seventy-four guns, blew up, its destruction being occasioned by the accidental igniting of a combustible fluid, a sort of Greek fire, with which the Republican ships were now all provided, in order to burn such British ships as came within reach. Several disasters of the kind, in subsequent sea-fights, taught the French that their fluid fire was fruitful of greater peril to themselves than their foes. A singularly ill-concerted attempt was made in the early summer to revive the war in La Vendée. Alison justly remarks, in respect to this project: "It is painful to think that the renewal of hostilities in this district, and its tragic termination, was owing to the delusive hopes held out by Great Britain, with its ill-judged assistance." Misled by the sanguine opinions of royalist emigrants, the English ministry sent 6,000 of them, in two divisions, supported by a force of artillery and marines. Arms and accoutrements for 80,000 men were also provided for distribution among the peasantry, who were to flock to the standard of the Count d'Artois, the commander-in-chief of the expedition. A force of British troops formed a third division, to support the whole and form a nucleus of the movement. Lord Bridport's channel fleet cleared the way for a landing by an action with the Brest squadron, in which he took three ships from the enemy, and obliged the rest to seek safety in port. On the 27th of June the first division landed at Quiberon Bay. They were quickly beset by a force of 7,000 Republican troops, under Hoche, then in command in the disturbed district of the north and west. He stormed their camp in the face of a gallant resistance. A raging gale kept the British ships off the coast, or beyond a practicable distance for rendering succour. Two-thirds of the unfortunate royalists perished in the fight, or were swallowed up in the surf in their attempts to escape. The rest, about 800 in number, capitulated on a promise that their lives would be spared. They were afterwards butchered in cold blood by order of Tallien, the commissioner sent down by the Convention. The meadow in which was perpetrated this horrid massacre, near Auray, bears the name of "The Martyr's Field." The other sections of the expedition, including 2,500 British, effected a landing on Isle Dieu; but, on learning the fate of his compatriots, the Count d'Artois lost heart and returned to England, leaving to their fate the brave peasantry who by this time were again in insurrection in his behalf. Hoche's force made short work of the insurgents, who could nowhere oppose him with effect. In this state of things the small British contingent, finding the task on which it was sent quite hopeless, returned to England. In the West Indies the French planned a rising in the several islands wrested from them in the previous year, and succeeded, with the help of troops and negroes, in regaining possession of St. Eustatius and St. Lucie. They failed in similar and most persistent attempts on Grenada, St. Vincent, and Dominica. They also stirred up revolt in Jamaica, where the Maroons, the fierce and barbarous descendants of negroes of the times when Spain owned the island, fought with the ferocity of wild beasts, until their race was nearly extirpated.

In the continental campaign of this year, the balance of success was greatly in favour of the Austrians. They exhibited unwonted celerity, resource, and enterprise in operations against the French from Mayence to Strasburg, beat the armies under Pichegru and Jourdan, and entirely cleared the right bank of the Rhine of its Republican conquerors. In Italy, too, fortune smiled on the Austrians in all the earlier operations of this year. The French force in that quarter, weakened by desertion, sickness, and short supplies through the winter and spring, was obliged to evacuate successively all its ports in the Maritime Alps. The united Austrian and Sardinian forces had a fair prospect of recovering Savoy and Nice. Again the tide of success turned; dissensions between the allied generals brought their movements to a halt; the French received large reinforcements, and with Massena at their head, on the 23rd and 24th of November, made an attack on a grand scale, with superior numbers, and inflicted on the imperial army a crushing defeat at Loano. Massena's brilliant victory gave him possession of good winter quarters on the Italian side of the Alps, and a solid base of operations for next year's campaign. At a date slightly earlier than the battle of Loano, Nelson, who with a squadron of frigates was at this time engaged in the blockade of the north-western coast of Italy, was not a little provoked by the tardy action of the Austrians in this campaign. "This army," he writes, "is slow beyond all description, and I begin to think that the emperor is anxious to touch another four millions of English money. As for the German generals, war is their trade, and peace is ruin to them. We therefore cannot expect that they should have any wish to finish the war."

The government of France underwent some considerable changes in the course of this year. On the overthrow of the reign of terror, numerous bands of *jeunesse dorée*, young men who had lost parents or friends in the period of Robespierre's ascendancy, enrolled themselves as supporters of Tallien and his party of liberators, who took the name of Thermidorians from the month (Thermidor, the hot month), in the revolutionary calendar in which they achieved their victory.

These undisciplined but courageous young men played a conspicuous part in putting down an insurrection which was fomented by some members of the Revolutionary Tribunal. The Convention, now that it was purged of its furious Jacobin element, abridged the authority of the rovolutionary tribunals, and brought to punishment many of the ferocious judges, who had acquired an evil fame therein. But the reaction in favour of order and moderation had yet to suffer some rude interruptions. The lawless Parisian mob had to be taught that it was no longer the strongest element in the government of the nation. On the 20th of May, about thirty thousand *sans-culottes*, armed with pikes and a variety of fire-arms, surrounded the Convention, demanding "bread and the constitution." Large numbers rushed into the hall of meeting, obtained an easy mastery over the legislature, drove out all but the Jacobin minority, and proceeded to establish a new insurrectionary government. The expelled members, however, promptly returned with a force of the *troupe dorée*, and a few companies of the national guard, who plied their bayonets with such effect that the insurgents were at once routed. Fresh demonstrations of the sort were attempted, but the pikemen of the faubourgs no longer possessed leaders qualified to wield them with effect against the disciplined and trustworthy defenders who now stedfastly upheld the moderate party—the Thermidorians. Government now felt itself strong enough to disarm the lawless mob, which for six years had been the terror of every party that had wielded supreme power. The faubourgs inhabited by the foes of law and order were surrounded by 30,000 national guards, 10,000 troops of the line, and a suitable force of artillery. Notice that bombardment would commence unless all arms were at once given up, was then sent throughout the threatened quarters. This proved effectual; huge piles of pikes and other weapons were promptly surrendered; the focus of insurrection was deprived of its sting. The mob, which had reigned since the destruction of the Bastile, abicated; and, for a time at least, Paris slept in tranquillity. Then the constitution of 1793 was abolished. In lieu of the single chamber of legislature, the prime error of the states-general in 1789, it was now enacted that there should be two councils, with an executive directory of five members. The mass of the people ceased to be electors: a property qualification took the place of universal suffrage. To guard against an inroad of political novices in the lower chamber, two-thirds of the council of five hundred was to be taken from members of the existing Convention, thus leaving only one-third to be elected at the outset of the scheme. France, generally, acquiesced in the decree, but Paris was discontented with the reservation in favour of members of the Convention. The ferment that sprang out of this question brought in its train events of the gravest import. The Convention was compared to the long parliament of the time of the English civil war; its ambitious aims were denounced, and resistance was openly proclaimed.. The national guard ranged themselves on the side of the discontented Parisian electors; the troops of the line then in the capital declared for the Convention. The force on the side of the citizens numbered 30,000; that for the Convention was not more than 6,000, but had the advantage of artillery. The Convention passed a decree annulling the powers of the electoral bodies in Paris, on the ground that they were setting the new constitution at defiance. This step was openly resisted. The national guard came forward in force to protect the electors in the discharge of their assumed rights, and planned an attack on the Convention. The Convention confided to Menou the command of the regular troops; but, instead of attacking the insurgents, he entered into parley with them, and then reported his inability to cope with their formidable numbers Barras was thereupon commissioned to take his place. The choice of a second in command was the next critical question, for on him would devolve the duty of personal direction and leadership in the actual strife to follow. Barras told his colleagues, Tallien and Carnot, "I have the man whom you want; a little Corsican officer, who will not stand on ceremony." The man of decision thus indicated was no other than Napoleon Bonaparte. He was quickly summoned. The interview resulted in his being at once commissioned to defend the palace of the Tuileries, where the Convention held its meetings. On the morning of the 5th of October, he stands prepared for the event on which so much hinges. The national guard, to the number of 30,000, with nearly as many armed insurgents, throng the principal streets and converge in masses round the palace. The commander of the small army which has rallied round the Convention now summons the force arrayed against him to disperse. His demand is answered by an instant discharge of musketry against his troops. He promptly returns the fiery salutation. The thickly-crowded streets are freely plied with grape-shot

The civic troops and their allies have no cannon, and their numbers avail not in such a position. The work is short, though bloody. The Convention gains an easy and complete victory. The general who renders such a service merits the gratitude of his employers. Bonaparte is forthwith made general-in-chief of the army in Italy. That promotion opens up to him a career which is soon to culminate in all the pomp and splendour of supreme power in imperial France, and to make him, for a prolonged term of years, arbiter of the fate of the European continent.

Meanwhile the five directors, the council of ancients, and the council of five hundred, enter on their work, and unwittingly pave the way for that glittering throne which is soon to be filled by the needy artillery officer. The epoch of anarchy now closes, to be followed, after a brief interval, by a military dictatorship and tyrannical personal government, beneath which are blotted out for yet a score more years the liberties for which the nation has made so many fruitless sacrifices.

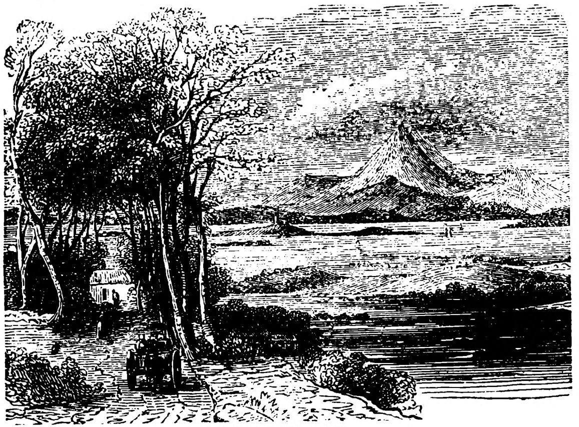
A bad harvest in England added to the pressure of war taxes. Public meetings were held in the larger towns to denounce the war, with its consequent burdens, and to advocate reform and retrenchment. St. George's Fields and Copenhagen Fields, localities now covered with dense masses of dwellings, became the favourite resorts for monster political gatherings. Petitions against the continuance of the war were prepared and numerously signed in London and many other places, ready for presentation to parliament. In the face of this agitation ministers decided on an early session, not with the view of making concessions, but, on the contrary, to pass measures for curbing and crushing the expression of public opinion. On his way to open parliament the king was assailed with hisses, groans, and similar demonstrations of disfavour, on account of his known inclination in favour of the war and in opposition to political reforms. Cries of "Bread! bread!" "Peace! peace!" and "Down with Pitt!" saluted the royal carriage in quick succession. A stone, or a shot from an air-gun, broke the window of the state carriage in which the king was seated. On the return of the procession to the palace, the rough element in the mob was more than vociferous in its demonstrations against the sovereign. The state carriage was assailed with stones; the military escort had some difficulty in screening their charge from an actual onset of the mob. With the well-to-do classes in general, however, the king was as popular as ever. On the evening of the very day when he was assailed with insults, abuse, and threats in the streets, he received at Covent Garden Theatre quite an ovation of sympathy and applause. Ministers now brought in further repressive measures, restricting the rights hitherto possessed by the people of holding public meetings for political purposes. Lord Grenville, in the Upper House, brought in a bill "for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious attempts." In the Commons, the premier introduced another, "for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies." The first of these bills connected the "compassing and imagining the death of the king" with the publication of any printing or writing having for its object a change in the constitution. The bill "to prevent seditious meetings" provided that no meeting for the purpose of drawing up a petition, or deliberating on any public grievance, could lawfully be held, except under regulations, which may fairly be characterised as inconsistent with constitutional freedom. Power was lodged in any justice of the peace to bring the meeting to an end at any moment when, in his opinion, the language of a speaker was disrespectful to government; and if twelve or more persons remained together one hour, after such magisterial command to disperse, they were to be adjudged felons on that ground alone, "without benefit of clergy." Energetic protests and arguments in profusion were launched in parliament and throughout the country against this high-handed legislation. Fox reprobated with intense earnestness such large infringements of the liberty of the subject. He warned the House that, under Pitt's coercive policy, government would soon become completely absolute, if indeed the attempt to put such trammels on the nation did not provoke an outbreak that would end in confusion almost as much to be deplored as despotism itself. But Pitt's plea that the crisis required extraordinary precautions satisfied a majority in both Houses. Both bills passed, but the action of the seditious meetings bill was limited to three years. Votes were taken in November for 110,000 seamen and marines, and 207,000 men for the various sorts of military. The total estimated expenditure, notified to the House early in 1796, was upwards of forty-five millions, or nearly fourfold the average on a series of years preceding the war. Loans to the extent of twenty-eight millions were contracted for the service of the year, thus bringing up the total of new debt created in the first three years of war to seventy-seven millions, or fourteen millions more than the cost of the American war. The Opposition dwelt on the reckless profusion of ministers in squandering the present and future resources of the nation for a purpose utterly insignificant in comparison with the enormous cost. Government soon gave indications of misgivings on the policy of prosecuting hostilities, for, despite its stout defence of the prodigious and startling outlay already incurred, Pitt himself now began to talk of peace. A message from the king notified, before the Christmas recess, the formation of a regular government in France, and expressed his majesty's readiness to respond to any amicable disposition which might be manifested by the Directory. But there was very little earnestness in these relentings, as appeared from the resistance offered by ministers to successive proposals for addresses to the king, requesting him to initiate proposals of peace. Severe criticisms were launched against ministers on their blundering conduct of the war, and the miscarriage of military expeditions. The session closed in May, and a new parliament was elected in the summer.

In January 1796 the princess of Wales gave birth to a daughter. The royal infant was scarcely christened before her parents separated in mutual disgust. For a time the princess continued to live under her husband's roof, at Carlton House, while he spent most of his time at Brighton. The king and queen were deeply mortified by the failure of all their efforts to smooth down differences between the prince and his consort. Meanwhile the heir-apparent to the British throne had again drifted into his customary habits of scandalous profligacy. "Never," says Dr. Croly, "was there a more speaking lesson to the dissipations of men of rank than the prince's involvements. While he was wearied with the attempt to extricate himself from Lady Jersey's irritations, another claimant came. Mrs. Fitzherbert was again in the field. Whatever might be her rights, since the royal marriage that of a wife could not be included in them, but her demands were not the less embarrassing. A large pension, a handsome outfit, and a costly mansion in Park Lane, at length reconciled her to life; and his royal highness had the delight of being hampered with three women at a time, two of them prodigal, and totally past the day of attraction, could attraction have been an excuse, and the third complaining of neglects, which brought on him and his two old women a storm of censure and ridicule." The princess ultimately took up her residence at Blackheath, and passed some years there in retirement with her infant daughter, greatly commiserated by a large section of the people.

This year, as last, the continental campaign between the French and Austrians yielded a large balance of advantage to the latter, in so far as German territory was concerned. But in Italy the Republican armies under Bonaparte achieved a splendid series of triumphs. The king of Sardinia was reduced to sue for peace. Among the conditions imposed by his conqueror was the surrender of Savoy, with all its important fortresses. Lombardy was the next theatre of war; then the Venetian provinces; then Tuscany. The Austrians fought with indomitable courage, but their generals were no match, except with greatly superior numbers, for Bonaparte and his able lieutenants. The brilliant victories of Lodi and Arcola, and a score of other important successes, raised the French commander-in-chief to the first place among European generals, and inspired him with aims beyond any rank to be attained in his profession. He stated long afterwards, in a retrospect of his closed career: "It was after the passage of Lodi that the idea shot across my mind that I might become a decisive actor on the theatre of political events. Then arose, for the first time, the spark of a great ambition." Milan received the conqueror with enthusiastic plaudits, for he entered proclaiming himself the assertor of Italian independence. The first ardour of welcome, on the exchange of French for Austrian masters, was, however, quickly dispelled when the friends and liberators of Italy exacted from each opulent city and fertile province that fell into their grasp an enormous contribution. Even Rome and Naples, though not yet visited by the assertors of liberty and fraternity, trembled for their future, and hastened to propitiate the new masters of northern Italy. Leghorn was seized on the plea that it harboured the English. Genoa had already fraternised with the Republicans. Nelson kept up a blockade of the coasts and seized the neighbouring islands of Elba and Capraia; but the home authorities, so far from giving countenance to conquests in that quarter, had now decided to relinquish Corsica. Nelson had borne the chief part in the conquest of that island; he had now to endure the mortification of carrying out the evacuation. As Naples had made peace with France, the British fleet was now withdrawn from that part of the Mediterranean, and Corsica ceased to be worth keeping, its fickle inhabitants having already grown tired of a constitutional government after the English model.

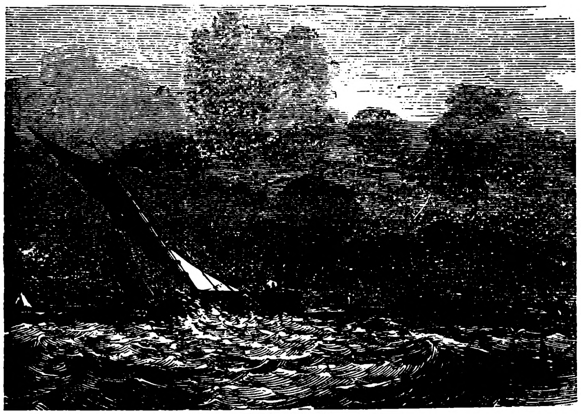
The Dutch sent an expedition of three ships of the line and five smaller vessels with the commission to recapture Cape Colony. An English fleet of seven ships of the line surprised this small force in Saldanha Bay. Resistance being hopeless, the Dutch surrendered their squadron without firing a gun. No great sea-fight occurred this year, but several gallant naval actions between single ships took place, and many enterprising officers distinguished themselves by attacks on enemies' vessels in port, or under the protection of land batteries. In a cutting-out expedition of this sort Sir Sidney Smith and Captain Wright were taken prisoners in the inner anchorage at Havre. The Glatton, of sixty-four guns, sustained and beat off an attack of six French frigates. A large French armament visited Newfoundland in the month of August, when there chanced to be no British naval force in the neighbourhood, and succeeded in taking or destroying a good deal of shipping. Spain meanwhile had entered into alliance with France, and her very considerable naval force sensibly augmented the maritime power of the confederacy.

The new parliament assembled in October. Its earliest debates were on the one hand on the chances of a speedy peace, and on the other, on the imminent prospects of invasion of our own shores. As a concession to the public wish, ministers made an effort to come to an amicable arrangement with France. Lord Malmesbury was sent to Paris towards the end of October to make overtures for a reconciliation. Two months were occupied in this negotiation, during which several events occurred highly favourable to the republican cause, in consideration of which the Directory grew less and less disposed to meet the demands of England. Catherine, empress of Russia, died early in November, just when it was expected her armies would be transferred from Poland to the frontiers of France. Her successor, Paul, had no inclination to side with England, and it was quickly known that he would cancel the treaty recently entered into by the empress. Then the French people and government were so elated with the triumph of their arms in Italy that they refused to entertain the idea of renouncing their conquests in the Netherlands, although this concession on their side was to be coupled with the restitution of all our conquests in both Indies. Neither government could have been entirely sincere in this two months' diplomatic parley. The French were all the time secretly organising a formidable invasion of Ireland. When their expedition was ready to start, the English envoy was ordered to quit the country within forty-eight hours. He had not received this notice, much less left the shores of France, before 25,000 troops, under General Hoche, sailed from Brest in a fleet of transports, under escort of eighteen large war-vessels and numerous smaller ones, bound for the coast of Ireland. Tempestuous weather totally dispersed this great armada before it had made much progress towards its destination. The frigate which carried Hoche was chased by two British ships; she, however, escaped into Rochelle. Eight ships of the line reached Bantry Bay, but the admiral declined the responsibility of landing only a section of that formidable force which, in alliance with an extensive armed insurrection, was to have snatched Ireland from its subjection to the British crown. While awaiting the arrival of more ships, bad weather shattered his squadron and obliged him to quit his anchorage. Bridport was soon in the chase, but his pursuit of the foe was not very successful. Two of his frigates, however, engaged a line-of-battle ship, and drove her on shore near Ushant, where she went to pieces. Out of her crew and military passengers, numbering eighteen hundred in all, scarcely a sixth part were saved, despite every exertion of the English sailors to rescue them. Other vessels foundered or were wrecked; only thirty-one out of forty-three succeeded in reaching their own ports again.


BANTRY BAY.

During the fruitless negotiations in Paris, the English government on its part, also, was making vigorous preparations for the efficient prosecution of the war. Pitt answered the objections of his opponents to this apparent contrariety between his policy and his practice by insisting that the surest way to obtain favourable conditions of peace was to convince your enemy of your readiness for war. He brought forward and carried measures for various additions to the land and sea forces for the year 1797, raising the total of military to 200,000 and the seamen and marines to 120,000. The service of the coming year was estimated to require 27,945,000*l.* A new loan of 18,000,000*l.* figured among the ways and means. Another as large was required before the year ran out. In those days of gigantic jobbery the monied interest reaped enormous harvests out of these ever-recurring loans. Each 100*l.* stock in this new loan brought less than 50*l.* cash into the national exchequer.

The British ministry put forth a manifesto at the close of the year, throwing on the French government the whole blame of the failure in the recent negotiations for peace. This, and other documents bearing on the rupture of negotiations, became the subject of a lively debate in both Houses, in the course of which Fox dwelt forcibly on the utter failure of four years' hostilities to secure any of the objects for which the war was undertaken. He threw on ministers the odium of a futile expenditure exceeding 200,000,000*l.* in that brief term of years, besides an incalculable aggregate of human misery and an enormous and useless waste of life. He attributed to the evil counsels of his majesty's advisers the disgrace of a war unprecedented for outlay in money and for purposeless effusion of blood, and held that their stubborn persistence in regard to winning back Belgium for the Austrians had alone occasioned the failure of the recent prospects of peace. He concluded with a motion for an address to the throne, recommending that an investigation be instituted by parliament into the conduct of ministers in respect to the late negotiations. Lord Oxford moved a similar address in the Upper House. Pitt's well-disciplined majorities carried him scathless through this attack; and Fox, despairing of success in the uphill struggle against his rival's servile and venal majority, began seriously to think of ceasing to attend in his place in the Commons. The first effect of the failure to bring about a peace was a decline in the price of all public securities. In January, 1796, the Three per Cents were at 67; in January, 1797, they were at 57, with a downward tendency. The fact that a formidable invasion of Ireland was frustrated solely by bad weather, and that that country was on the brink of rebellion, with other sources of disquietude to be noticed presently, added force and impetus to the rapid depreciation. The enormous increase in the national debt, and the prospect of indefinite expansion of the same burden, alarmed the bulk of the fundholders, who threw their shares upon the market in an abundance exceeding the demands of buyers, so the price soon fell to 47, and remained some months at that low ebb. The dread of a national bankruptcy frightened investers in all descriptions of security. People became alarmed for the safety of any funds they had deposited, and there was a run upon the country banks for gold. Some of these had to stop cash payment. All of them looked for help to the Bank of England, through the agency of London bankers. But at the very time of this run upon the country banks, and of their simultaneous appeals to London for help, the Bank of England itself was suffering severe pressure from the chancellor of the exchequer, who had long before been draining it of specie for the benefit of our continental allies and for payment and subsistence of our own forces engaged abroad. Ireland added to the difficulty by a pressing demand for a loan of 1,500,000*l.* to its separate treasury. To Pitt's urgent demands for this accommodation, the governor of the bank replied that a further advance of 1,500,000*l.* as a loan to Ireland would threaten ruin to the bank, and most probably oblige the directors to close their doors. In point of fact they were unable to tide over the crisis, for their stores of cash had fallen so low on the 25th of February that they were reduced to pay shoals of notes in sixpences. On the evening of that day, Pitt was startled with a message that the bank could no longer pay in coin. In this alarming position a cabinet council was summoned for the morrow, when the king came up from Windsor, and for the first time in his life transacted business on a Sunday. The decision of the cabinet was embodied in an order in council, authorizing the bank to suspend payments in coin, and to make every description of payment, including dividend warrants and discounts of commercial bills, in bank paper alone, until the sense of parliament could be taken on the subject. A declaration was appended to the order, setting forth that the general affairs of the bank were so sound as to leave no ground for distrust of the security of its notes. On the Monday this provision became public, and the leading merchants and capitalists held a meeting at the Mansion House, at which they passed a resolution giving their entire support to the temporary expedient, and declaring "we will not refuse to receive bank-notes in payment of any sum of money to be paid to us, and will use our utmost endeavours to make all our payments in the same manner." A bill was brought in giving legislative sanction to this measure, with some extensions and modifications, and the transition from gold to paper as the medium of exchange was an accomplished fact within a few days, the twenty-shilling note superseding the guinea in all the ramifications of retail trade. A national bankruptcy was thus averted; the springs of industry and trade were relieved; agriculture received a powerful impulse; the demand for labour was augmented; large tracts of waste land were enclosed and brought into cultivation; trade flourished; national works were multiplied; for twenty-four years paper currency displaced bullion; and bank paper was held to be as good as gold. Those who were living on the interest of investments or on fixed incomes were impoverished. The classes that share in the benefit of rising prices were benefited. The stinted wages of sailors, fixed in the time of Charles II., were the earliest among the class of stationary incomes to feel the hardship of rising prices. The sufferings of this class goaded it into mutiny. The navy was filled with men under the system of impressment, then and long afterwards held by the admiralty to be indispensable for the manning of the fleet; a system which forced seafaring men from merchant vessels, and men employed in inland navigation, into the service of the state, on meaner pay and worse fare than they could command in the open market of labour. This class struck for an increase of wages and some other moderate ameliorations in their condition, especially in regard to the quantity and quality of their provisions. They had chosen a seasonable time, from their point of view, to press their demands. The Mediterranean squadron had just achieved the splendid victory off Cape St. Vincent. The other squadrons had their work cut out for them nearer home, as will appear in the sequel. Invasion was imminent, and the safety of the nation was more than ever in the keeping of its sailors. The alliance concluded in the preceding autumn between France and Spain added the large naval force of the latter power to the republican fleets. The maritime ascendancy of England was now threatened with a crushing blow from the united armaments of the French, Dutch, and Spaniards. The French alone had shown the feasibility of invading our shores, not only by their visit to Bantry Bay, when tempestuous weather inflicted on them disasters that frustrated their purpose, but by an actual descent effected in the last week of February on the coast of Pembroke. Their expedition on this occasion was too small to inflict serious damage; they, however, landed twelve hundred men, who were captured by the militia and yeomanry cavalry of the county before they could do any mischief. But if the Dutch from the Texel, and the Spaniards from Carthagena, could join the French at Brest, the united fleets of the three naval powers might have contended on more than equal terms with all the naval force that could have been collected in the channel to meet a sudden danger. On the 1st of February the Spanish fleet of twenty-seven ships of the line, and ten frigates, moved off from the port of Carthagena, with the design of making its way to Cadiz, where it was to have been reinforced. Its after destination was Brest, where the republican fleet was to join it, and the two were then to sail to the Texel, and effect a junction with the large maritime force of Holland. The Spanish admiral expected to find only nine English ships of the line awaiting to contest his passage out of the Mediterranean. But, at a critical moment, Sir John Jervis, in command of the squadron of that strength on the Cadiz station, received a reinforcement of six sail of the line. Even with this addition the force under Jervis was barely half that of the enemy, for none of his ships equalled in size or weight of broadside the seven largest of the Spanish ships, and he had but four frigates against ten on the other side. In the quality of his officers and crews, however, he had a superiority that fully compensated even this great disparity of force. Nelson in the Captain, Collingwood in the Excellent, and Troubridge in the Culloden, were not men to take much account of the size of an antagonist, if they could only manage to grapple with him at close quarters. In that particular the battle off Cape St. Vincent, fought on the 14th of February, afforded them the much coveted opportunity. The English fleet in compact order passed through the long uneven line of the Spaniards, and then tacking, cut off nine ships from the main body, and gave them a reception from which they deemed it prudent to retire, under a press of canvas. Then Jervis made the signal for his whole line to tack in succession, so as to bring it to close quarters with the other and unmaimed section of the enemy's fleet, which even now, though weakened by the flight of nine sail, was numerically stronger than his own. Nelson saw that a part of the enemy's line was effecting a concerted movement with the design of making good a junction with the separated ships, or else of following them in retreat. Risking the consequences of disregard of his commander-in-chief's order, he *wore* instead of *tacking*—a manœuvre that brought him immediately into action with seven of the most powerful ships of the opposing fleet. Troubridge, in the Culloden, came up and shared the close contest, and for two hours the pair of two-deckers sustained, almost unaided, a furious fight with their colossal antagonists, among which were a four-decker and several three-deckers. When Nelson's ship was too much crippled for sailing he contrived to get it in contact with his nearest enemy, the San Nicholas, and carried that ship by a gallant rush of boarders. Scarcely had they hauled down the Spanish flag and hoisted the British ensign, when a sharp fire of musketry and pistols was showered upon the captors from the San Josef, which had fallen foul of the San Nicholas. A few minutes sufficed to make a prize of this vessel also. As Nelson headed his determined band in their rush from the one to the other of these ships, he exclaimed, "Westminster Abbey or victory!" While he was scrambling up the San Josef's side, a Spanish officer leaned over the quarter-deck rail, and announced the surrender. Nelson sprang to the quarter-deck and demanded from the officer, on his word of honour, whether the ship was really surrendered. He declared she was, presented his sword to Nelson, and said the Spanish admiral was below, dying of his wounds. The victor shook hands with his prisoner, the Spanish captain, and desired him to acquaint his officers and crew with the surrender. This was promptly done, and the rest of the officers handed their swords to Nelson. Another of the seven ships had fallen astern, so severely mauled, that on receiving a broadside from the Excellent, then nearing the scene of hottest fight, she hauled down her colours. The San Salvador also, of 112 guns, struck to Jervis in the Victory. By this time many of the British ships were so shattered that a more determined enemy, with so many almost unscathed ships as were still at the disposal of the Spaniards, might have retrieved his first disasters, and reversed the result of the battle. The English fleet drew together in close order, and slackened sail in order to secure their four prizes, in which were three thousand prisoners, and to support their own crippled ships. The Spaniards crowded all sail in retreat, and sought shelter in Cadiz harbour, where they were quickly shut in by a blockading squadron under Nelson, and never ventured beyond the protection of their land batteries. This victory was announced in London on the 3rd of March, and proved a seasonable counterpoise to the gloom occasioned by the wide-spread financial troubles. Parliament voted thanks to the seamen, and rewards to some of their commanders. And now the well-founded discontents and grievances of a hundred thousand seamen became the peril of the nation. The fleet that had just beaten the Spaniards, and earned the gratitude of the country, shared the prevalent spirit of dissatisfaction. But active service on the enemy's shores diverted the attention of the sailors in that quarter from any dangerous participation in the mutinous feeling then abroad in the service. In the channel stations and at the Nore, where the men of different ships had opportunities of combining in a movement, grievances were extensively discussed. At the end of March Lord Bridport, in command of the channel fleet, became aware of the growing discontent among his crews; and unsigned documents, setting forth grievances, reached the hands of the port-admiral, Lord Howe, at Portsmouth. On the 15th of April, Bridport signalled the fleet at Spithead to prepare for sea. The men had arranged beforehand that this signal should mark the moment of their stand for a redress of grievances. Instantly the crew of the admiral's ship sprang aloft into the shrouds, and gave three deafening cheers. The other ships followed the example, simultaneously. Sixteen ships' crews were now united in refusing obedience to their officers. Each crew elected two delegates invested with full powers to act in the name of the mutineers. These representatives forthwith assembled in Lord Howe's cabin, and after a brief deliberation drew up petitions, couched in temperate and respectful language, to the board of admiralty and the House of Commons. They asked for a revision of their pay and pensions, which remained at the level established more than two centuries previously. Their food was bad, and by absurd regulations that had grown up in the service, stated deductions from all their supplies formed the regular perquisite of the purser, who was in effect a licensed sailors' robber. They asked that these abuses should be discontinued; that on their return to home ports they should be allowed more liberty to visit friends ashore than was then customary in the service; and that men wounded in action should receive pay until they were cured and discharged. In this alarming crisis the first decision of government was to wait and watch, and to leave the naval authorities to make a compromise with the malcontents. Partial concessions were offered, but the delegates stood by their first demands. One of the admirals engaged in conference with them lost command of his temper, and imprudently resorted to violent and threatening language. Seizing one of the spokesmen by the collar, the naval martinet declared he would hang the man and his brother rebels. The rest promptly resented such treatment, but up to this point no blood was spilt. The terrible red flag, however, was now placed aloft on each ship —the pirate's signal that no quarter will be given. After a lapse of three anxious days, Bridport obtained leave from the admiralty to offer a complete redress of grievances, and a full pardon to all the men. By this time blood had been shed, and the exasperated sailors decided to trust no promises short of such as should be embodied in an Act of Parliament. Government at length gave way; a bill was passed increasing the pay and allowance of the seamen. This, with the king's proclamation of pardon, was carried down to Portsmouth by Lord Howe, who met the delegates and satisfied them on all points. The flag of insurrection was at once hauled down, the men returned to their obedience, and on the 17th of May the fleet weighed anchor and stood out to sea to meet the Brest fleet. The concessions made to the Spithead mutineers applied to the whole of the navy, but it soon appeared that other discontents remained to be either appeased or conquered. The crews of the fleet stationed at Sheerness and the Nore hoisted the red flag on the 23rd of May, and appointed delegates who held daily meetings ashore at Sheerness, under the presidency of a seaman named Richard Parker. The admiralty sent down a committee of high officials, who attempted to reason the men out of their purpose, but without avail. The Spithead mutiny was marked by an admixture of patriotic devotedness that extorted the admiration even of the defied authorities. There the men coupled their refusal to quit the station, while their oppressive grievances remained unredressed, with the important qualification, "unless the enemy was known to be at sea." And in their petition they declared: "We agree in opinion that we should suffer double the hardships we have hitherto experienced before we would suffer the crown of England to be in the least imposed upon by any power in the world." At the Nore, on the other hand, the mutineers adopted a line of conduct more like that of a foreign enemy than of loyal defenders of their country. The squadron in insurrection there included four men-of-war and a sloop that had deserted the blockading station under Admiral Duncan in the Texel. The rebellious fleet numbered in all twenty-four sail, eleven of which were ships of the line. Some of the most refractory sailors threatened to carry their ships over to the enemy. And the whole fleet actually united in stopping the commerce of the capital. They blocked up the Thames by mooring their ships across the navigable channel, and obliged all trading vessels, up or down, to come to an anchor. By such acts, and by the unreasonable character of their demands, they not only lost the sympathy of the people at large, but even the goodwill of the seamen on the other stations. The fleets at Portsmouth and Plymouth sent addresses of remonstrance and exhortation to the Nore division, urging them to be content with the concessions already made to the whole of the service. These warnings failed to bring back the men to their duty. Nothing remained but to enforce submission; the task, however, was no easy one. The peril was great, but with the general feeling of the nation against them, the mutineers soon found that their cause was hopeless. The authorities forbade all intercourse from the shore, erected batteries for firing red-hot shot, and removed the buoys which marked the passage out to sea. Ministers sent down a royal proclamation, offering pardon to such mutineers as should at once return to their duty. Tokens of indecision and wavering began to appear. Then came an entire split in their counsels, when government passed bills prohibiting all communication with the rebellious sailors, and providing for the more effectual punishment of any who should be convicted of inciting men in the naval and military service to disobedience, mutiny, or sedition. The want of fresh provisions and water now began to tell upon some of the crews, and added force to the other causes operating to subdue their high tone. On the 9th of June several ships deserted the cause; others quickly followed. On the 12th, all but seven hoisted the union jack and displaced the red flag; five more ran in next day under protection of the fort; the remaining two attempted to procure a general pardon, but found the authorities too strong to entertain any proposals other than for unconditional submission. On the 15th entire subordination was re-established. The ringleaders in the revolt were tried and condemned to death, but Parker alone suffered the extreme penalty. He was hanged on the last day of June at the yard-arm of the admiral's ship, the Sandwich, in which, for several weeks, he had held almost supreme command over about twelve thousand insurgent seamen.



THE NORE.

During the whole two months, when the right arm of the nation's strength was thus in a sense paralysed, a constant dread pervaded the public mind that the enemy would find an opportunity to cross the channel and lend the help of a large military force to the disaffected section of the population of Ireland. Ministers were alive to the danger in that quarter, and to the difficulties of their situation generally. These difficulties now inclined them to make fresh overtures for peace. The desire for peace was strengthened by the fact that Austria, the last of the subsidised allies of Great Britain, had already in the month of April suspended hostilities, and concluded a preliminary treaty with Bonaparte. Before the close of the session Lord Malmesbury was again accredited to France, and the Directory sent commissioners to treat with him at Lisle. Elated by their triumphs over the Austrians, and with the subjugation of most of Italy, the French were exorbitant in their conditions of accommodation with England. They demanded the restitution of all conquests made at the expense of the republic and its allies, the Spaniards and Dutch, and that France should retain all of which she had dispossessed her antagonists. Britain was no longer hampered by the interests of her old allies, for they had all deserted her except Portugal. Malmesbury's instructions required him to insist on retaining Trinidad, taken this year from the Spaniards, and the old possessions of the Dutch in Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope. For a time it appeared that the French would moderate their conditions, but in point of fact the decision on their side depended more on changes then passing in Paris, where another revolutionary crisis was approaching, than on the conference at Lisle. Three of the five members of the Directory, Barras, Reubell, and Lépaux, were bent on ejecting their colleagues, Carnot and Barthelemi, and on driving from the legislative councils the party adhering to these two. The triumviri accused their two obnoxious colleagues of favouring reactionary measures. The newly-elected members of the legislative body included many who aimed at the repeal of the more violent of the revolutionary laws, and their leaning in this direction, which they defended as tending to heal the wounds of the nation, was stigmatized by the more ardent republicans as a royalist reaction. Bonaparte had by this time attained a pre-eminent status among the military chiefs of France. He was bent on acquiring a great political position also. He saw that a conflict was approaching between the rival parties in the government, and he decided to throw the weight of his influence and authority on the stronger side. His agents in the capital kept him well informed of every intrigue at the Tuileries. At a critical moment he detached general Augereau from his head-quarters in the Venetian states, where he had recently overthrown the rule of the Doge, to act for him in the command of the regular troops in Paris. Carnot and Barthelemi, the minority in the divided Directorate, and general Pichegru, who was now president of the Council of Five Hundred, secured a majority in the legislature in favour of calling out the National Guard afresh, and removing the regular troops under Augereau from the capital. They made no secret of their desire to remove Bonaparte from his command, under an apprehension, which events soon proved to be too well grounded, that his boundless ambition formed a new element of danger. Their rivals, the other three directors, now resorted to a bold stroke, virtually another revolution, which is known in French history as the *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor, the date in the revolutionary calendar answering to the 4th of September. Setting at defiance the decree of the Legislative Assembly, they surrounded the Tuileries with a park of artillery and 12,000 troops under Augereau, and proceeded to purge the representative body of such members as were obnoxious to them. Upwards of sixty were arrested in their places in the Assembly, including Pichegru, the president; Barthelemi also was seized; Carnot contrived to escape into Switzerland. It had of late become the fashion to transport political offenders to Cayenne. The victims of the latest changes in the government of France were now deported to that pestilential penal settlement. Among other consequences of this latest phase of revolutionary government, fresh commissioners were sent to Lisle, professedly to continue the negotiations for peace, but in reality, as appeared by their tone, bearing an inexorable adherence to inadmissible terms of pacification, with the set purpose of humiliating the only one of the belligerent powers which remained unsubdued by the republican arms. As remarked by Canning at the time, "It was not any question of terms, of giving this, or retaining that. It was a settled determination to get rid of the chance of peace on the part of the three scoundrelly Directors that put an end to the negotiation." The embassy returned to England on 18th September.

Having overthrown every combination of military force that threatened her own frontiers a few years earlier, and carried her victorious arms in a succession of brilliant campaigns into every neighbouring territory, France now indulged the flattering day-dream that, with no other enemies on her hands, the vigorous employment of her undivided resources, in conjunction with the two naval powers whose fleets were now at her command, would insure a speedy triumph in the conflict with England. France for the time believed herself to be another Rome, whose invincible legions were about to subdue that land which they represented as another Carthage. A few weeks after Lord Malmesbury's return to London, Bonaparte, who was settling with the Austrians the definitive terms of peace after a six months' cessation of hostilities, writes to the Directory, "The war with England will open to us a new field for active operations more vast and brilliant." And not many days later the Directory gave out that an army would forthwith be collected, to be called the "Army of England." They issued a proclamation announcing to France that, "The army of England is able to dictate peace in London, and there, republicans, you shall find your auxiliaries . . . Conducted by the hero who has so long led you in the path of victory, you will be followed by the applause of every just and virtuous mind." In a public reception given in December, in Paris, to the hero of Italy, Barras, then president, bade Bonaparte not yet to entertain the thought of repose; but prepare for the conquest of England. Bonaparte accepted the command, and promptly made a tour of inspection of the ports and arsenals along the northern coast of France, to learn the extent of available means for the proposed expedition. He returned from the journey impressed with the enormous difficulties of the contemplated military and naval enterprise. After a careful survey of all the bustling preparations for the invasion and conquest, "It would be too great a risk," he said: "I will not run it. I will not sport thus with the fate of France."

Another great naval victory had recently gladdened the heart of England, and it perhaps sobered the sanguine expectations of not a few Frenchmen as to the feasibility of forcing the passage of the narrow sea between the two countries. Duncan's North Sea squadron, after a long and wearisome service in blockading the Dutch fleet in the Texel, was driven from its ground by heavy gales at the period of the autumnal equinox. The Batavian government thereupon gave orders for their long-blockaded fleet to put to sea and join the French at Brest. Most of Duncan's ships were at anchor in Yarmouth Roads, refitting and revictualling, when on the morning of the 9th of October a lugger came in from his squadron of frigates, which still hovered about the coast of Holland, and gave the signal for recalling the fleet to its old station. Within forty-eight hours his force of sixteen sail of the line had found the Dutch fleet under De Winter, comprising eleven ships of the line, and four fifty-six gun frigates. To prevent the retreat of his enemy into the intricate shallows near at hand, Duncan gave the signal for all his ships to pass between the Dutch fleet and the shore, which was within sight a few miles off. This was a hazardous manœuvre, for the wind was blowing on shore. Every ship pressed down upon the Dutch line of battle, and passed through it to leeward, hotly engaged with its nearest antagonist. The shore for miles was soon occupied with eager spectators of the fray. The fight was stubborn, at close quarters for the most part, and occupied about four hours. It is highly honourable to Holland that her smaller force maintained so good a fight. Twelve of her ships remained trophies in the hands of the English, but most of them had suffered so much in the battle, that they were brought over to the Nore at no small hazard to the lives on board. Two admirals were among the prisoners taken. The loss of life in this well-contested fight was very severe. Great were the rejoicings at home when the conquerors and their many prizes came to anchor at the Nore. Canning, who now filled the dignity of Speaker, was among the earliest group of high officials who hastened to visit the triumphant North Sea fleet, a large section of which had shared in the mutiny a few months earlier. As he passed among the wounded, reposing in their hammocks, some of them expressed in homely phrase the hope that they had so acquitted themselves in the battle as to make amends for the late offence.

The sailors did a good deal of fighting in other quarters. Everywhere resolute and daring, they were sometimes carried by their own ardour and the enthusiasm of their officers into situations where the most heroic valour was of no avail against the disproportionate force with which they were confronted. Thus, on the 24th of July, Nelson headed a night attack on the strongly fortified port of Santa Cruz, in the Island of Teneriffe, his force consisting of seamen and marines to the number of nearly a thousand. The boats put off in six divisions, and made for the Mole. Less than a third of them reached that destination, under a storm of shot; the rest went ashore through a raging surf, which smashed most of them on the rocks, and spoilt the ammunition. The Mole, though defended by four or five hundred men, was promptly stormed and carried, and its guns all spiked. But most of the brave fellows who performed this act of daring fell, killed or wounded, under the heavy fire of cannon from the near fort, and musketry from adjacent houses. Nelson himself received a shot through his right elbow, and fell powerless at the moment he was quitting his boat to lead the attack. The Fox cutter, with one hundred and eighty men on board, was sunk by the heavy artillery fire; more than half her men were drowned; the rest were picked up by boats that failed to make good a landing. Troubridge made his way to the great square, on which all the streets of the town converge, and at dawn of day found himself in command of about three hundred and forty men, all the survivors of those who had effected a landing. By this time he was pretty well hemmed in by the approaching military, who to the number of several thousands occupied every avenue, and brought their artillery to bear on the spot, but withheld their fire in the expectation of the surrender of so small a force as prisoners of war. But Troubridge had yet one resource in reserve, though cut off from stores, provisions and reinforcements. He sent Captain Hood with a flag of truce to the governor, with the message that if the Spanish troops approached one inch nearer, or molested his party in any way, he would instantly set fire to the town, but that he was ready to treat on the following terms: the British force to re-embark, with all their arms, in such of their own boats as remained sound enough, and in others to be supplied for their use if needed; all prisoners on either side to be released; the squadron which furnished the attacking force not to molest the town nor any of the Canary Islands. The governor demurred, but gave way when Hood announced that, if these conditions were not acceded to in five minutes, the English would burn the town, and sell their lives dearly, in a hand-to-hand encounter. Thereupon the bargain was agreed to, and the Spaniards most generously received the wounded sailors and marines into their hospitals. They also furnished the others with plenty of good provisions, and gave permission, unasked, for the ships to obtain whatever refreshments or stores they might need while they were off Teneriffe. To complete this pleasing picture of the amenities that sometimes diversified the stern realities of war, the British admiral and the Spanish governor exchanged chivalrous courtesies, like knights of old after a tourney, and Nelson volunteered to convey to Spain the governor's despatches. He thus actually became the first herald of his own defeat. His mind was now possessed with gloomy but groundless forebodings that his professional career was closed. A left-handed admiral, he said, would never again be considered as useful; he expected soon to be cashiered, neglected, and forgotten. "Therefore," he added, "the sooner I get to a very humble cottage the better; and make room for a sounder man to serve the state." His despatches made no mention of his own shattered arm, but a grateful country soon learned the loss, and gave ample proof that it knew of no "sounder man" than the intrepid one-armed admiral to wield its mighty force afloat. Cities vied with each other in doing honour to the hero, and government added substantial tokens of its regard. A pension of a thousand a-year was awarded to him, and he was decorated with the Order of the Bath. Up to that date, as was stated in the memorial, which as a matter of form was presented in connection with the pension, he had been actually engaged against the enemy, including the period of the American war, upwards of one hundred and twenty times; had lost in action his right eye and right arm, and been otherwise wounded and severely bruised in the body; had borne a personal part in the capture of twenty-eight armed vessels, including seven sail of the line and six frigates; and had served four months ashore, in conjunction with the military in Corsica, where he headed the combined force and directed the siege operations at Bastia and Calvi. Even this long catalogue scarcely exhausted the tale of good service already performed at the date when Nelson erroneously thought his professional life was about to close.

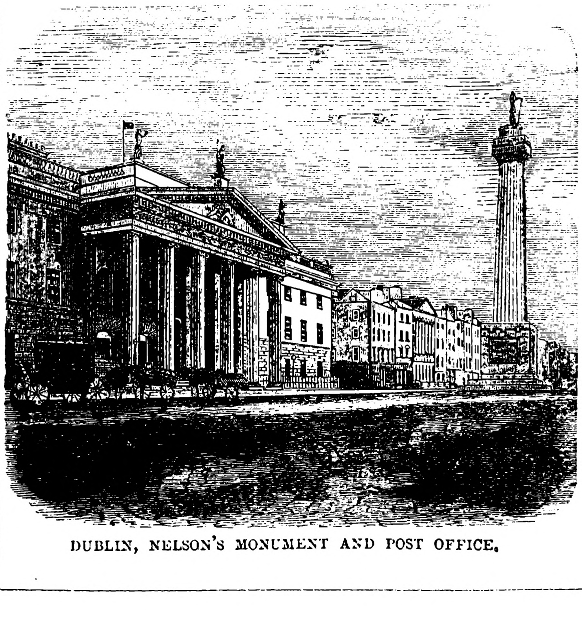
Somewhat earlier than the attack on Santa Cruz, a squadron of six sail under Admiral Harvey, assisted by some troops, dispossessed the Spaniards of the desirable West Indian island of Trinidad. An attempt by the same expedition to take Porto Rico was not successful.

Parliament met in November. The king's speech, in taking account of the late negotiation, laid the whole blame of failure on the exorbitant pretensions of France, and expressed a disposition to close the war on reasonable conditions. No opposition was made to the address, which pledged the House to a vigorous continuance of the war, for Fox and his set had now carried out their long meditated desertion of their places in the House, giving out that their attendance was useless while ministerial hirelings were always at command to outvote them and fix upon them the stigma of being unpatriotic and anti-national. In their absence the session wore an aspect of placid tameness. The reproaches of their constituents, however, soon sent them back to their parliamentary duties. Supplies to the amount of 25,000,000*l.* were voted, and the army and navy estimates passed without challenge.

Before passing to the transactions of 1798, some few events of the previous year, not interwoven in the regular narrative, yet claim brief mention. The princess royal, Charlotte Matilda, was married in May to the prince of Wurtemburg, taking with her a dowry of 80,000*l.* Burke, who had withdrawn from public life several years earlier, died in July, maintaining to the last his stubborn opposition to the renewal of friendly relations with France until what he called its regicide government should be overthrown, and the royal family restored. Grey renewed his annual motion for parliamentary reform, with large modifications on his previous proposals. His scheme now contemplated the extension of the suffrage to copy and leaseholders as well as freeholders in the election of county members, and household suffrage for borough members. But the season of a financial crash, threatening national bankruptcy, of a formidable mutiny in the fleets, of anticipated rebellion and invasion, was certainly not fitted for the dispassionate treatment of such a topic, and it need hardly be stated that the motion was summarily negatived. The British army still bore no part in military transactions on the continent. The Austrians maintained a stubborn contest in the opening months of the year with the force under Bonaparte, but only to afford fresh occasion for republican triumphs and spoliations. An uninterrupted succession of brilliant and skilful exploits made Bonaparte dictator of the fate of Italy. Treasures of art from Rome, Venice, and all the galleries of the peninsula formed part of the forced contributions exacted by the victorious general from the trembling authorities. Paris was constantly receiving waggons laden with the spoils of conquered states, or of cities that hastened by timely submission to propitiate the favour of the victorious general. Bonaparte was fast growing too great to be controlled by the Directory. Already he was disposing of states and giving new boundaries to old empires, with scarcely a show of deference to the instructions of his nominal masters. The Directory distinctly charged him that, in the exchange of territories and transfer of populations which he was arranging with the cabinet of Vienna, he must not permit the Venetian States to fall under the rule of the emperor. The honour of the French nation was involved in this question, for their army had helped the Venetians to overthrow their old oligarchical and aristocratic government after it had withstood the shocks of ten centuries. Just after this revolution, in which he had assisted to establish a democratic republic, and for which he received large contributions in money, ships, priceless objects of antique and mediæval art—among these the renowned horses of St. Mark, to crown the triumphal arch in Paris—Bonaparte wrote to the newly chosen rulers of Venice, telling them he would do his utmost to consolidate the liberties of their republic, and to help unhappy Italy to take her rightful place among the nations, uncontrolled by strangers. Later in the same year, despite his own magnanimous promises, in defiance of the instructions of the Directory, he partitioned the Venetian States, giving a large portion to the Austrians, obtaining at the same time the formal cession of the Netherlands to France, together with the left bank of the Rhine, including Mayence. The Austrian cabinet further agreed that France should have the Ionian Islands, which were possessions of Venice. Other stipulations of the like sort, on either side, disposed of a large section of Northern Italy and some German territory, being portions of neutral or friendly states whose rights and wishes were entirely set at naught by both these high and mighty, but utterly unscrupulous contracting parties. Bonaparte had conceived another large project, by which to pave the way for a great political position. Peace with Austria was necessary in order to liberate him for campaigns in another quarter, to which his daring ambition was now prompting him. The Directory, too, desired a settlement with Austria, in order to leave them free to use the undivided resources of France in the humiliation of England. Bonaparte conceived that England's greatness would not survive the overthrow of her eastern dominion and the loss of her enormous commerce. As a principal step towards the infliction of a fatal blow on the prosperity of England, he persuaded the Directory to confide to him an expedition for the conquest of Egypt, which he believed would put France in a position to secure the trade between Europe and Asia, and ultimately to dispossess the English of their rule in India. The secret of this expedition was well kept. All France continued to ring with preparations for throwing an army of 100,000 men on the English coast; but this was now only a feint. The project of French colonisation in the valley of the Nile had been propounded in the time of the monarchy. Recent military successes, exceeding in splendour and completeness anything recorded in the preceding annals of France, inspired her generals and rulers with the belief that no military enterprise was too formidable for French prowess. Dreams of dominion over the decaying Ottoman empire, and in Oriental regions beyond, including Hindostan, took a hold on their imagination, and Bonaparte was forthwith commissioned to organise that army of Egypt whose movements will presently have to be recorded. Meanwhile, throughout the winter and spring, France continued to threaten, and Britain to expect an invasion. The English parliament passed several measures for increasing the means of national defence. Among these was a bill for encouraging armed associations of volunteers for the protection of the country. Then, as on an after occasion, threescore years later, of French threats of invasion, men of all ranks and occupations enrolled themselves for military exercises and to learn the use of arms. The national spirit was fired, as it will always be, by talk of foreign subjugation. Even the sturdiest opponents of the warlike policy of ministers were among the foremost to applaud and second their schemes for home defence. In April the king sent down a message to the House that from various advices received, it appeared that the preparations for the embarkation of troops and warlike stores was carried on with increasing activity in the ports of France, Flanders, and Holland, with the design of attempting the invasion of England. A month later, Pitt proposed a measure for more effectually manning the navy; and as the prospect of invasion appeared to be increasing every day, he urgently pressed the House to pass the bill through all its stages the same day. Tierney rebuked this extraordinary haste and pressure; on which Pitt pettishly responded with a broad insinuation that opposition to his scheme could only proceed from a desire to obstruct the defence of the country. Tierney invoked the Speaker's interference, to decide whether his opponent was in order. Pitt was thereupon required to explain or retract the offensive expression by which he had cast suspicion on the loyalty and patriotism of a member. He defended the language to which exception was taken, and next day received and accepted a hostile challenge from his antagonist. Accordingly, on Sunday afternoon, the 27th of May, 1798, the premier fought a duel on that spot where later generations of Englishmen assemble annually in July for two weeks of friendly rivalry in the use of arms. Both statesmen were fortunately very bad marksmen. They fired twice without hitting. The seconds thereupon interposed and effected a reconciliation; and the country enjoyed the edifying story, scarcely at all scandalized by the event. Heavy supplementary estimates were proposed and passed before the close of the session, bringing the total expenditure of the year up to upwards of thirty millions. The last act of the session was one giving legal effect to the voluntary tender of service beyond the limits of their own country made by many regiments of English militia.

In May a small military expedition was despatched to Ostend, one of the ports which threatened to become a point of departure for the threatened invasion of our shores. The troops effected a landing without loss, demolished the sluices of the Bruges Canal, and partially destroyed the basin, thus hampering the internal traffic between France and the sea by way of Belgium. But suddenly and silently a larger force of the enemy interposed between them and their ships, and made them prisoners. An expedition against Minorca proved more fortunate. That island was captured by a combined naval and military force without any loss. The conquest made in the previous year at the expense of the French in St. Domingo had now to be relinquished to the blacks. Disease had seriously thinned the ranks of the British, and the negroes had pretty well annihilated the French. By the close of the year the negroes under Toussaint L'Ouverture established themselves in the government of the island. Numerous captures of French privateers and small cruisers belonging to their navy occurred in the course of this year.

Rebellion had at length broken out on a formidable scale in Ireland. The aim of the insurgents was severance of their country from British dominion. They sought help from France, and Hoche's expedition at the end of 1796 was designed to further this object. The dispersion of his armament frustrated the plans of the conspirators for a time, but throughout the following year they were actively engaged in prosecuting the same design. The Dutch fleet, defeated at Camperdown in the autumn of 1797, was destined for the same service, in conjunction with the armament prepared at Brest. Despite the failure of these two foreign contingents to effect their purpose, the Irish malcontents resolved on an insurrection. Early in 1798 the association of United Irishmen appointed an executive under the name of a directory, of five members, after the fashion of France. These selected rulers of the forthcoming Irish republic were Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, Emmett, Bond, and McNevin. Government obtained a clue to their plans and organisation. The three last-named members of the committee were arrested in Dublin, in the month of March, on a charge of high treason. Fitzgerald contrived to conceal himself till the 19th of May, four days before the date fixed for a general rising. He frantically murdered two of the party of military sent to arrest him, and was then himself shot in the shoulder, and died a few weeks afterwards of his wound. Other conspirators were appointed to the vacated places in the directory. The rising commenced on the 23rd, with the destruction of the mails on the various routes out of Dublin, and the murder of the poor guards



DUBLIN, NELSON'S MONUMENT AND POST OFFICE.

and coachmen. The capital, meanwhile, was prepared for the outbreak. Martial law was proclaimed; the whole city was occupied as a garrison; the guards at the castle and other public buildings were tripled. The yeomanry turned out throughout the country. Their numbers went up from 37,000 to 50,000; 12,000 militiamen were sent over from England at their own request, to share the duty with the regular troops. Fighting commenced in many quarters simultaneously. The anticipated onslaught on Dublin was only averted by the magnitude of the preparations to meet the danger. On the night fixed for the commencement of the insurrection, of which the authorities obtained full and timely information, all who had anything to lose in the dreaded social convulsion about to burst forth turned out, placed themselves at the disposal of the government, and kept watch and guard with the military. Barristers, attorneys, bankers, merchants, parsons, doctors, apothecaries, students at Trinity College, shopkeepers, clerks, and men of every respectable calling, gathered in their yeomanry uniform, and passed the night in the pens of the cattle market, shoulder to shoulder, ready to confront the turbulent thousands who were to stream out of the back lanes and purlieus of the city and join the array of organised insurgents from the country. But the rebels outside were apprised of the reception awaiting them, and prudently marched off, on less perilous enterprises, against small bodies of military, or the plunder and devastation of houses and estates. The insurgents numbered altogether more than a quarter of a million, and though they had but an inadequate supply of firearms, and were indifferently officered and disciplined, they were numerically vastly superior to the organised supporters of government, and consequently obtained the mastery in many districts over small detachments of regular military in charge of isolated posts. The garrison of Carlow, 450 in number, was assailed on the 25th by 1,500 rebels, a third of whom perished in the onset, without inflicting the slightest loss on the troops. After the defeat, two hundred more of their number were shot or hanged, in retaliation for atrocities committed on smaller numbers of loyal men who fell in the first days of the insurrection. The small garrison of Enniscorthy, after a three hours' resistance to 7,000 rebels, was compelled to seek safety in precipitate flight. The neighbourhood of Wexford witnessed several encounters, in which large numbers were slain on both sides. The garrison, 1,200 in number, were forced to retire, after some hard fighting, leaving the town in possession of 15,000 of their antagonists, whose arms were chiefly pikes, sixteen feet long, scythes, hay-forks, rusty muskets, old bayonets fixed on long staves, and miscellaneous weapons. Batches of Protestants were daily massacred on the bridge by their merciless compatriots, the usual mode of execution being to thrust two pikes through the body of each victim, who was then lifted from the ground by two rebels in front and two behind, and kept writhing on the pikes until his tortures ended in death. To spare their ammunition and use their pikes was the motto of these political regenerators in dealing with men, women, and children, old and young, whose religious or political sympathies differed from their own. More than two hundred Protestants of both sexes, and all ages, were burnt alive in a barn, or shot outside it, in the vicinity of New Ross, in savage retaliation for a defeat sustained by insurgents who were attempting to take that town. In the defence of Ross three hundred royalists were slain, but their assailants paid dearly for the damage, in the loss of 2,000 of their own number. Many scattered bodies of defeated insurgents now massed themselves together at Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy, where every morning they glutted their ire on numbers of unfortunate loyalists, inflicting on them excruciating torments, after the fashion of the executions on the bridge at Wexford. On the 21st of June the royal forces under General Lake successfully assailed this great gathering of rebels. Large numbers of them fell in the fight here, and though still greater numbers fled into the neighbouring mountains, they made no further stand against the troops in any action on a large scale. Two priests, brothers, of the name of Murphy, were prominent leaders of the rebel forces in Wicklow, Wexford, and the neighbouring districts. One of these was killed in battle; the other was taken and hanged. In the north of Ireland large bodies of united Irishmen who were not Catholics bore part in the rebellion.

The force of 5,000 which fought against the royal troops and yeomanry at Antrim, Larne, Ballymena, and sundry other places near Belfast, included a majority of Protestant dissenters. There were no Catholics in the large insurgent army which fought the battle of Ballynahinch against 1,500 royal troops under General Nugent; for, on the night preceding the fight, all who professed the Romish faith deserted their Presbyterian comrades. When the battle was raging furiously, they rejoiced at a safe distance over the spectacle of Protestants mutually destroying each other. The native loyalists made a cruel use of their victory wherever they were not under the control of cooler heads than any indigenous to the soil at that period. Military executions and merciless severities were inflicted under the forms of martial law and the guidance of ignorant yeomanry officers. At this juncture Cornwallis, who had been governor-general of India, was sent over to take Lord Camden's post of viceroy. He arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June, the day preceding General Lake's decisive assault on the rebels at Vinegar Hill. His large experience, both as a military commander and as a civil administrator, peculiarly qualified him for the onerous charge, and formed indeed the reasons for selecting him to supersede Lord Camden. His first serious difficulty was to enforce on the loyalists the observance of equity, lenity, moderation, clemency and justice towards the vanquished. He issued an order forbidding the infliction of any sentence of a court-martial, unless authorised by a general officer, and used every exertion to curb the ferocity of the Irish troops. Early in July he issued a proclamation, offering protection to all who had been guilty of rebellion, on condition of their giving up their arms and taking the oath of allegiance. He found the most influential adherents of government, including members of both houses of the Irish parliament, stubbornly averse to measures of clemency or conciliation, and bent only on merciless repression. A nonsensical clamour was got up that leniency was carried to an extreme under the new lord-lieutenant and his chief secretary, Lord Castlereagh. Meanwhile, the surviving originators of the plot and the new leaders of the United Irishmen prevailed on the French government to send over an auxiliary force, in order to revive the nearly extinguished insurrection. On the 22nd of August three frigates from Rochelle eluded the vigilance of English cruisers, and landed a force of 1,100 men on the coast of Mayo. These were but the vanguard of a larger force about to follow. They were under the command of General Humbert, an able officer, and for so small a force they caused no little consternation. Reinforced by the arrival of several thousands of Irish insurgents, they marched to Castlebar, where they obtained an easy victory over some regiments of yeomanry and militia, who fled before a bayonet charge. The insurgents now began to take heart afresh, came in great numbers to Humbert's standard, and urged a rapid advance on Dublin, where they expected yet to stimulate their friends to such a rising as was frustrated three months earlier. Lord Cornwallis immediately took the field in person, at the head of a force of regular troops. He made short work of the invaders and their allies. On the 8th of September the division under General Lake came up with the French, who, after half an hour's fighting, on finding themselves well-nigh surrounded by a superior force, surrendered at discretion. Eight days later a French brig landed a store of arms and ammunition on the coast of Donegal, and on the 11th of October the force intended to swell Humbert's contingent appeared off the same shore, in eight frigates and the Hoche line-of-battle-ship. Admiral Warren, however, succeeded in preventing the landing. He captured the Hoche, with three of the frigates; three others met a similar fate on their way back to France. Among the prisoners secured in the Hoche was the notorious Wolf Tone, who a month later was condemned to death, but escaped execution by suicide in jail. The loss of life in this Irish rebellion of 1798 is variously estimated at from 30,000 to 70,000, including all who perished in battle, by military execution, or merciless massacres. Besides large numbers sentenced to death at the assizes and courts-martial, many hundreds were condemned to transportation or banishment. The loss of property during the rebellion, from desolating ravages and burnings, was estimated at several millions; the claims of loyalists in Wexford and Wicklow alone for compensation exceeded a million sterling. On the 6th of October an act of general amnesty, with some exceptions, received the royal assent, and conditional pardons were afterwards extended to many who had too much reason to expect the worst terrors of the law.

Remedial measures calculated to undermine the foundations of disaffection were ever uppermost in the mind of the new viceroy, even amid the thickest turmoil of the rebellion. His correspondence with Pitt and other statesmen is full of the project of amalgamating the Lords and Commons of Ireland with the British parliament, and of putting the Catholics on a footing of equality with Protestants, in respect to every civil and political right. The question was, however, beset with difficulties too formidable for entire solution by the best and wisest heads of those troublous times. It would be premature in this place to do more than merely foreshadow the great measures, the discussion of which commenced in the autumn of this year. With his hands still full of work cut out for him by foreign invasion and civil war, Cornwallis tells Pitt, in September: "The principal people here are so frightened, that they would, I believe, readily consent to a union"—that is, to an incorporation of the Irish with the British legislature. But the notion of conceding to the enormous majority equal rights of citizenship with the dominant Protestant minority was in the highest degree unpalatable to the principal people with whom the lord-lieutenant was now taking counsel in order to pave the way to a permanent pacification of Ireland. These men were for a Protestant union merely, but Cornwallis resolved "not to submit to the insertion of any clause that should make the exclusion of Catholics a fundamental part of the union." We recur to this subject in the record of events in the two next years.

It was on the suggestion of General Bonaparte that the Directory decided to postpone the purposed invasion of England, and to intrust him with an enterprise which promised to aggrandise France by the acquisition of an eastern empire. Engrossed by their preparation of the armament destined for the conquest of Egypt, the French government rendered, as we have seen, only a feeble support to the formidable rebellion in Ireland. They, however, kept up all the while the pretence that the object of all their busy work in the seaports, south as well as north, was still the invasion of England. To secure funds for the equipment of the army of Egypt and the immense fleet needed for its conveyance, a marauding expedition was sent into Switzerland, on the specious pretext of assisting the democratic party in some of the cantons to remodel their constitution after the pattern of France. Such fraternity had its price, and that a heavy one. The treasury of Berne was emptied of its accumulations to the amount of three millions sterling, and forced contributions from Rome and Genoa furnished additional ways and means. Thus provided with the sinews of war, Bonaparte was enabled to conduct his expedition to the mouth of the Nile. His force of 40,000 troops of all arms, with horses and artillery, quitted Toulon on the 19th of May in several hundred transports, under escort of a well-appointed naval armament of thirteen ships of the line, and smaller craft, bringing the total to more than forty fighting ships. Admiral Brueys, in the Orient, a three-decker, of a hundred and twenty guns, was the naval commander. His ship carried, in addition to its combatants, about a hundred experts in various branches of learning, literary and scientific, who were to occupy themselves in the exploration of Egyptian antiquities and the natural and artificial capabilities of such regions as should fall under the dominion of the invaders. On the 9th of June the fleet and its convoy arrived at Malta, which for nearly three centuries had been governed by the monastic and military order of St. John of Jerusalem. Many of these knights of Malta were Frenchmen, and not very hostile to the invaders. By their connivance and treachery the island and its impregnable fortress were given up to Bonaparte, after some little show of resistance to save appearances. Leaving a garrison in charge, and transferring to his own military chest all the gold in the coffers of the displaced government, together with the plate belonging to the religious houses and churches, he quitted Malta on the 16th of June, and on the last day of the month anchored in the roads of Alexandria. Nelson, with a section of Lord St. Vincent's fleet—which was still blockading the Spanish navy in Cadiz—was meanwhile beating about the neighbouring seas, where he had long been on the watch to discover the destination of the Toulon fleet. His force up to this date had been merely a squadron of observation, consisting of three seventy-fours and half a dozen frigates. Ten sail of the line from the Cadiz fleet now joined him, but his frigates had parted company the previous night in a gale, and to his intense chagrin he failed to find them in time for a service in which they might have proved invaluable. On learning what had passed at Malta and the course steered by the French fleet on their departure thence, Nelson felt certain that Egypt was the next destination of the enemy. Thither accordingly he sailed under a press of canvas. Having no frigates, he was forced to sail in rather closer order than was desirable; having regard to chances of sighting the French fleet. He arrived at Alexandria on the 28th of June, and found the port vacant. The governor was busied in preparation to beat off the expected marauders, for news had arrived from Leghorn that the French were on the way to Egypt. France had no quarrel with the rulers or people of that country, and all the usual tokens of perfect amity with the Sultan remained in operation. This, however, was of no account in the estimation of the republic and its Directory. Bonaparte addressed a proclamation to his troops which told them that the genius of liberty had rendered the republic the arbiter of the destinies of Europe, and assigned to it the same power over the seas and over remote nations. On the 1st of July the French came to anchor in Egyptian waters. Nelson, meanwhile, was off in quest of them, chafing and fretting under the keen disappointment of failing to gain tidings of them. He went back to Sicily, where he obtained much needed supplies of provisions and water, and gleaned a few scraps of intelligence that confirmed him afresh in the conviction that they were bound for Egypt. Writing to Lord St. Vincent, at Cadiz, he said he would soon find the missing foe if they were anywhere above water. In another letter of about the same date to the first lord of the admiralty, he declared, "Be they bound to the antipodes, your lordship may rely that I will not lose a moment in bringing them to action." The five weeks thus consumed by Nelson in a chase round half the Mediterranean afforded the French the advantage of an unmolested disembarkation at Alexandria. They took that place by assault, left a garrison there, and then moved inland to Cairo, of which city also they made themselves masters after a good deal of fighting outside. Bonaparte conciliated the Mahometan inhabitants by proclamations, in which he professed respect and attachment to the religion of the Prophet; and cheered his soldiers with delusive promises of allotments of seven acres of land for each on the fertile banks of the Nile.

In one of his characteristic addresses to his soldiers at this period, he bade them remember, as an incentive to heroic deeds and sufferings, that forty centuries looked down upon them from the towering Pyramids. All his successes, however, and all his reliance on his well-appointed army, for any work that Egypt or Syria might offer, failed to dissipate his fears for the safety of his fleet. The transports and smaller war vessels were within the harbour and protected by land defences, but the depth of water was found to be insufficient for the line-of-battle ships to go under similar shelter. Brueys moored his fleet in a position which Nelson describes as "A strong line of battle for defending the entrance of the bay, flanked by numerous gunboats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars." Such was the order in which they were at length discovered by their pursuers on the 1st of August. Nelson's feverish anxiety for many previous weeks had spoilt his rest and his appetite. The sight of the forest of masts, each with the tricolour fluttering from its top, set his troubled spirit at ease. While his ships were nearing the enemy and preparing for the battle, he presided calmly over his assembled officers at the dinner-table. On rising to dismiss them to their several stations with final orders, he said to them, "Before this time to-morrow I shall have gained a peerage or Westminster Abbey." The French admiral flattered himself that the strong position in which his fleet was placed gave him such vantage ground that he might fairly bid defiance to a force double his own. He had thirteen ships of the line, among which were a three-decker of 120 guns and three eighty-gun ships. The rest were seventy-fours. Beside these were four large frigates. The total number of guns in the French fleet was 1,196, and the number of men 11,230. Nelson had an equal number of ships of the line, all seventy-fours, and one ship of fifty guns, carrying in all 1,012 guns, and 8,068 men. Thus, in point of numbers, position, and size of ships, the French had a large advantage, and they were nowise deficient in courage. But in skill, daring, and determination, the balance was on the other side, and these high qualities promptly exhibited their accustomed superiority over size of ships, weight of metal, and strength in men. Nelson had no misgivings on the score of odds against him, and his officers and crews fully participated in his confident presentiment of victory. He, however, perceived by the intuition of his marvellous genius in naval tactics, that he might largely reduce the adverse balance of physical force by posting a part of his fleet between the enemy's line and the shore. This manœuvre involved the risk of grounding in the shoal water which, as he was fully aware, protected the French on the landward side. But he concluded that where there was room for an enemy's ship at anchor to swing in shore without grounding the space must be sufficient for one of his own ships to take up a position between the enemy's line and the shore. He settled accordingly with some of his captains to pass to the inner side, while the others took their places on the outer or seaward front of the enemy's line. The afternoon was wearing away as his fleet advanced leisurely and under reduced sail to the attack. Each ship moved on in silence, most of the hands employed aloft in furling sails, or on deck in tending the braces, preparing to let go the anchors, or heaving the lead-line to find the depth of water under its keel. Showers of shot and shell from batteries on the island of Aboukir, and from the seaward front of the French line, flew thick and fast about and among Nelson's cool and methodical crews. They received the first fiery salute in silence, and threw all their energies into the completion of work that must be done, before the more welcome duty of working broadside guns, or wielding cutlasses and boarding-pikes. Some ships reserved their fire until they were anchored near their selected antagonists; others poured in broadsides as they passed to their assigned positions. The sun went down before the bulk of the ships came to anchor, and darkness had long set in before the four hindmost arrived to share in the engagement. One of these, the Culloden, unfortunately grounded at too great a distance from the battle to take any part in it. By half-past eight three ships in the French line had struck, and many others were severely mauled. The battle raged furiously for many hours longer, however, the combatants having little else to guide their aim than the flash and glare of their mutual cannonading. One of the French frigates was sunk quite early in the action, under a well-aimed broadside at close quarters from the Orion, which she had the temerity to attack when that vessel was taking up her position close to a more formidable antagonist. Several of the larger French ships were dismasted within fifteen minutes of the first fire opened upon them at the very short range of half-pistol shot. This was the favourite distance with all the more dashing English captains of the period. One awful intermission in the fierce contest occurred towards midnight. The French admiral's ship, L'Orient, probably the most powerful war vessel then afloat, took fire at about nine o'clock. She had previously borne a leading part in the battle, and had crippled the Bellerophon, besides inflicting heavy damage on several other British ships. Soon the lurid glare from the burning three-decker lighted up the whole scene of battle, and displayed to view the extent of the havoc mutually inflicted. Then came an awful pause. The flames were rising to a towering height, lapping up shrouds, reefed sails, masts, spars, and boats, and extending their ravages downwards and about the hull itself, when a terrific explosion shattered the huge floating castle into fragments, and spread throughout the fleet a sudden awe which for a brief space stayed the hands of every combatant. Nelson had been carried below wounded, several hours previously. He was struck on the forehead by a splinter, which tore a piece of flesh from the bone, and left it hanging over his remaining eye. Although his hurt was at first thought to be dangerous, or even mortal, he refused the surgeon's attentions until those who were wounded before him were first cared for. He now rushed again to the deck, and gave directions for prompt succour to be rendered to the living remnant of the crew who were struggling in the waves amid tossing fragments of the shattered vessel. About seventy were saved by English boats. Most of the rest had perished. The French admiral was killed some hours before his splendid ship blew up. The French ship Franklin was the first to break the sudden silence that followed the awful crash. The British took up the challenge with terrible effect. At dawn of day only four of the enemy remained in fighting trim. Two of these hauled down their colours; the other two, with two frigates, slipped their cables and got away to sea. At the close of the battle, nine ships of the line remained as trophies in the hands of the victors, and two others were burnt; of the four frigates, one was sunk, and another burnt by its own crew, who escaped to shore after they had surrendered. The English loss in killed and wounded was nearly nine hundred men; that of the French is usually estimated at upwards of five thousand. More than three thousand French prisoners were sent ashore, on the usual terms of cartel. Of the two ships and two frigates that got away, one of the frigates alone eluded capture and reached a French port; English cruisers, later in the year, intercepted and mastered the other three. On the other hand, the English fifty-gun ship Leander, which carried Nelson's despatches, was captured by the French ships that escaped, and was carried into Corfu, where her officers and crew were robbed of nearly every thing they possessed. Widely different was the fate of the captured French sailors, respecting whom Kleber, the general in charge at Rosetta, wrote to Napoleon Bonaparte: "The English have had the generosity to restore everything to their prisoners." If Nelson had been provided with some vessels of small draft, the whole of the immense fleet of store ships and transports which had found shelter in the shallow port would have shared the fate of the fighting ships, and the French army would thus have been denuded of supplies.

The great victory of the Nile called forth a thrill of joy, not alone in the native land of the conquerors, but throughout the nations of Europe and the East. The historian Thiers calls the battle the most disastrous that the French had yet sustained, and the one of which the consequences were destined to prove the most hurtful. That fleet which had carried a conquering army to Egypt; which might have served to succour or recruit them; which was to second their operations on the Syrian coast, had there been any to execute; which was to overawe Turkey; which finally, in case of reverse, was to convey the French back to their country—that fleet was utterly destroyed. This defeat broke not alone the enterprise, but gave heart to all the down-trodden nations that had succumbed to the fortunes of the Republic. With the Orient went down 600,000*l.*, the plunder of Malta, destined for the military chest of the army of Egypt. In England the victory called forth a thrill of gladness, that found expression in rejoicings everywhere. Nelson was raised to the peerage, under the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile, and a pension of 2,000*l.*

per annum was awarded to him and his two next successors in the dignity. On his return home, in the ensuing year, ovations greeted him wherever he went. Honours and rewards were showered upon him by the leading municipalities of his native land, and by several foreign states and sovereigns who were benefited by his splendid victory. The Turkish sultan sent him costly presents. His name was familiar in every mouth at Constantinople, from the sultan downwards. The emperor of Russia wrote a cordial letter of congratulation to Nelson on his magnificent achievement, and with the imperial autograph, conveyed the gift of his portrait set in diamonds, encased in a golden box. The king of Sardinia presented a similar offering. Even the United States, where much irritation against France was rife on account of the extreme lengths to which her cruisers carried the right of search, received with many demonstrations of satisfaction the news of the destruction of the French fleet, and seemed for a time inclined to take part in the confederacy against their old ally. The king of Naples, who soon afterwards was indebted to Nelson for other important services, conferred on him a dukedom, and a magnificent landed property in Sicily. The Greeks in one of the Ionian Islands sent him a costly token of their unbounded admiration and gratitude. In an accompanying address, they prayed that the great exploit on the Egyptian coast "might accelerate the day in which, amidst the glory and peace of thrones, the miseries of the human race would cease." The East India Company, in recognition of the service rendered to their special interest by the serious blow inflicted on the French, voted a sum of 10,000*l.* to the hero of the Nile. When the session opened in November, the speech from the throne indulged in glowing speculations on the immediate and remote consequences of this great naval triumph. "By this great and brilliant victory," said one of the paragraphs, "an enterprise of which the injustice, perfidy, and extravagance, had fixed the attention of the world, and was peculiarly directed against some of the most valuable interests of the British empire, has, in the first instance, been turned to the confusion of its authors. The blow thus given to the power and influence of France has afforded an opening which, if improved by suitable exertions on the part of other powers, may lead to the general deliverance of Europe." Already, active negotiations were afoot for a new coalition against the common enemy of nations; and while all Europe was electrified with the hope inspired by the utter discomfiture of the French in their latest grand enterprise, England, according to time-honoured precedent, was again plied with applications for gold with which to pay Continental armies for fighting their own battles.

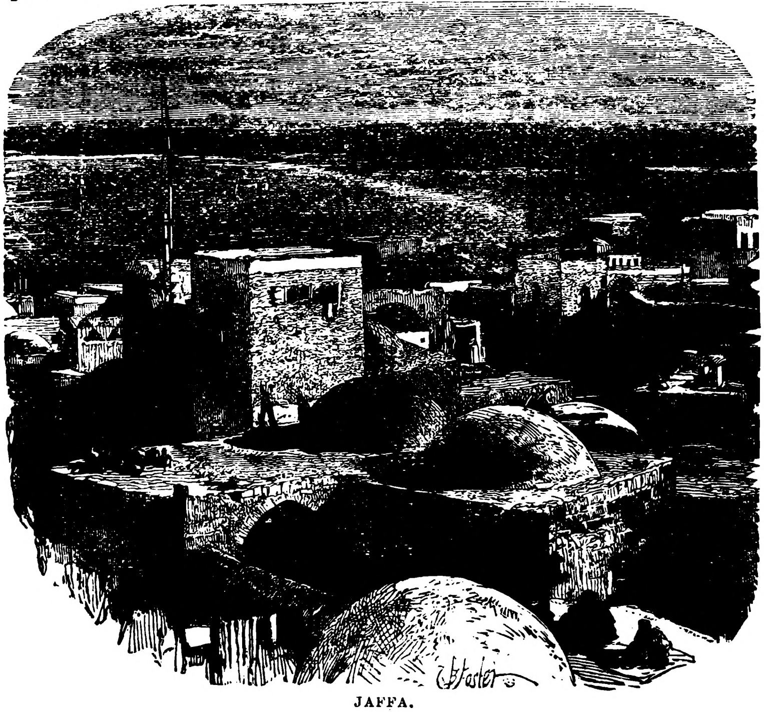
The estimates for the coming year were for a total of 29,272,000*l.* Out of this Russia, with whom a treaty was concluded at the end of December, was to get a large subsidy. Some previous taxes had proved less productive, while the outgoings were heavier than was anticipated. The burdens of the new year were to exceed those of the past by more than four millions. New taxes must be raised, and for the first time in an English budget a tax on incomes was included among the items of ways and means. Despite some smart deprecatory speeches on that patent defect of an income tax—that the burden presses with glaring inequality on different sorts of incomes—Pitt's new financial expedient passed into law on the 18th of March, 1799. Incomes above 200*l.* a year were subject to the heavy burden of a ten per cent. impost; inferior incomes, down to 60*l.*, were to pay at lower rates. The aggregate taxable income of the kingdom at that date, after leaving a margin for reasonable deductions, was reckoned at 102,000,000*l.*, so that the new tax was estimated to realize 10,000,000*l.* in the year. As a partial compensation for this heavy income tax, the triple assessed taxes of the previous session were now repealed, and the old rate re-established.

The other great measure of the session was the passing of a series of resolutions on which, in a subsequent session, the union of the parliament of Great Britain and Ireland was to be founded. On the 22nd of January, 1799, the parliaments in London and Dublin received a message from the king, recommending that each legislature should take into consideration the means of fusing into one the power and resources of both kingdoms. The matter of this message became the subject of many protracted debates in both parliaments throughout this and the following session. In the first discussion of the subject in the English House of Commons, Mr. Canning stated the object of the ministerial proposition to be "nothing less than to secure Ireland to us and to herself, and thereby to promote the happiness and security of the whole empire." He held that it was the only great and comprehensive view which the English government had ever taken of Irish affairs. A few days later Mr. Pitt submitted a series of resolutions as the basis for the proposed union. These embraced provisions under the following heads: the two kingdoms to be henceforth one, under the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; the united realm to be represented by one common parliament; the king's Irish subjects to share, on a footing of entire equality with those of Great Britain, in all privileges of navigation and trade; the succession to the crown to be limited as at the date of the proposed legislative amalgamation of the two nations; the churches of England and Ireland to be maintained as then established; the future expenditure of the United Kingdom to be defrayed in proportions to be settled by the separate parliaments before the union should take effect; and finally, that all laws in force at the date of the union, and all courts of law, to remain as then established, subject to such modifications as the united parliament might determine. These resolutions passed the Commons on the 14th of February, and were sent to the Lords with a message requesting a conference between the two Houses, on the best means for perpetuating the connection between the two countries. After the conference the resolutions were passed in the Upper House. Among the speeches in favour of the measure that by Watson, bishop of Llandaff, was perhaps the most forcible. He held that it would enrich Ireland without impoverishing Great Britain, and render the empire, as to defence, the strongest in

Europe. He predicted that the whole condition of Ireland would be vastly ameliorated by the change, adding, in conclusion, "I, my lords, shall not live to see the effects of this measure; for great objects do not attain to their full perfection at once. But our posterity will see them, and will have cause to bless the enlarged policy of two legislatures, which rising superior to petty jealousies, and sacrificing partial interests on the altar of general safety, have coalesced into one, for the benefit of both." The motion passed without a division, and both Houses presented jointly an address to the king expressing their confidence in the measure which he had recommended to their attention. In Ireland the project met with a less favourable and a less candid and disinterested treatment. Every man there had his own personal point of view of the measure, and treated it exclusively with reference to his own private objects of ambition or avarice. Of the three hundred members composing its House of Commons, above two hundred were returned at the dictation of individual proprietors; ten persons held among them absolute mastery over the election of forty or fifty members; several of the boroughs had no resident electors at all; and fully two-thirds of the representatives were chosen, in effect, by less than one hundred persons. The owners of these enormous political monopolies exhibited no disposition to relinquish them; compensation was claimed by those who had purchased seats, and by those who had hitherto sold them, but were now threatened with the political extinction of their unreal constituencies. Fifty barristers, who had seats, claimed compensation for the loss of their prospective chances of preferment, such as were currently held to attach to members of their profession by virtue of the power of their votes. Before the close of the year the viceroy and his chief secretary were deeply immersed in negotiations with distinguished dealers in mock representation, the owners, in some instances, of four or five boroughs each, and each of whom drove a hard bargain with government as the condition of his adhesion to a scheme for the benefit of Ireland. Lord Downshire had seven of these pocket boroughs at his disposal, and Lord Ely had six. Boroughmongers of this type were not easily won over by arguments limited to the general interests of Ireland; their own individual interests outweighed every other consideration. In a letter dated 8th of June this year Lord Cornwallis gives an insight into the business of propitiating the possessors of overgrown parliamentary power: "My occupation is now of the most unpleasant nature, negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven. I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work; and am supported only by the reflection, that without a union the British empire must be dissolved." Each of these unreal constituencies that was about to be expunged from the parliamentary firmament cost the English treasury 15,000*l.* in hush money apportioned among the various patrons. The total outlay of secret service money in this jobbery with Irish boroughmongers amounted to 1,260,000*l.*, but much more than this sum was expended before the blatant outcry of mercenary orators in the ranks of the Irish bar was silenced, and the various other interests connected with the management of elections, and the presence of the national legislature in Dublin, conciliated. This stage of the case, however, belongs rather to the next session, and must therefore be reserved for further notice among the transactions of the year 1800. At the close of the Irish session in 1799 the lord-lieutenant announced to both Houses the resolution and address to the throne which had been adopted by both branches of the British legislature, and declared that the king, as the common father of his people, looked forward with anxious earnestness to the time when his subjects of both kingdoms would be indissolubly united in the full enjoyment, on an equal footing, of the manifold blessings of a free constitution. On the prorogation of the British parliament in July the king's speech made similar reference to the large benefits with which the contemplated measure was pregnant.

Nelson's victory of the Nile reanimated, as we have seen, the various despondent governments that had begun passively to acquiesce in the military ascendancy of France. Austria again took heart, and recommenced hostilities. Russia sent her armies into Italy and Switzerland to co-operate with the Austrians. Naples, with the assistance of a British naval force, bore for a time an efficient part in the confederacy. The fleets of Turkey and Russia, traditional foes as these nations had been for generations, now worked in unison, and ousted the French from Corfu. The Sultan's forces, aided by a British naval contingent, entered the lists against the invaders of his Egyptian and Syrian territory. These several fields of action claim each a separate though brief record of events.

The loss of his fleet was a staggering blow to Bonaparte. He however wasted no time in unavailing regrets, but sought at once to improve the disaster by making it the motive to incite his army to high enterprises. "We must die here, or go forth great," was his exclamation when first the news reached him of the destruction of his magnificent fleet. He still indulged the dream of wide conquest that should embrace Constantinople in one direction; Hindostan in the other; and that should bring the Euphrates and the Ganges, as well as the Nile, within the pale of French dominion. After some months spent in preparations at Cairo, he decided to move his army into Syria, and thence northward to the Turkish capital. Just on the eve of this adventurous enterprise he wrote to Tippoo Sultan, who at that date was again bent on a repetition of his previous efforts to subvert British dominion in India, telling him, "You have been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, full of the desire of releasing you from the iron yoke of England." Tippoo relied too confidently on the help of the conqueror of Egypt, and soon afterwards perished in the war which, under French instigation, he rashly provoked. Bonaparte meanwhile was engaged in his Syrian campaign. His first aim was to get possession of Acre, where the Turks were storing arms and materials for the coming conflict. His army marched along the shores of the Mediterranean. El Arish and Gaza fell into his hands in the month of February, after very little fighting. Jaffa offered a stout resistance, but was nevertheless taken by assault, and given up to pillage and massacre, after the recent precedent of Cairo, when its inhabitants rose against their French masters. A yet more atrocious deed marked this stage of the campaign. Several thousands of the garrison of Jaffa had surrendered themselves as prisoners of war. They were felt to be a heavy incumbrance, and it was decided, after three days' deliberation among the chiefs of the invading army, to put the captives to death. In ignorance of their doom, they were marched out in parties to sequestered places among the sandhills in the neighbourhood, and there bayonetted or shot by their escort. Thiers attempts to palliate the enormity of this cold-blooded and wholesale murder by the excuse that the French had no rations to spare for the prisoners, and no means of sending them to Egypt. He calls this the sole cruel act of Bonaparte's life, and suggests that residence in a barbarous country had led him to adopt, involuntarily, the savage practices there current. Quit of the burden of prisoners, the French were now encumbered with numerous sick in their own ranks. The plague made its appearance among them, and obliged them to establish hospitals in Jaffa. But their main body pushed on to Acre, encamped outside its walls, and commenced a vigorous siege of that ancient scene of the Crusaders' conflict with the Saracens. The Turks were here opportunely assisted by two English ships of war, that, under Sir Sidney Smith, had intercepted much of Bonaparte's artillery on its passage by sea from Alexandria. The ships were so moored in the bay as to flank the trenches and works of the besiegers, and a naval brigade manned several of the batteries erected for the defence. For sixty days the assailants made incessant attempts to overcome the determined resistance of the besieged. In the midst of the siege, a Turkish army crossed the Jordan and hastened onward to the relief of Acre. Bonaparte encountered and defeated this force in the vicinity of Mount Thabor. His absence afforded time for the construction of strong defensive works within the crumbling walls of the town. Elated by their victory over the relieving army, the French resumed the siege with new vigour, but only to be completely foiled in each successive attack. A Turkish fleet with reinforcements came in sight on the 7th of May. Bonaparte resolved to storm the fortress before these succours could be landed. A furious assault was made that day and the next, and again on the 16th, but the English and Turks hurled back each furious storming party in fierce hand-to-hand encounters. Eight desperate assaults were made in the course of the two months' siege, and a yet larger number of vigorous sorties on the besiegers. Philipeaux, a French royalist, who had been a fellow-student with Bonaparte in the military college of St. Cyr, bore a conspicuous part in the engineering and artillery departments of the defence. Every resource and effort of Bonaparte was brought to bear on the reduction of this contemptible fortress, but in vain. The memory of Richard Cœur de Lion is perpetuated in a mount outside the town, bearing his name. Standing on this elevation, and surveying thence his preparations for a final assault, Bonaparte remarked to his secretary, Bourrienne, "This miserable place has cost me dear, but I must make a last effort. If I succeed, I shall find in the city the pacha's treasures, and arms for 300,000 men. I will then stir up the people of Syria, who are disgusted with the ferocity of Djezzar [the governor of Acre]; I will march on Damascus and Aleppo, and having announced to the people everywhere the abolition of servitude and the tyrannical government of the pacha, I shall arrive at Constantinople with large masses of soldiery, and having overturned the Turkish power, shall found in the East a new and grand empire. Perhaps I shall return to Paris by Adrianople, or by Vienna, after having annihilated the house of Austria." All these grand visions were doomed to miserable disappointment. Sir Sidney Smith and his gallant sailors held at bay the conqueror of Egypt; the Turks emulated the valour of their allies, and fought with desperation; instead of



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the boasted tour of conquest which was to seal the fate of the East and reduce European empires to dependence on the French republic, the leading military genius of France was utterly baffled, and forced to shameful flight. Bonaparte raised the hopeless siege on the 21st of May, and with his discomfited and shattered forces commenced his retreat to Egypt. The backward march was marked by disasters and horrors. Scores of soldiers dropped exhausted on the parching sands in each successive stage of the journey, and perished under the vengeful stroke of Turks and Arabs who hung upon the rear. The hospitals at Jaffa were crowded with sick; to save or carry them away was no easy problem. Bonaparte suggested to the head of his medical staff that it would be more humane to administer opium to them than to leave them alive. "My business is to cure and not to kill," was the indignant reply of the physician. The upshot of the horrid proposal is a moot point to this day. A French historian, who visited Jaffa some years afterwards, is among the number of those who hold that poison was actually administered to several hundreds of sick and wounded in the hospitals there. In his exile at St. Helena, Napoleon scouted the story as a base calumny, but his veracity in other transactions is certainly not beyond impeachment; and in reference to this black incident, he declared that, while it was utterly untrue that he had given poison, it would have been no crime, but rather a virtue, to have dosed the sick with fatal draughts of opium. The signal repulse suffered before Acre deeply mortified Bonaparte. To the end of his days he nourished a rancorous animosity against Sir Sidney Smith, as the author of his reverses. On the way back to Cairo he burnt the dwellings and destroyed the crops of the villagers. His despatches home, and his proclamations in Egypt, put the blame of his failure on the plague rather than on the prowess of his opponents. A signal victory over a Turkish army at Aboukir, close to the scene of the great naval disaster twelve months earlier, assisted most opportunely at this juncture to restore the prestige of his arms among the oriental nations. But his army was now hopelessly cooped up in Egypt, where little glory and scant profit was to be gleaned from victory over semi-barbarous foes. Events in France and on its borders offered a more tempting field for that boundless ambition which burned in the breast of the Corsican general. He had heard next to nothing of events in Europe in the preceding twelve months. Sir Sidney Smith sent ashore for him at Aboukir a packet of newspapers fraught with records of French disasters in Italy and Germany. A devouring restlessness took possession of his mind on perusal of the evil tidings, and he resolved on a secret departure from Egypt. The risk of capture by British cruisers was great, but a boundless reward beckoned the astute general to Paris. Every branch of the administration, there was out of joint; the recent lustre of the arms of France dimmed and tarnished by successive defeats; the Directory fast filling up the measure of their unpopularity; and, in Bonaparte's own expressive phrase, the pear was now ripe, so he resolved to pluck it. He escaped from Alexandria towards the end of August, leaving Kleber and Menou in charge of the forces in Egypt, and after incurring imminent risk of capture in a tedious passage of nearly seven weeks, arrived safely on the shores of France, and promptly betook himself to Paris, where a new revolution, to be narrated in due course, placed him before the close of the year at the head of the government. Some earlier transactions in neighbouring states demand prior notice, inasmuch as they led up to, and paved the way for the new phase in French history.

Nelson's great victory of the Nile disturbed, as we have seen, the quiescent attitude of numerous states. The tedious negotiations of a congress at Radstadt, in which the German powers and France had been attempting to accommodate mutual differences ever since the treaty of Campo Formio, made less progress than ever from the date when the governments of Europe got news of the utter ruin of the naval power of the republic. Then came the treaty between Great Britain and Russia, under which the latter power engaged to send an army of 60,000 men into Northern Italy. Austria permitted this force to pass through her territory, despite the remonstrances of the French government, and thereby provoked, not unwillingly, a declaration of war on the part of the Directory. Two months earlier the king of Naples had ventured on hostilities with the diminished French forces then remaining in Rome, and gained a temporary success. But the Neapolitans proved poor soldiers. They suffered a signal defeat at Civita Castellana, on which they evacuated Rome and retreated precipitately to their own territory. But the French followed them up, beat them with the utmost facility wherever they ventured to make a stand, and, with the co-operation of a native republican party, revolutionised the government. Nelson, who was now stationed with a naval force in the Bay of Naples, gave the royal family an asylum in his fleet and conveyed them to Sicily. His naval force, together with a thousand British soldiers, promptly despatched from Minorca at his request, formed an effectual barrier against the extension of French rule to that section of Italy. Naples was now a republic, as Rome had been for twelve months preceding, and paid the customary price of fraternity with France in the form of enormous contributions in cash, besides a heavy tribute in statues, pictures, manuscripts, books, and antiquities from the buried cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. By this time, however, Russian and Austrian armies were in the field and sweeping before them every French force that could be mustered in Northern Italy. The command of the forces of Austria, as well as of Russia, for the campaign in Italy, was given to Suwaroff, that Russian general of sinister renown in association with memories of Ismail and Warsaw. He entered Milan in triumph on the 29th of April, having surrounded a French force of 8000 men, and forced them to surrender three days before. Moreau, who had already suffered considerable reverses in a series of engagements with the Austrians under Melas, before the arrival of Suwaroff's army, now betook himself to the shelter of the Alps. The Russians entered Turin, where they made booty of immense stores and two hundred and sixty pieces of cannon.

Then followed the battle of Trebbia, between the Russians and the French army, which came by forced marches from Naples to the north of Italy with the purpose of forming a junction with Moreau. After a fierce conflict, renewed on each of three successive days, the French were worsted with great slaughter. Joubert was now sent to take the command in chief, but success still clung to the side of the allies. Uniting his reinforcements with the remnants of the two armies of Northern and Southern Italy, lately under Moreau and Macdonald respectively, he gave battle to the Russians at Novi. A ball pierced his heart early in the action; his forces nevertheless fought with stubborn resolution against superior numbers, but were utterly routed, leaving ten thousand of their number dead or wounded, and four thousand prisoners in the hands of the Russian general. Moreau again assumed the command, but confined his generalship to collecting the shattered fragments of the French armies, lately in possession of Italy, and withdrawing them into Switzerland. Suwaroff followed the French over the Alps. Another Russian army under Korsakof was already in Switzerland, co-operating with the Austrians, under Bellgarde and Hofze, against the French under Massena. While Suwaroff was endeavouring to effect a junction with his countryman, Korsakof, Massena fell upon the latter with overwhelming numbers at Zurich. The hottest part of the fight was in the streets of that town. More than half the Russians were slain or taken prisoners; the rest cut their way through the enemy. Suwaroff arrived too late for the contemplated combined movement. It was now his turn to taste the bitters of a retreat across the Alps. He had no alternative but a hopeless battle on the one hand, with the greatly superior numbers under Massena and Soult, who awaited his attack in a strong position in front of his line of advance, or on the other to retreat with the certainty of a harassing pursuit and heavy losses. Abandoning their baggage and artillery, the whole army toiled in single file through the defile of the Schachenthal. Many slipped down the awful precipices and perished; numbers, overcome with fatigue, lay down on the track and fell into the hands of the French who pressed on their rear. Then followed the loss of all their beasts of burden in the yet more rugged defiles of the Alps of Glarus. By this time heavy snowstorms added to the horrors of the march. Numbers of these hardy Russians succumbed to the cold and privations of their dreary and terrific retreat; treacherous pitfalls, concealed by the universal pall of snow, became the tombs of multitudes: not more than a third of these conquerors of Northern Italy descended from the snow-clad ridges into the country of the Grisons and thence into the Tyrol. Suwaroff threw the blame of his disaster on the Austrians, who failed to perform their assigned part in the plan of the campaign. He expressed his fixed purpose never to serve again in association with them, and added force to this resolve by breaking his sword and throwing up his commission as commander-in-chief of the allied Austrian and Russian armies. Meanwhile the fruits of Bonaparte's great victories were for the most part wrested from the grasp of his feeble successors in the direction of affairs in Italy. The reverses sustained by the French in the northern parts of the peninsula obliged them to draw help from Naples and Rome. Then came a strong reaction against the falling cause of Republicanism; Naples threw off its adhesion to the French; Cardinal Ruffo raised in Sicily and Calabria an army of enthusiastic priests and loyal peasants, together with a large element of a more questionable character, including many galley slaves, banditti, fishermen, and the mob of the capital. This force, assisted by the presence of British and Russian ships of war in the bay, overawed the Neapolitan republicans and their few remaining French allies who held the military posts. The revolutionists capitulated to the royalists on condition that their persons and property should be respected. To secure additional efficacy to the treaty of capitulation, the signatures of the senior English, Russian and Turkish officers, then assembled in the anchorage, were appended to that of Ruffo on the side of the royalists. At this stage of affairs Nelson arrived in the bay, and committed himself to an act which no Englishman recalls to remembrance without a feeling of mortification for the tarnished honour of the greatest of his country's naval heroes. Like Sampson in the toils of Dalilah, the great sea-king was shorn of his heroic qualities under the blandishments of the corrupt court of Naples. The greatest favourite at that court was Lady Hamilton, wife of the English ambassador. In her adoration of Nelson she had long passed all limits of womanly reserve, and the admiral reciprocated the guilty passion which was first exhibited on her side. They were now living in adulterous connection, and he was the slave of her whims and wishes. She continued to be the bosom friend of the queen of Naples, who was a sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette. Under such influences Nelson's better nature succumbed as under a Circean spell. Not alone his heart, but his soul also seemed to be for a time at the disposal of the degenerate Neapolitan Bourbons. Ferdinand was bent on the destruction of some eminent men among his revolutionary subjects. The conditions of the capitulation entitled these men to an amnesty. As soon as Nelson arrived at Naples, and saw the flag of truce flying on the fortresses and ships of war, he gave effect to the wishes of the court by cancelling the signed and sealed obligation on the part of the triumphant royalists to respect the persons and the property of the subdued republicans. He insisted on unconditional submission, and obstinately resisted every plea founded upon the formal capitulation already completed. The garrisons were thereupon handed over to the vengeance of the court. Further than this, he lent himself to the iniquity of putting to death Prince Caraccioli, an aged admiral, who had sided, by compulsion of the sailors of the Neapolitan fleet, against the Court party in the recent political convulsions. On the surrender of the capital, and the subsequent annulment of the treaty of capitulation, he fled in disguise, but was discovered by the royalists, and carried a prisoner to Nelson's flagship. A court-martial, composed of Neapolitan officers, was immediately convened by order of the English admiral, on board his own ship, with orders to report to him what punishment they adjudged suitable in the circumstances. The trial commenced within an hour of this summons, and resulted two hours later in a sentence of death. Nelson confirmed this sentence, and ordered it to be carried out by hanging from the yardarm of a Neapolitan frigate at five in the afternoon of the same day. Caraccioli appealed earnestly, but in vain, for a new trial, after sufficient time to bring forward witnesses of the compulsion under which he had acted. A second appeal from the old man to spare him the degradation of hanging, and to put him to death by shooting, was equally unavailing. Nelson's friendly biographer, Southey, confesses with sorrow and shame that the transaction fixes a stain on the hero's memory; that it would be wicked to justify and vain to palliate such conduct, which can only be attributed to that infatuated attachment that sullied alike his public and private character. The French still held the Castle of St. Elmo, but Captain Troubridge laid siege to it with such effect that the garrison quickly surrendered. He then moved his small naval brigade to Capua, where he achieved a similar success against another French garrison. A similar naval force under another English captain obtained possession of Gaeta, the last fortress held by the French in Neapolitan territory. Then followed a horrid saturnalia under the name of justice. The prisons were thronged with victims of royal vengeance, and the scaffolds streamed with blood. England's honour was in truth compromised by alliance with that sanguinary and relentless government which immolated men who merited honour akin to that which is accorded to the memory of Russell, Sidney, and Locke. The French still held Rome, whence they had ejected the pope in the spring of the preceding year. Troubridge was now commissioned to operate against the remnant of the French army of occupation in the seaports of the papal states. He and ten other English naval officers brought a detachment of sailors and marines to Civita Vecchia. That port and the fortress of St. Angelo, the last places which still acknowledged French rule within the bounds of the Roman states, capitulated to the English. Captain Lewis then sailed up the Tiber, hoisted the British flag on the capitol, and was installed as provisional governor of Rome. He filled that office until the election of a successor to Pius VI., who died at this crisis in exile. At the close of the year Genoa alone remained in possession of the French. Nor were they more fortunate in their German campaign. Early in the year they gained possession of Ehrenbreitstein, which they had long blockaded. Jourdan next marched into Suabia, and thence to the banks of the Danube. There an Austrian army, under the Archduke Charles, beset him with such effect, that he was driven, with headlong haste and great loss, across the Rhine to Strasburg. He was then superseded, and Massena became general-in-chief of the French forces from Mayence to the Tyrol. The discomfiture of the Russians, who found occupation for Massena during the rest of the year in Switzerland, has already been narrated.

The successes gained over the armies of the republic in Italy and Germany encouraged the English cabinet to entertain thoughts of liberating Holland from French domination. An attempt was made in this direction by a combined force of British and Russian troops. But the expedition frittered away its strength in piecemeal operations. The first detachment of English, under General Abercromby, took the fort of the Helder, which commands the entrance of the Zuyder Zee, and with the help of a naval squadron secured possession of the Dutch fleet in the Texel, without incurring any loss. The Russians, however, arrived late at their destination, and pending their arrival, the French gained time to prepare for the emergency. The Duke of York, meanwhile, passed over with additional forces from England, and assumed the command-in-chief. His customary ill luck attended him. All went wrong, and ended in his consenting to an arrangement by which he was glad to secure an undisturbed retreat from the country, on the condition of releasing eight thousand French prisoners of war, then detained in England. Nearly four thousand Dutch troops deserted their French masters and embarked with the British and Russians. The Dutch naval squadron was brought away to England, and the Russians were sent into winter quarters in Guernsey and Jersey.

The long series of military reverses which had befallen the arms of France in Italy, Germany, and the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, brought unmeasured odium on the Directory, which from internal causes also was verging towards dissolution. Despite all the oppressive exactions from neighbouring states in which republican armies were quartered, the enormous armaments of the republic necessitated heavy taxation at home. To these causes of discontent was added the yet heavier grievance of the conscription, under which all Frenchmen between the age of twenty and forty-five were obliged to supply frequent and large quotas of their number for military and naval service. Disaffection among the people, and dissensions in the government, were sure signs of a new political convulsion in Paris. Such were the inducements that beckoned Bonaparte from Egypt. His reception indicated clearly enough that he had not miscalculated his chances of grasping the helm of the unsteady government. He waited on the Directory without the loss of a day. They betrayed an uneasy distrust of him. He told them he had come to defend France from the dangers that environed her. There was a talk of arresting him for desertion of his military command; but Barras cautioned his colleagues, "we are not strong enough for that."

Bonaparte was a popular favourite, and the military were ready to stand by him in any movement he might have in view for displacing a notoriously inefficient administration. He attached himself to that section of the Directory which counted a majority in its favour in the Council of Ancients. This party may be called the Moderates, as opposed to the more advanced republicans. Its views were like those of the Girondists of an earlier phase in the revolutionary government. The minority in the Council of Ancients and the majority in the larger chamber (the 500) were hardly distinguishable from the Jacobins who crushed the constitutionalists five years earlier, except in the important fact that the later Jacobins, taught by an awful experience, had rejected the sanguinary policy of their predecessors, and made large advances in toleration towards political dissentients. It would require more space than the limits of this work allow to go into such details as require to be stated in order to give a clear view of the tortuous plots, intrigues, trickery, falsehood, and treachery by which Bonaparte and the leading politicians who worked in his behalf overturned the government of the day. Suffice it here to say, that Sièyes and Ducos, two of the five directors, were parties to the conspiracy by which their three colleagues, Barras, Moulins, and Gohièr were to be thrust out of power, and sundry organic changes were to be effected in the constitution. Talleyrand and Fouché, with a keen perception of the drift of political currents, attached themselves to the man of the early future. The constitution lodged in the Council of Ancients the right of fixing the place of meeting for both branches of the legislature. This right was now turned to account to make an occasion for bringing military force into play. On the 18th Brumaire (9th of November) a majority in the Council of Ancients decreed, without previous notice to the directors, and in a packed meeting, held at five o'clock in the morning, that both legislative assemblies should meet next day at St. Cloud, and that General Bonaparte should be intrusted with the supreme command of all the military forces in the capital. He forthwith issued a proclamation, notifying the high commission which he was called to fill, and urging the army and national guard to rally round him in a patriotic effort to restore liberty, victory, and peace to France. A few hours later he posted a large force of national guards and troops of the line at the Tuileries, then the headquarters of administration; at the Luxembourg, which was the official residence of the directors; and at St. Cloud, where the collision was to be brought about between the legislature and himself. Barras and his two colleagues, who were not in the secret, and the Parisians at large, first learned these transactions from the placards about the streets. Next day the two chambers of legislature met at St. Cloud. A large military force was drawn up outside the place of assembly. Sièyes and Ducos talked with Bonaparte at the entrance of the chamber and then accompanied him inside. He made a confused speech, which is variously reported, and which his secretary Bourrienne, who was present, describes as "a series of rambling, unconnected sentences, and confused replies to the president's interrogatories." His friends were glad to get him out of a position in which he seemed to have lost his head. He then passed with an escort of grenadiers into the chamber of the Council of the Five Hundred. The members were awaiting, in no little alarm, the unfolding of the event which had cast such ominous shadows before. Cries of "Down with the dictator! down with the tyrant!" saluted his ears, as he advanced down the centre of the hall, and furious gestures from scores of members betokened the intense emotion with which they were stirred. He made for the door, surrounded by his soldiers. A hurried and excited discussion passed in the alarmed council on the proposal that a sentence of outlawry should be pronounced on the general. Outside the building he told his troops that his life had been attempted by members within the chamber from which he had just escaped. His brother Lucien was president of the five hundred, and in that capacity it was his duty to put to the Assembly the decree of outlawry. He refused, and insisted that his brother should be heard. A fierce altercation ensued. Grenadiers were poured in, by Bonaparte's order, on the plea of rescuing Lucien, who was escorted from the alleged danger. The general and his brother then harangued the troops, urging them to assist in the preservation of the nation's threatened liberty, and the endangered lives of its approved supporters. Loud shouts of "Vive Bonaparte!" were thereupon raised by the military, and an armed force, led by Murat, entered the Assembly with fixed bayonets. The scared members rushed forth, out of windows and doors, and shouts of "Vive la republique! Vive Bonaparte!" resounded through the chamber. The more ardent partisans of the intriguing general assembled under the leadership of Lucien, and declared the functions of the directory at an end. A provisional government started into life. Its three leading members, Sièyes, Ducos, and Napoleon Bonaparte, took the style and title of consuls, and swore to be faithful to the republic, the sovereignty of the people, to liberty and equality. In point of fact the republic ceased to exist from that moment. It was superseded by a military dictatorship as absolute as that of the Cæsars. A new constitution was manipulated, vesting the executive authority in three consuls, Bonaparte being declared first consul for ten years, with Cambaceres and Lebrun for his colleagues. The executive was to propose new laws; a tribunate to discuss, approve, or reject them; and a council of three hundred to vote, but not discuss, the projects of law sent up from the tribunate. These legislators were all to be salaried. The real power rested with the first consul alone; his colleagues and the two legislative bodies were shadows without substance. But France, tired of anarchy, readily accepted a change which at least gave unity to its aspirations; these were now more for military glory and ascendancy than for that constitutional liberty, in the pursuit of which the nation had made a succession of enormous blunders, ending at length in exhaustion of the national patience and faith.

British rule in India was threatened, as we have seen, by Bonaparte's projects of widespread conquest in Asia. The great scheme opened thrivingly in Egypt, but collapsed before a contemptible fortress on the Syrian coast, where a small British naval force stemmed the flood tide of Bonaparte's oriental career, and sent to the rightabout that "invincible" army which was to join Tippoo Sultan in the favourite enterprise of expelling the English from India. During the administration of Sir John Shore, the successor of Cornwallis in the government of India, Tippoo's two sons were released from the captivity in which they had been held as hostages for the good behaviour of the treacherous and aggressive Sultan. Instead of accepting this conciliatory act as a pledge of amity, Tippoo treated it as the starting point for what he thought the safe renewal of open hostility towards the authors of his former discomfitures. He had long sought assistance from France, and in expectation of the arrival of Bonaparte on the coast of Malabar, committed himself to warlike preparations, that provoked first remonstrance, and then war on the part of the English. Lord Mornington, who succeeded to the government of India in 1798, attempted by a conciliatory yet firm tone to detach Tippoo from the misleading influence of agents of the French government. These were constantly buoying him up with notions of better fortune in a new war. Many French adventurers were in his service. Some hundreds of French settlers passed over, on his invitation, from the Isle of France to Seringapatam, where they astonished the Mysoreans by a display of ultra-republican sentiment—the tree of liberty, surmounted by a red nightcap, with shouts of "Long live citizen Tippoo!" and, "Down with all tyrants!" As the Sultan could not be induced to desist from preparations that clearly betokened aggression on neighbouring territory, Lord Mornington took prompt and effectual measures for confining the war to the place of its origin. He sent an army of twenty-four thousand men under General Harris into Mysore, early in March. The nizam of the Deccan, the ally of the English in this as in the former war against Tippoo, sent a large contingent to join the main army. To the nizam's division was attached the 33rd regiment of English foot, whose colonel, Arthur Wellesley, was placed in command of the entire division. General Stewart brought, from the Bombay presidency, a third army into the field. After some encounters in the open country with his advancing foe, in one of which the 33rd regiment particularly distinguished itself, Tippoo withdrew his numerous and well-equipped army within the fortifications of his capital. As the siege proceeded, he lowered his tone, and asked terms of accommodation. It was now too late. A furious bombardment opened a practicable breach in the fortress, and at one o'clock on the 4th of May the assault was delivered. The storming party was led by Major-General Baird, who had passed four years in the dungeons of that same stronghold. Under remembrance of his cruel sufferings therein, he felt a fierce joy in the storming of it. At the given signal the troops rushed across the rocky and almost empty bed of the river Cavery, under a heavy fire from the besieged. The forlorn hope rushed to the breach, which, though bravely defended, was carried after a desperate struggle. Within five or six minutes the British flag was seen floating on the walls. The fighting, however, was not yet over. The assailants had plenty of sharp hand-to-hand work before they surmounted a series of traverses and other inner defences, which were stoutly defended by picked bodies of Mysoreans. At length the two columns of British which had passed, one the right the other the left as they entered the breach, neared each other over the eastern gateway of the fortress, hemming between them their desperate enemy, who now broke and fled in a confused rout. Then followed a mad rush of the besieged toward the entrance of an inner fortress. The Sultan was among this throng of fugitives. A ball struck him, and his horse fell. The gateway was choked up with the slain or the wounded. The victors were now spread all through the extensive range of defensive works and in the palaces. In the search for booty a soldier caught sight of the jewelled sword belt of the Sultan, who lay as if dead among the bloodstained heap. While the soldier was trying to disengage the prize from the prostrate body, Tippoo roused up his fast expiring energies, and dealt a sabre stroke at the spoiler. The angry soldier promptly raised his musket and fired, killing the wounded Sultan by a shot through the head. Meanwhile parties were exploring every recess and hiding-place in quest of his body, which was at length discovered in the thronged mass of five hundred in the gorged gateway. Colonel Wellesley, who remained in charge of the conquered fortress, wrote after a few days to congratulate his brother, the governor-general, upon "having brought the war to a most fortunate conclusion in the course of about two months, and of having destroyed the greatest enemy the British nation ever had in India, and one whose power was most formidable." Thus ended, in the person of Tippoo, the short-lived dynasty of Hyder. Mysore was divided among the

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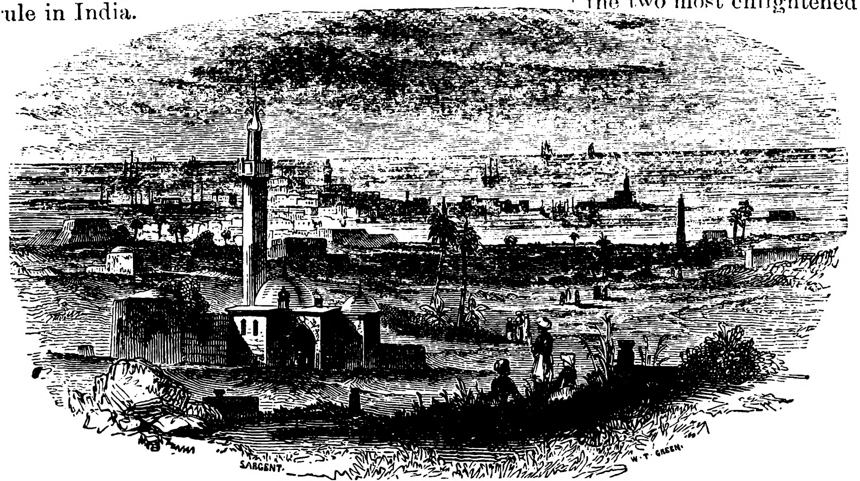
conquerors and their allies. The English kept Seringapatam and territory stretching from the Malabar to the Coromandel coast, giving interior regions to the nizam, and a province to a Hindoo rajah who had been ousted by Hyder Ali, Tippoo's father. In the following year an expedition under Baird, the leader of the storming party at the assault of Tippoo's stronghold, passed from Mysore to Suez, and marched thence through the desert to Alexandria, there to assist in the capture of that French army which was to have blotted out English rule in India.



ALEXANDRIA.

The Dutch settlement of Surinam was added this year to the list of British possessions. It was captured by a force landed from two line-of-battle ships and five frigates. In the course of the year thirty frigates or smaller vessels of war belonging to France or Spain fell as prizes to British cruisers. In addition to these acquisitions, the Dutch fleet of eight ships of the line and seventeen frigates, captured in the Texel by the naval section of the expedition to Holland, swelled materially the catalogue of trophies, and formed a substantial augmentation of the effective maritime force of the nation. Symptoms of a fresh mutiny manifested themselves in the Channel fleet early in the summer, but the disaffection fortunately subsided in the excitement of a cruise in search of the enemy.

A short autumnal session in September and October dealt with the question of legalising the employment of a large portion of the militia on foreign service. A bounty was granted of ten guineas to each man volunteering for such service. Between the adjournment in October and the reassembling in January, overtures on the side of France for a general pacification of Europe occupied the attention of ministers. They, however, were so firmly persuaded that the tide of French successes was rapidly ebbing, that they unwisely treated the proposal with disdain, under the besotted delusion that the new confederacy against France would soon be in the position to restore the Bourbons. The proposal for peace originated with the new head of the French government, the first consul. He wrote on Christmas day direct to the king of England. His letter was enclosed with a note in diplomatic form from Talleyrand, the new minister for foreign affairs since the recent *coup d'etat* which established the consulate. Bonaparte's epistle ran in the following terms: "Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the office of first magistrate of the republic, I think it fit, on entering into office, to make a direct announcement of it to your majesty. The war, which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be perpetual? Are there no means of arranging differences? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain grandeur the advantages of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole purpose of rendering it happy. Your majesty will see in this overture my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step prompt, of implicit frankness, and disengaged from those forms which, needful it may be, to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove only, in those which are strong, the mutual desire of deceiving each other. France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may yet for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted. But I will venture to affirm the fate of all civilised nations is attached to the closing of a war which involves all the world." The reply of Lord Grenville was unconciliatory, haughty, and uncivil. It spoke of the aim of France to overthrow all established governments; asserted that the most solemn treaties entered into by the republican government had only paved the way for fresh aggression; declared that his majesty could place no reliance "on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions;" and required better assurance than he then felt "that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France." The best proof of such better principles would be, the despatch proceeded to urge, "the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad." After this officious lecture, the dispatch capped its climax of mischievous affronts by bearding the existing government of France, and setting forth the fixed purpose of the king to continue the war. This contemptuous and insulting dismissal of Bonaparte's straightforward proposal engendered in his mind against England an implacable bitterness, which for fifteen more years bore evil fruit for the passing generations, and saddled remote posterity with incalculable burdens. Non-intervention in the internal affairs of foreign states received, even at that time, a limited recognition among English statesmen. This very despatch stultified its authors by declaring, "His majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government." Talleyrand's reply to this offensive and illogical state paper was simply crushing. "The first consul of the French republic," said this astute politician, "would not doubt that his Britannic majesty recognised the right of nations to elect the form of their government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown. But the first consul has been unable to comprehend how to this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, the minister of his Britannic majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the republic, and which are not less injurious to the French nation and its government, than it would be to England and to his majesty if a sort of invitation were held out in favour of that republican government of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century, or an exhortation to recall to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a revolution had compelled to descend from it." In the parliamentary debates on this correspondence, which occupied some of the first days of the session of 1800, language yet more exasperating was freely indulged in by responsible ministers of the crown. The secretary for foreign affairs, in defence of his insulting despatch, dwelt on many of Bonaparte's public acts in Venice, Rome, Genoa, Switzerland, and Egypt, as proofs that no reliance could be placed on his word, and thence inferred that he had no intention of fulfilling his engagements. Thiers justly says of the offensive language used by English ministers with reference to the head of the French executive, "They had not otherwise treated Robespierre." Fox, who now resumed his parliamentary duties, made a masterly speech in condemnation of the course taken by ministers on this question. Nor was it on the part of the opposition alone that the refusal to treat for peace was severely condemned. Some of Pitt's stanchest supporters were silent in the House, yet sufficiently emphatic elsewhere, in their dissent from the policy of their chiefs. Wilberforce writes: "Unless they have some better reason than I fear they possess for believing that Bonaparte is likely to be hurled from his throne, it seems a desperate game to play; to offend and insult, and thereby irritate this vain man beyond the hope of forgiveness." Addington thought Grenville's dispatch "too caustic and opprobrious." Bonaparte derived great personal advantage from the affront put upon him. In the management of war he could look with well-grounded assurance to the likelihood of maintaining his influence over the imagination of the French people. His ascendancy would be the more easily upheld by the concentration of the national energies under his own immediate direction; and the most acceptable credential of his fitness for that high position would be found in military successes. With his countrymen he gained the credit of having sought for them the blessings of peace; they could not lay to his door the continuance of war and its burdens. We know by the light of his own after revelations, in the period of his exile in St. Helena, that Pitt and his colleagues were really right in their suspicion of his insincerity. He wanted war, for his own personal aggrandizement, but it was of the utmost consequence that his personal ambition should not appear to his countrymen to be the moving force that actuated his public policy. "When the reply arrived," these are his own words, "it filled me with a secret satisfaction; the answer could not have been more favourable." In other words, he succeeded in putting Pitt ostensibly in the wrong, and gained applause for moderation which was utterly alien to his real character. With the door closed by his adversaries against hopes of peace, the first consul secured the hearty concurrence of the French in the military measures, the success of which operated as most efficacious stepping-stones to yet higher dignity and power. Meanwhile, in the British parliament messages from the king announced the conclusion of arrangements with his continental allies for the coming campaign. Those faithful allies as usual stipulated for substantial subsidies to keep them going. Among other arguments against the prolongation of war, the opposition dwelt on the distressed state of the country under the pressure of very high prices for bread and other articles of food, and on the inefficiency of the help secured by means of the costly system of subsidies. But large majorities, as in previous years, approved the ministerial programme. The ten per cent. income tax was renewed, and a loan of 21,000,000*l.* authorized. The total supplies voted for the year amounted to 47,490,739*l.* The naval and military services were voted for two months at the same level as in the previous year, with such reductions after that interval as would leave the regular military strength at 80,000 men, and the service afloat in its several branches at 110,000 men. With the discussion of ways and means for a new campaign were intermingled heavy censures on the miscarriage of the expedition to Holland. Nearly 40,000 men, despite their unquestioned bravery and endurance, had been worsted in operations against an inferior number, and forced to evacuate the country on humiliating conditions. Inquiry was demanded into the causes of this failure, but as such investigation must have proved most damaging to the duke of York, ministers resisted and defeated the motion, contending that the expedition could not justly be said to have failed, inasmuch as it had promoted the success of our allies by occupying in Holland a large force of the enemy which would else have been dispatched to Germany, Italy, or Switzerland. Irrespective of this material contribution to the general balance of success, the acquisition of the Dutch fleet formed a substantial set-off against some reverses in the field. The alarming scarcity of wheat, and the consequent excessive price of bread, occupied a prominent place in the business of both Houses, and committees drew up reports, on which were founded royal proclamations enjoining all classes to keep down the consumption of wheaten flour to the utmost, by the mixture with it of other breadstuffs. The use of pastry was also abandoned in many households. A temporary Act, too, was passed, prohibiting the use of bread until it had been baked not less than twenty-four hours, and imposing other restrictions on the too liberal use of wheaten flour. The bad harvest of the previous year occasioned this scarcity of bread, but the war on the continent, by diminishing production and hindering the free transit of supplies, was yet more chargeable with the infliction. The expedients adopted to mitigate the pressure proved to be of no appreciable efficacy. The price of bread continued to rise, until at the close of the year the four-pound loaf was selling at one shilling and tenpence-halfpenny. Famished labourers vented their discontent in riots and agrarian outrages. Then came heavy bounties on the importation of grain, to supplement the shortcomings of home-grown crops, and additional restrictions, voluntarily adopted in furtherance of economy in the consumption of wheat and other grain.

The most memorable legislative work of the year was the Act of Union, whereby the separate parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland were fused into the single parliament of the United Kingdom. In the recess the Irish government found means to mollify the indignation of scores of parliamentary orators who had before opposed the scheme with the vehemence of an unappeasable hate. Elevations to the peerage, the rise of a step in it, appointments to lucrative offices in the public service, pensions, and huge bribes under the unblushing title of compensation money—such were some among the many powerful persuasives by which a majority was secured for the passage of the bill through both branches of the Irish legislature. Daniel O'Connell's speech before the Dublin corporation in 1843, scarcely exaggerated the case when he asserted: "Bribery was unconcealed. The terms of the purchase were quite familiar in those days. The price of a single vote was eight thousand pounds in money, or an appointment to an office of two thousand pounds a year if the parties did not choose to take ready money. Some got both for their votes; and not less than twenty peerages, ten bishoprics, one chief-justiceship, and six puisne judgeships were the price of votes for the union. Add to this officers who were appointed to the revenue, the army and the navy, in recompense of union votes. At first Castlereagh failed, but he then bought up the seats in parliament, and so achieved a majority." In January, 1799, a majority of *one* only was secured in the Irish Commons in support of the address on the speech from the throne approving the suggested union. But in January, 1800, a majority of forty-two in the same assembly expressed its desire for an incorporating Act. On the 5th of February Castlereagh unfolded the whole plan of union, which he prefaced by reading a message from the lord-lieutenant, communicating the resolutions passed in the previous year by the British parliament. The debate occupied twenty-one hours without intermission. The excitement throughout Dublin was intense. Patrols of military traversed the streets to keep the peace, which was more than once interrupted by riotous gatherings of angry men, opposed to the loss of the national parliament. Bitter personalities marked the course of the protracted debate. Grattan and the chancellor of the Irish exchequer, Mr. Corry, quarrelled, and a duel was the result, in which the latter was wounded. The motion was carried early on the afternoon of the 6th by a majority of forty-three in the Commons. It passed with facility in the Irish House of Peers. On the 27th of March both Houses agreed to a joint address to the king, expressing their concurrence in the resolutions passed by the British parliament with the view to an incorporation of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom. On the 2nd of April these resolutions were communicated to both Houses of the parliament in London. Several motions were subsequently founded on them, and there were debates in both Houses. On the 8th of May a joint address of the Lords and Commons conveyed to the king their approbation of the scheme, which embraced the following points:—The union of the two kingdoms from the 1st of January 1801; the United Kingdom to be represented by one parliament; Ireland to be represented in the Upper House by twenty-eight temporal peers elected for life, and four spiritual peers, taking their places by rotation year by year; in the House of Commons, one hundred members for Ireland, each county returning two, the cities of Dublin and Cork two each, the university one, and thirty-one boroughs one each; the Churches of England and Ireland to be united; the revenue raised to be in the proportion of fifteen for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland. There remained a further reference of these resolutions to the Irish parliament, where the Union Bill finally passed on the 7th of June. Grattan resisted the measure with intensest earnestness to the last, and with a fervid but mistaken patriotism that commands respect, though it fails to carry conviction. His final speech in opposition contained the following brilliant passage: "Identification is a solid and imperial maxim, necessary for the preservation of freedom, necessary for that of empire; but, without union of hearts, with a separate government, and without a separate parliament, identification is extinction, is dishonour, is conquest—not identification. Yet I do not give up the country. I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead; though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheek a glow of beauty. While a plank of the vessel sticks together, I will not leave her. Let the courtier present his flimsy sail, and carry the light bark of his faith with every new breath of wind, I will remain anchored here, with fidelity to the fortunes of my country, faithful to her freedom, faithful to her fall." Ponsonby, Bushe, and Plunket were equally earnest in their assertion of Irish nationality, ever contending for the legislative independence of Ireland, but ever forgetful of the incessant dangers springing out of its division of sects and of its provincial prejudices and passions. No wise and dispassionate Irishman now doubts that his country has reaped incalculable benefits from that measure which her most gifted and patriotic sons so eloquently and earnestly deprecated when first the scheme of a general imperial legislature became a leading political topic of the day. Both nations gained an enormous increase of strength and prosperity by that consolidation, which was not less essential to their best interests than that earlier union between Scotland and England, the benefits of which have never been gainsaid. Some final proceedings in the British parliament on the Act of Union occupied the month of June. On the 2nd of July the royal assent was given to the measure, and on the 29th, when parliament was prorogued, the speech from the throne expressed his majesty's peculiar satisfaction at the completion of a measure on which he had long been earnestly bent, and which he declared he would ever consider the happiest event of his reign, being persuaded that nothing could so effectually contribute to the happiness of his Irish subjects, and to the strength, prosperity, and power of the whole empire. There remained, however, some active elements of future tribulation which were not extinguished by this healing ordinance. Pitt's grand conception of making Ireland, like Scotland, one kingdom with England, embraced points which he was not strong enough to carry in opposition to the inveterate prejudices of his sovereign, the dominant minority in Ireland, and the intolerance of the ruling classes of his own countrymen. He wanted to give a public maintenance to the Roman Catholic clergy, and to remove all civil disabilities from the laity in communion with the Church of Rome. This was too large a conception of civil and religious freedom for his day and generation. The work was reserved for some of his political disciples to accomplish in part, but not wholly, in the next generation. The wide interval between his full design and the instalment of it which he succeeded in carrying, is thus forcibly measured by Macaulay: "Had he been able to carry these noble designs into effect, the union would have been a union indeed. He would have been inseparably associated in the minds of the great majority of Irishmen with civil and religious freedom; and the old parliament in College Green would have been regretted only by a small knot of discarded jobbers and oppressors, and would have been remembered by the body of the nation with the loathing and contempt due to the most tyrannical and the most corrupt assembly that ever sat in Europe. But Pitt could only execute one-half of what he had projected. He succeeded in obtaining the consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms to the union, but that reconciliation of races and sects, without which the union could only exist in name, was not accomplished." In one of the stages of the passing of this Act, Mr. Pitt found an occasion for defending again his later views on the question of parliamentary reform. Members of opposition had argued that the fusion of the two national parliaments into one imperial legislature would operate to the injury of the British constitution, by increasing the influence of the crown at the expense of the people; inasmuch as one hundred Irish members would be more at the command of an unscrupulous minister than three hundred, for any purpose of bribery or corruption. In reply to this objection Pitt declared that he had no desire to augment the influence of the crown; that the apportionment of Irish members was such as to favour the popular interest, for thirty-two members would be returned by considerable towns instead of small proprietary boroughs and merely nominal constituencies, as before; and the other sixty-eight members would represent the counties, the capital, and the chief commercial city, embracing large constituencies and the wealth of the country; that the addition of Irish members to the British parliament involved no disturbance in the representation of England. He added: "In stating this I have not forgotten what I have myself formerly said and sincerely felt upon the subject of parliamentary reform. But I know that all opinions must necessarily be subservient to times and circumstances, and that man who talks of his consistency merely because he holds the same opinion for ten or fifteen years, when the circumstances under which that opinion was originally formed are totally changed, is a slave to the most idle vanity. Seeing all that I have seen since the period to which I allude; considering how little chance there is of that species of reform to which alone I looked, and which is as different from the modern schemes of reform as the latter are from the constitution; seeing that where the greatest changes have taken place the most dreadful consequences have ensued, and which have not been confined to the country where they originated, but have spread their malignant influence to almost every part of the globe, shaking the fabric of every government; seeing that in this general shock the constitution of Great Britain has alone remained pure and untouched in its vital principles; I say, when I consider all these circumstances, I should be ashamed of myself if any former opinions of mine could now induce me to think that the form of representation which, in such times as the present, has been found amply sufficient for protecting the interests and securing the happiness of the people, should be idly and wantonly disturbed from any love of experiment or any predilection for theory. Upon this subject I think it right to state the inmost thoughts of my mind; I think it right to declare my most decided opinion, that, even if the times were proper for experiments, any, even the slightest changes in the constitution, must be considered as an evil." The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was still continued. On the 15th of May a mad fellow fired a pistol at the king in Drury Lane Theatre, but fortunately missed his mark. This attempt occasioned the addition of two clauses in the Insanity Bill, abridging the privilege of bail in the case of alleged lunatics.

The closing year of the eighteenth century was distinguished by a remarkable campaign in Germany and Italy. The emperor of Russia retired suddenly from the contest, under discouragement of the reverses sustained in Switzerland and Holland. He soon began to exhibit a decided leaning towards his late adversaries and against his late allies. Bonaparte addressed a proclamation to the French people, fixing upon the British government the stigma of an obstinate continuance of hostilities, despite of his proposals for peace, and urging the nation to renewed exertions and sacrifices in order to conquer a peace. He conciliated the Vendéans, who were again in arms, before the succours which were preparing to act with them could be brought from England; and invited the return of royalists and constitutionalists from exile, under conditions which tempted many of them back to France. In these and other ways he laid the foundations of quiet at home, and then proceeded to develop his plans for the campaign beyond the frontier. He gave to Moreau the command of the army of the Rhine, consisting of 100,000 men, and kept in his own hands the direction of the Italian campaign. The aim of Moreau was to distract the attention of the Austrians on a long line of operations, so as to detain as many as possible of their forces from the main field of French enterprise on the south of the Alps. Bonaparte kept his own counsel so well, that he managed to lull the Austrians into a fatal security in respect to the point on which he purposed delivering his most effective blow. While they were expecting his advance through Nice, to confront them in their siege operations before Genoa, he was secretly despatching a succession of regiments from the interior of France into Switzerland. Joining this force on the 13th of May, he at once issued orders for the march over the passes of St. Gothard, Mont Cenis, Great St. Bernard, and Little St. Bernard, into the plains of Piedmont. He himself accompanied the division that took the route over the Great St. Bernard, hitherto held to be utterly impracticable for artillery. The cannon were dismounted from their carriages, put into hollowed trunks of trees, and dragged by the soldiers over rocky precipices and perpetual snows. The gun-carriages were taken to pieces and carried on the backs of mules, or slung upon poles and carried on men's shoulders. The powder and shot were similarly transported. The cavalry and artillery horses were led by their riders over most of the toilsome journey. Every peasant and every mule that could be got for the service was turned to account to share with the soldiers the carriage of food and other requisites. On the third day after their start the vanguard of Bonaparte's division left Mont St. Bernard well in their rear, and descended into the Piedmontese valley of Aosta. Their comrades arrived at about the same time from their cloud-screened routes over the other passes. The small detachments of Austrians were staggered by the unexpected apparition of a large army of the foe where they were least expected. At the end of May the whole French army swarmed into Milan, and detachments forthwith took possession of Pavia, Piacenza, and other towns on the Po, without encountering any resistance. The Austrians under Melas had meanwhile just succeeded in reducing Genoa, in the investment of which they were aided by a British naval force. The Austrian general's despatches to his government were intercepted by the French, who thus learned that their victorious enemy were moving from Genoa to attack them in the plains of Lombardy. After an engagement between detached corps of the belligerents at Montebello, in which the Austrians lost five thousand men, and were driven back on their main army under Melas, the whole French army took up a position at Marengo, where they awaited the attack of the Austrians. On the 14th of June the imperial army delivered the attack, commencing with a furious cannonade of artillery, followed by a series of superb cavalry charges which swept all obstacles before them, and left Melas under the impression that the battle was won. He withdrew from the field of assured victory to write his despatches, and repose from fatigues which had overpowered his aged frame, leaving to Zach, his second in command, the duty of following up the shattered French columns. But in reality he had mastered only two out of the three main divisions of the French army. The division under Desaix now came opportunely on the field, and the broken divisions rallied in its rear. The artillery of the whole army was massed in one tremendous battery in a position that commanded the high road, along which came the Austrian columns, in confident expectation of carrying all before them, as in the earlier part of the day. Suddenly the masked artillery opened upon their dense ranks and threw them into confusion. Then they found themselves confronted by the fresh battalions of infantry under Desaix, while Kellermann's cavalry charged and recharged, and traversed the broken line, inflicting terrible havoc on the Austrian columns. The main army, under Bonaparte, now recovered itself, and seconded the onslaught of the divisions which had thus opportunely come to the rescue. The fortunes of the day were suddenly reversed; the Austrians were driven in headlong flight across the river, between Marengo and Allesandria, and the French remained masters of the field. The Austrians acknowledged a loss of over 9000 men and 1400 horses. The French stated their own loss at 4000, and that of their enemy at 12,000. Desaix, to whom the chief merit of this unexpected retrieval of a lost battle is due, was shot through the heart in leading his attack on the Austrian columns. He had only just arrived from Egypt, and had hurried up with his reinforcements to join the lucky first consul, who reaped all the glory and the profit of his brave coadjutor's promptitude and valour. The Austrian commander-in-chief, oppressed by the infirmities of four-score and four years, lost under this stunning blow all his wonted firmness and judgment. Although he had still from forty to fifty thousand troops at his disposal, and held by his garrisons a series of strong fortresses, including Genoa, he threw up the game as lost, and concluded an armistice, which reversed in a single day all the gains of the previous year's campaign. He gave up to Bonaparte all Piedmont with its fortresses; Genoa, which he had taken eleven days before, after a protracted siege; and Lombardy, as far as the river Oglio. The paltry and ignominious price of these immense sacrifices was the unmolested retreat of the Austrian army to Mantua and the line of the river Mincio. Thus the Austrians lost all that they had acquired in the two previous campaigns, and Bonaparte secured, by the single victory of Marengo, results as important as those gained three years earlier after a protracted struggle and a series of stubborn battles. He gained, too, the hearts of the French people, and was thus enabled at once to assume a firmer grip on the reins of government. While the fame of his dashing march across the Alps and speedy rout of the Austrians was still occupying every tongue in Europe, he was back in Paris, reaping the solid fruits of his brief and brilliant campaign. Marengo was clearly paving the way for a higher dignity than that of first consul. On the 14th of July, the eleventh anniversary of the revolution was celebrated in the old spot, but with new accessories. The military dictator of France was the central figure in a brilliant military group that fascinated the eyes of myriads in the Champ de Mars, with the spectacle of captured Austrian standards, trophies fresh from Italian battle-fields, and visible embodiments of that military glory which was then, and long afterwards, the darling aspiration of France. Moreau's army, operating on the side of Germany, performed most efficiently the service designed for it—that of drawing off the attention of the Austrians from the recovery of Italy. In a series of engagements the French obtained successive advantages, until they were masters of all the German territory from the Swiss frontier to Munich. Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia were compelled to find subsistence for their invaders. The French also expelled the Austrians from Switzerland, and followed them into the Tyrol. In another direction they threatened the invasion of Bohemia, and even Vienna itself was kept in a state of alarm under expectation of capture by the able and enterprising republican general.

In these circumstances, following the precedent set by Melas in Italy, the Austrian general asked Moreau for a suspension of arms, which was granted on the 15th of July. In the discussion of the preliminaries of peace, the emperor of Austria claimed that England should be included in the arrangement, as the terms of the alliance between the two powers required that neither of them should consent to a separate peace. Bonaparte thereupon insisted that besides the armistice by land there should be also a naval armistice, the effect of which would have been to relieve the blockade of Malta, Alexandria, Brest, and the other ports in which French forces were sealed up by the presence of English squadrons. The English government declined to accede to this exorbitant demand, as altogether one-sided and not in keeping with established practice in many previous wars between the two nations. Hostilities then recommenced between the republican and imperial armies. After some minor engagements came the decisive battle of Hohenlinden, as disastrous as Marengo to the brave but unlucky Austrians. Moreau pursued his defeated enemy and threatened an advance on Vienna. Other French armies in northern Italy were equally successful; Venice on the one hand, and the Tyrol on the other, were both within view of the invading forces. In the face of such a complication of reverses the emperor now sued for a separate peace, a step in which he had the entire sanction of his allies, the English. Before the close of December a new armistice was concluded, followed in February by the peace of Luneville between the French republic and the emperor of Germany. The main conditions of this treaty were the same as those agreed to between the same powers at Campo Formio, three years earlier, viz., that the Rhine to Holland should form the eastern boundary of France; Venice to remain in the hands of the Austrians, who were, however, to relinquish some other portions of territory in Italy; the Netherlands, and the Ionian Islands to remain in the possession of the French.

Meanwhile Malta, which had been blockaded by a portion of Nelson's squadron for upwards of two years, surrendered in September to the British troops under General Pigot. This important acquisition, in the centre of the great inland sea, became forthwith the head-quarters and citadel of British naval power, as Gibraltar had long before been its impregnable outwork at the entrance of the Mediterranean. Some of the French garrison contrived, before the capitulation, to get away from the island in the few remaining ships that escaped from the battle of the Nile. But three out of the four fell into the hands of English cruisers, as already mentioned. The naval operations of the year were almost wholly limited to blockading the enemy, and to small affairs on the coasts of France and Spain, such as the destruction of gun-brigs, sloops, gun-boats, and various coast defences. Goree, a French possession on the coast of Africa, surrendered to a small naval force early in the summer; in September, the Dutch island of Curaçoa also yielded to the British. A combined naval and military force repeated the abortive attempt made five years earlier to co-operate with insurgents on the west coast of France, but as in the previous instance, it was ill-timed and useless. The same expedition then visited Ferrol, with the intention of capturing or destroying the arsenal and some Spanish ships of war which were moored within the harbour. The military commander, however, was of opinion that the defences of the place were too formidable to warrant any hope of success for the force at his disposal. The troops were thereupon re-embarked, just after they had gained possession of a most advantageous position for an attack on the town and fortifications. The force then passed on to Gibraltar and joined a larger expedition under Abercrombie, who, in conjunction with the fleet under Lord Keith, was to attack Cadiz and demolish the numerous war ships moored within its defences. But he found a pestilence raging in the town; and a further obstacle presented itself in the want of unity in view between the naval and military commanders. The expedition passed on to Malta, leaving a squadron to continue the blockade of Cadiz, and towards the close of the year received orders to proceed to Egypt, and drive the French out of that quarter.

Parliament met in November, and continued its sittings until the last day of the year and the century. The continued scarcity and excessive price of bread occupied much of the time of this session. Sundry Acts were passed with the view to mitigate the evil, such as giving bounties on imported grain, and enjoining the use of inferior bread stuffs. But private charity proved more efficacious than Acts of parliament in softening the rigour of the scarcity, so far as the suffering poor were concerned. Some heavy censures were launched in the Commons against the obstinacy of ministers in holding off from the recent proposals of peace. Sheridan moved an address to the king, earnestly to desire him to enter into a separate negotiation for a speedy and honourable peace. Three days later a similar motion was brought forward, imploring his majesty to dismiss his present ministers, on the ground that "by their profusion and extravagance they had brought the country to the brink of famine and ruin, and by their incapacity had shown themselves unequal to conduct the war with effect, or enter into negotiations of peace with honour." Both motions were rejected. Supplies were granted for the service of the first three months of the coming year. In connection with the army estimates returns were presented, from which it appeared that in the eight years of war 48,971 men had been killed in action or died in the service of the army; and that the number of men of all arms in the military service of Great Britain at the close of the year was 168,082. Every function of the British parliament expired with the last day of the century. The speech from the throne took account of this fact, and announced that the Imperial Parliament (the name by which the united legislatures were thenceforward to be designated) would assemble for important business on the 22nd of January, 1801.

On the first day of the nineteenth century a royal declaration was published, setting forth the new style and title, armorial bearings, flags and banners appertaining to the imperial crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The sovereign of the British empire now dropped the old pretensions which his predecessors, back to the days of Henry V., had absurdly retained, of being entitled to rule in France, and adopted the more modest title of "George III., by the grace of God king of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of the faith." The new royal standard, formed by a combination of the three crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, was hoisted in public places in the capital of each of the three kingdoms, and saluted with salvoes of artillery. An extensive batch of promotions took effect in the naval and military services, and some Irish peers were advanced to the higher rank of peers of the United Kingdom. The people at large, however, were in no holiday humour. The close of the eighteenth and the opening of the nineteenth century were linked together by associations that sate heavily on the hearts and minds of all classes. Except the capture of Malta, scarcely a gleam of glory hovered over the memory of the year just ended, and the new year, from its birth, was rife with cheerless symptoms and depressing forebodings of a coming harvest of fresh troubles. Old alliances had fallen through; France was giving law to the ancient kingdoms and empires of Europe, or framing new states out of crumbling and shattered monarchies; and governments hitherto friendly to Great Britain were preparing to side with her formidable foe. Pitt's firmest adherents were wavering in their trust. His abilities, transcendent in relation to every other public question, were clearly not fitted to direct a great war. As the paymaster of the nations fighting in the same cause, he had been in the position of wielding their aggregate forces towards a common object; but his genius was not of the type to mould these ample materials to his purposes. His handling of his own country's military resources was bungling from beginning to end. Parliament never stinted him in respect to funds or men. The annual taxation of the people was more than doubled to meet his demands, and the public debt was annually augmented by a sum equivalent to threefold the whole national income in any ordinary year preceding the war. Eight years of war had cost the nation four hundred millions of money, a sum greatly beyond the aggregate outlay on the Seven Years' war, the American war, the war of the Spanish succession, and the war of the Austrian succession put together. Yet our armies, despite this lavish expenditure, had achieved no great exploit in any battle-field in Europe to signalize any one of these eight years of hostilities. They had been beaten, routed, forced to capitulate or to re-embark, in several quarters of the Continent to which expeditions had been sent. The coasts of Holland, France, and Belgium had each witnessed repeated and disgraceful reverses of the British arms. Incessant blundering and gross mismanagement was at the bottom of this long string of failures. Our troops fought, as in earlier and subsequent times, with a stubborn and unfaltering courage, never surpassed. But they were clumsily handled and commanded by a notoriously incompetent general, or sent too late to effect the work allotted to them; or were sundered from their supplies, and exposed to starvation by hunger and cold and untold miseries, within a day's sail of our own shores, and in the territory of an ally whose battle they were fighting.

The first session of the imperial parliament gave early proof that gloomy retrospections and depressing misgivings for the future had now taken a firm hold on the minds of many of Pitt's old supporters. Other causes were operating to drive him from office. His incapacity for the conduct and control of war must long since have ruined his credit with his countrymen, but that his other pre-eminent qualities atoned for the many errors and disasters of his administration. His talents as a parliamentary leader gave him an almost absolute control over the House of Commons. But he was now at variance with the king, whose stubbornness proved invincible, and a great political crisis was the result.

After the usual preliminaries of a new parliament, the business of the session commenced in earnest on the 2nd of February. The king's speech dwelt on the "happy union which, by the blessing of Providence, had now been effected;" and characterized that event as a "memorable era, distinguished by the accomplishment of a measure calculated to augment and consolidate the strength and resources of the empire." New complications with foreign powers formed the topic of another paragraph, and furnished material for severe animadversion on ministerial shortcomings. In the Lords, Earl Fitzwilliam, who had seceded with Burke from the powerful Whig party of earlier years, and given a cordial support to Pitt's administration, now held that the restoration of the Bourbons was hopeless, and the war with France ought therefore to be abandoned. He insisted that ministers were bound to render to parliament, through the medium of a committee of inquiry, an explanation of the causes of failure in all their military expeditions. Parliament had entrusted them with lavish means and unlimited powers, and they had besides the co-operation of great continental states; yet so far from achieving the purposes for which they had embarked in war, their mismanagement had assisted France to become more powerful than at any previous epoch, and states which were lately our allies were now arraying their forces against us. Lord Darnley, another of Pitt's steadfast adherents since the beginning of the war, supported the demand for inquiry, and contended that ministers had abused the confidence reposed in them by parliament, and exhibited but a meagre share of political wisdom. Other speakers took a similar line of objection, dwelling on the oppressive burdens which were grinding the nation, without rendering equivalent services, and insisting that ministers ought at once to give account of their misused stewardship. Mr. Grey made a similar demonstration in the Commons, but in both Houses the motion for inquiry was defeated. There was, however, another rock on which this strongest government that ever ruled England, from the Restoration down to our own times, was actually breaking up at the very moment of its easy victory over an energetic opposition. On the day before this formidable attack, Pitt made a communication to the king that was tantamount to throwing up the premiership. He told his majesty —whom he well knew to be stubbornly and irreconcileably opposed to the view he was about to enunciate—that he and a majority in the cabinet held it to be expedient to repeal the laws which excluded Catholics from parliament, and which shut out Catholics and dissenters from a variety of civil and political privileges. During the agitation of the question of the union, the leaders of the Catholic party in Ireland had been encouraged to expect, as the first fruit of the union, an entire equality with their Protestant fellow-subjects in all civil and political privileges. The viceroy, Lord Cornwallis, ardently desired such a consummation, and always held that it offered the only safe guarantee for the settlement of Ireland in peace and tranquillity. He was in entire accord with Pitt in this policy, but they were both doomed to disappointment. The king was distressed at the thought of losing Pitt's services, but he was yet more vexed that his favourite minister should put pressure upon him, with the purpose of extorting his consent to the repeal of laws that, as he imagined, his coronation oath obliged him to uphold. He sent word that he would never consent to any alteration in the laws affecting Catholics and dissenters, and that he yet trusted that Pitt would never leave him while he lived. Dundas attempted to persuade his majesty that the coronation oath applied to his executive, and not to his legislative action as sovereign. But the argument proved unavailing, and the king petulantly closed the discussion with the exclamation, "None of your Scotch metaphysics for me, Mr. Dundas." On the 3rd of February Pitt announced to the king his desire to withdraw from office, so soon as arrangements could be made for filling his place. Most of his principal colleagues also resigned. Then came several weeks' return of the king's old malady. His illness was first said to be a mere cold, then a fever: it was however soon known to be a visitation of insanity, brought on by vexation arising out of Pitt's demand, and the old intrigues for a regency were revived. But on the 7th of March the brief interregnum was happily ended by the entire recovery of the king. On the 14th he received from Pitt and the other ministers their seals of office, and Addington, the Speaker, was forthwith advanced to the vacated post of premier, with the double office of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Eldon became lord chancellor in place of Lord Loughborough; Lord Hawkesbury took Lord Grenville's place as foreign secretary; Lord Hobart became secretary of state in place of Dundas; Yorke succeeded Windham as secretary of war; and corresponding displacements occurred in the minor offices of government. This was a change of men without a change of party; rear-rank men came to the front, and the front rank retired to the rear, still giving their support to the same policy that had long been in the ascendant, but simply leaving in abeyance the question of civil and political disabilities on the score of religious creed. Pending the changes, but after his actual resignation, Pitt passed the estimates for the year. The military force was fixed at the enormous high level of 193,000 regulars, 78,000 militia, and 31,400 fencibles, giving a total of more than 300,000, besides a large force of volunteers. The number for the naval service also was augmented to 135,000, in consideration of the anticipated war with the confederacy of northern powers, whose resentment on the question of right of search was adroitly turned to account by Bonaparte, and fanned into a flame which was not to be smothered except by concessions that would have given them the privilege of supplying France with the means of replenishing her starved and crippled maritime power. The estimated expenditure was somewhat over 42,000,000*l.*, being less by a very large amount than the supplies voted in some preceding years, in which the numbers borne on the rolls of our own naval and military services were barely half so many. The difference is accounted for by the entire absence this year of any subsidy to foreign powers. The loan for the year was 28,000,000*l.* Supplementary estimates, however, towards the close of the session, swelled the supplies to the enormous total of 69,000,000*l.* In defending so large an aggregate outlay, the new premier showed that the peace establishment of the country would henceforth require an annual expenditure of 29,000,000*l.*, being nearly twice as much as in years preceding the current war. One item of this huge increase—

the interest on new debt contracted in the last eight years—represented nearly ten and a half out of the twenty-nine millions. As soon as the new ministry were fully installed in office, motions were again brought forward condemning the prodigality and mismanagement of Pitt and his colleagues, and insisting on inquiry into the causes of failure. In a sort of preliminary skirmish in the Upper House, Grenville gave an explanation of the break-up of the late government in terms which show the continuance of a secret force at work on the mind of the king, such as forty years earlier had exerted a malign influence on his conduct as a constitutional sovereign. Intriguing statesmen and placemen, departing from the loyalty due to their political chief, took the place of those miscalled "king's friends" of the earlier period, and possessed his majesty's mind with a policy divergent from that of his only legitimate advisers in the discharge of his high trust. "We wished," said Grenville, "that the benefits of the union should be rendered as great and extensive as possible, by the removal of certain disabilities under which a great portion of the inhabitants of Ireland laboured. Imagining that this measure could only be effectual by coming from the executive government, we felt it our duty to propose it to those who direct his majesty's councils. It was not deemed eligible, and we were unable to prevail. As our opinion of its policy remained unaltered, and we still think this measure alone capable of establishing the tranquillity and prosperity of the empire on a permanent basis, we considered ourselves bound to retire." In the Commons Mr. Grey pressed a motion for inquiry on the ground "that in the best times of our constitution such investigations had been permitted, with very beneficial effects, though by the late premier they had been discountenanced and exploded. He hoped, however, that the new minister would not discourage a scrutiny, which was loudly called for by a series of ill-concerted schemes. It was idle to boast of conquests, which were scarcely felt by a people groaning under a ruinous weight of taxation, while the great object of the war—the repression of the power of France—was so far from being effected, that by the folly of the late ministers, she had reached a point of aggrandizement to which Louis XIV. had never aspired. Their imbecility had encouraged the designs of an enemy at whose humiliation they aimed. Not knowing how to direct their efforts, they had acted, not as the adversaries, but as the friends of France. From year to year they had held out false promises and delusive hopes. They had added 270,000,000*l.* to the public debt, and 17,000,000*l.* to the annual taxes. Yet amid this distress they boasted of leaving the country in a most flourishing state, and thereby added insult to injury. Finally, they had increased the power of the crown, in proportion as they had invaded the liberties of the people." Other speakers followed in the same line of objection, and eventually Pitt responded in an appeal to the judgment of the House on the general principles which, for eight years, it had supported by large majorities. He gave a similar explanation of his resignation to that stated by Grenville in the Upper House, adding that it was not true that he had pledged himself to the Catholics, either before or after the union, to recommend their case to parliament; they merely expected it from knowing his sentiments. Fox argued that inquiry was the more necessary, because the new ministry were avowedly committed to the same system that had been fruitful in so many costly blunders and disasters. The new ministers and their adherents resisted inquiry as likely to damp the energies of the nation, without leading to any useful result; and to obstruct rather than advance the exertions needed to rescue the country from present perils. Ex-ministers supported the same view, a course consistent with the whole tenour of their conduct in office, but open to the objection that it was by no means disinterested. Pitt's extraordinary boast of "unexampled economy" in the conduct of the war, and his claim to the merit of success in it, would have come with a better grace if accompanied with an invitation for a searching scrutiny into all parts of his administration, instead of his continued efforts to stifle parliamentary inquiry.

The treaty of armed neutrality entered into towards the close of the past year, between Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, left England no choice but immediate war with those powers, or else that she should give up a right on which her naval supremacy was mainly sustained. These northern states insisted on a new interpretation of maritime law, as affecting the trade of neutrals. The British government, after long negotiation with Denmark, the country with which the dispute began, announced its firm resolve to continue, as heretofore, to search neutral ships steering towards an enemy's harbour, for the discovery of articles contraband of war, whether such ships were under convoy of a naval force or not. Denmark, on the other hand, persisted in the principle that the company of a vessel of war, however small, exempted any number of trading ships under its convoy from the liability to search. The emperor of Russia, at the instigation of Bonaparte, espoused the cause of Denmark, and induced the Swedish government to join also in a renewal of the armed neutrality of 1782. Paul had another ground of quarrel with England. Bonaparte had caused him to be elected to the shadowy dignity of grand master of the knights of Malta. By virtue of that office he fancied the island, on its capture by the English, ought to have been handed over to his custody. Under the promptings of a quixotic impulse, he resolved to give law to the first naval power, in revenge for the imaginary wrong. In the middle of December the treaty between him and the two governments of Denmark and Sweden was ratified, and the three powers held themselves prepared to fight for the principle that free bottoms make free cargoes. He was the first to begin hostilities. He answered the remonstrances of his late allies, whose liberal subsidies he had pocketed, by laying an embargo on all British shipping then lying in Russian ports. The crews were imprisoned and some of the ships burnt. As soon as the news reached London, reprisals were ordered at the expense of the shipping of the three confederate nations, and a fleet was equipped for service in the Baltic. Admiral Parker took the chief command, with Nelson for his second. The squadron numbered eighteen sail of the line, with a suitable accompaniment of smaller vessels. Mr. Vansittart went with the expedition in the capacity of a special envoy, to bring about, if possible, a pacific settlement of the dispute with Denmark. He proceeded under a flag of truce to Copenhagen, but was promptly sent back to the fleet, with a defiant answer. Parker was over cautious, and hesitated whether to pass into the Baltic by way of the Sound or the Belt. Nelson chafed under each hour of delay. Denmark and Sweden had each separately a naval force scarcely less in numbers and strength than the squadron that was to cope with both. The Russians had a navy even more formidable than the other two together in point of numbers, but it was badly officered, ill-equipped, and not yet liberated from the icy fetters of its frozen harbours. Nelson was for crushing each enemy in succession, before they could unite their forces. He carried his point. On the 30th of March the fleet passed the Sound, Nelson leading the van. The batteries near Elsinore attempted to dispute the passage, but the shot from their hundred guns did next to no harm, for the advancing fleet kept well over to the Swedish side of the channel. Three miles of water—the width of the Sound—exceeded the range of any cannon then in use. At noon the whole fleet anchored between the city of Copenhagen and Huen island. That night and the next were occupied in taking soundings among the shoals, and laying down buoys to supply the place of those which the Danes had removed. On the first of April the fleet advanced cautiously through the shallow water, and anchored within two miles of the enemy's line of defence, afloat and ashore. This consisted of nineteen ships and floating batteries, moored close to the sea fronts of the city, flanked by forts and earthworks at each extremity of the harbour, and others on the Crown islands and the isle of Amak. Next morning Nelson's division, twelve sail of the line and half a dozen frigates or smaller craft, closed in with the enemy. The three leading ships grounded, notwithstanding all Nelson's anxious precautions for ascertaining the safest path through the intricate shallows. The fourth ship carried Nelson himself. Warned by the fate of his three grounded vessels, he at once altered the order of sailing, and led the rest of his squadron safely—so far as the dreaded shoals were concerned—within fighting range of the ships and batteries to be attacked. Each ship dropped its anchor as nearly as possible in the spot assigned to it beforehand. But the failure of a fourth of the large ships to reach their allotted stations prevented the extension of the attacking line to the desired limits. This threw upon the smaller craft, under the direction of "the gallant good Riou," a disproportionate share in the fierce battle that had already begun while the ships were making good their anchorage. The heavy boom of the Danish guns first broke the "silence deep as death," at about "ten of April morn by the chime." The whole line on each side was hotly engaged by half-past eleven. The furious cannonade showed no symptoms of exhaustion on either side at one o'clock. Admiral Parker, who remained at his anchorage, two miles off, with the reserve of six ships, sent three of them to take the places that had been assigned to the ships that grounded. But there was now next to no wind, so the reinforcement failed to make head against the difficulties of the navigation. At this juncture, since the fire of the enemy showed no sign of slackening, Parker concluded the enterprise must fail. He decided to save his ships, if possible, before they were too much shattered to bring off. He was keenly alive to the fact that in ordering a retreat he risked his own reputation. On the other hand he held it more honourable to take the discredit, if it must come, than to leave all the blame and shame of failure to fall on Nelson. The signal of recall was observed from Nelson's ship; an officer asked him if it should be repeated. "No. Acknowledge it," was the prompt response. The excitement of action had dispelled the torturing anxiety which had possessed Nelson's mind until he had ranged his ships in their respective stations. He was now in a mood of joyous exultation, his countenance gleaming with intense delight as he rapidly paced the deck giving orders, and his conversation, as afterwards reported by one of his staff, was animated and elevated. Amid the crash of a thousand guns on each side, he remarked with a smile to the captain of his ship, "It is warm work, and this day may be the last to any of us. But, mark you! I would not be elsewhere for thousands." He then ordered his own signal for close action to be kept flying, and turning to the captain, said: "You know, Foley, I have only one eye. I have a right to be blind sometimes." Then, looking in the direction of Parker's ship, he sportively applied his glass to his blind eye, adding, "I really do not see the signal. Keep mine for close action flying. That's the way I answer such signals. Nail mine to the mast!" Captain Riou, meanwhile, whose little squadron of small vessels was nearer than Nelson to the commander in-chief, had hauled off, in obedience to the signal for retreat, but not soon enough to save his own life. A raking shot from a shore battery cut him in two, just after he had expressed his vexation at the recall in the exclamation, "What will Nelson think of us?" The rest of the attacking force acted on Nelson's signal, and stubbornly continued the fight. Towards two o'clock the fire rapidly slackened along the whole of the Danish line. Most of their vessels had by that time hauled down their colours. But boats from Nelson's ships, on attempting to take possession of the prizes, were assailed with shot from the shore, and even from the ships that had struck. To stop this infringement of the accepted practice in war, Nelson sent a letter ashore to the crown prince of Denmark, who governed for his father. The letter stated that the admiral was commanded "to spare Denmark when she no longer resists; that the line of defence which covered her shores had struck to the British flag; and that if the fire were continued, he would be obliged to destroy all the prizes which he had taken, without having the power to save the men who had so nobly defended them. The Danes were the brothers, and should never be the enemies of the English." A parley ensued, and the crown prince sent to inquire the object of Nelson's note. A written reply informed him: "Lord Nelson's object in sending a flag of truce was humanity; he consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore. And Lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes, as he shall think fit. Lord Nelson, with humble duty to his royal highness, will think this the greatest victory he has ever gained, if it may be the cause of a happy reconciliation and union between his own most gracious sovereign and his majesty the king of Denmark." Thereupon the firing was ordered to cease on each side, and a conference took place on board Admiral Parker's ship, to settle the conditions of an armistice. It was at once agreed that the prizes should be at Nelson's disposal, and the wounded Danes sent ashore. The trophies of the fight included six-line of-battle ships and eight floating batteries, but they were for the most part so cut up as to be unfit for a voyage to England: all but one were therefore sunk or burnt. And Nelson's ships were so severely crippled that it was no easy task to take them off; half of them grounded in endeavouring to steer through the mazes of the difficult navigation. They were only got afloat again by the most harassing labours. The British loss exceeded a thousand killed and wounded; that of the Danes reached six thousand including prisoners. Nelson was invited to land and visit the crown prince. At a repast which followed his first conference, he told the prince that he had fought in a hundred and five engagements, but that this was the most terrific of all. The French, he said, fought bravely, "but they could not have stood for one hour the fight which the Danes had supported for four." After a negotiation extending over five days, an armistice was agreed to of fourteen weeks' duration. The British ships obtained all needful supplies from Copenhagen. Then Nelson, with one division, set off in quest of the Russian fleet, which might now be daily expected to emerge from its ice-bound quarters at Revel and in the Neva; and Parker made sail in pursuit of the Swedish squadron, which had already put to sea.

But an event had recently occurred in Russia which stopped the war and broke up the hostile confederacy against Britain. Paul's eccentricities of temper found expression in a variety of brutal acts towards his nobility, who had begun to murmur at the loss of English custom for the produce of their estates. Their property, liberties, and lives, were in so many instances sacrificed to his merest caprice of passion, that they resorted to the usual, if not the sole remedy against an oppressor who is above the law. Leading members of the aristocracy turned conspirators and assassins. Paul was strangled in his bed. His son Alexander signalized his accession to the throne by withdrawing from the war against England, and reversing the policy of his father. The imprisoned English were liberated, and amends made to them for property taken or destroyed. Nelson visited the Neva, only to learn that no enemy remained in that quarter. The Swedes followed the example of the Danes by entering into an armistice. Diplomacy now came into play in the room of naval armaments; and a convention between Great Britain and the northern courts shortly established the principle which the confederacy was designed to overturn.

The military expedition under Abercrombie, sent to dislodge the French from Egypt, resulted in success not less brilliant and decisive than the naval expedition to the Baltic against the northern powers. The place selected for landing was Aboukir Bay, the scene of Nelson's great victory on the 1st of August, 1798. The stirring memory of that triumph was still fresh in the minds of all the actors in the coming strife. After a few days spent in the bay, maturing plans for the landing, the army made good its footing in Egypt on the 8th of March, despite a determined opposition on the part of the French. Numerous field-pieces, posted in sandhills near the surf, and cannon from Aboukir Castle, sent a storm of grape-shot on the long line of boats that conveyed the first British division from the transports. But the sailors rowed steadily onward in spite of many casualties; most of the boats reached the shore with the utmost regularity, and nearly at the same minute. As soon as each boat grounded in the surf the troops jumped out, and formed in line on the sandy beach as coolly and steadily as on parade, though in the face of a galling fire. In about five minutes from the first boat touching the shore, two thousand men were to be seen pressing forward up the sandy slopes in formidable array, driving before them at the point of the bayonet the enemy who had come down to dispute the landing. In less than half an hour the French were driven from their vantage ground among the sand-hills, with the loss of all their artillery and three hundred men. The British loss was heavier, but most of it was incurred in the passage to the shore, when the men, closely packed, were under fire without being able to return it.

The remainder of the troops were brought ashore in the course of a few more hours, but the horses, cannon, and stores were less manageable, and occasioned a delay of several more days. On the 12th the whole force moved forward, a naval brigade dragging cannon through the sand, and came within sight of the main body of the French, who were posted on a ridge between the sea and the city of Alexandria. A partial and indecisive engagement took place on the 13th; on the 19th Aboukir Castle capitulated. The stubborn and conclusive fight, known as the battle of Alexandria, came off on the morning of the 21st. The French, who counted on their better knowledge of the ground, attempted a surprise of the British camp in the night. At three hours before sunrise they began a feigned attack on the left, in the hope of throwing the British into confusion. But they soon met with such a reception as their long career of victory over Italians, Austrians, Turks, and Egyptians, had nowise prepared them to anticipate. Their main attack was on the British right. Scarcely a gleam of light shone on the combatants in the first hour of the fight. The French cavalry were well mounted and knew the ground. They succeeded in getting round into the rear of several English regiments, and inflicted much loss on them, but not so much as they suffered in return.

Some unavoidable confusion occurred in the darkness, but this was fully retrieved when dawn came on. The 28th, 58th, and 23rd regiments, after a stubborn contest with greatly superior numbers, were on the point of giving way, when the 42nd Highlanders opportunely came up to their support. Masses of cavalry charged them on all sides, but the British infantry formed in hollow squares, and repulsed successive charges to such purpose that the ground about them was soon strewn thickly with men and horses. In fact, the cavalry of the enemy was nearly destroyed in these repeated and desperate efforts to rout the broken but undismayed Highlanders and other infantry regiments. Nor did the French foot fare better, though they fought with their customary spirit. They relied chiefly upon the musket, while the British lost no opportunity of closing and bringing the bayonet into play. About six hundred French succeeded in penetrating to the centre of the British line, which occupied a Turkish graveyard, enclosed by a stone wall. Menon knew the importance of carrying this position, and stimulated the efforts of the attacking party by the promise of a reward in money to every man who should make good his entrance into the enclosure. After a desperate hand-to-hand struggle on all sides of the walled space, the French forced their way in. But scarcely one of them survived to claim the promised reward. They were bayonetted, or killed with blows from the butt-ends of muskets, for in the excitement of mortal strife in such close quarters the process of loading was too tedious to be thought of. Victory at length rewarded the stubborn courage of the British. Between nine and ten in the forenoon the French were everywhere in precipitate retreat. The ground was thickly strewn with the dead, for the action had been fought at close quarters and on a very limited space. The British loss was one thousand four hundred killed and wounded, out of ten thousand engaged. That of the French was more than twice as heavy, out of an attacking force of fourteen thousand men. The casualties included several generals on each side. The British commander received a wound, which he contrived to conceal until the battle was won; but within a few days it proved mortal, to the intense regret of his army, by whom he was greatly respected and beloved.

The defeated army found shelter in Alexandria, where they were forthwith cut off from communication with their countrymen in Cairo, and the other ports held by detachments. The main body of the British army, under General Hutchinson, now marched to Cairo, leaving a smaller force to cooperate with and direct the operations of a Turkish force in the blockade of Alexandria. Cairo was soon hemmed in by the English on the left and the Turks on the right bank of the Nile. An Indian army of 7,500 men, under General Baird, now arrived at Suez and marched through the desert to Cairo. Thus, instead of a French invasion of India, a native contingent from that country was now bearing its part in expelling the French from their first oriental conquests. The garrison at Cairo meanwhile capitulated to General Hutchinson, without fighting, on condition of being conveyed home, and all private property secured to officers and men.

The spoils of temples and tombs, collected during three years' occupation of the land of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, were now wrested from the French; many of these trophies, destined for Paris, found a present resting place in the British Museum. Paris, however, was permitted to receive a share of the Egyptian sculptures. The garrison at Alexandria held out till the 27th of August, when it surrendered to the besiegers on the same terms as were granted to the force at Cairo. The remaining posts submitted immediately after, and within a few weeks the shattered remnants of those conquering legions that were to have subdued the East, passed ingloriously away from the scene of recent triumphs. Thus was the spell of boasted French invincibility effectually broken, and the British army, long under a cloud, dated from the brilliant campaign in Egypt a new chapter in its annals of glorious achievements.

While the fate of Egypt still hung in the balance, Bonaparte revived his favourite project of an invasion of England. Foiled in several previous attempts to unite the navies of several nations in the grand enterprise, he still clung to the notion that an army might be conveyed across the channel in a multitudinous assemblage of small craft. All the ports from Brest to Amsterdam supplied their respective quotas of a flotilla of gun-boats, sailing-rafts, and various other forms of small vessels, all armed with from two to eight guns. Hundreds of these found their way to Boulogne, where also a military force of 100,000 men was encamped, awaiting a propitious day for the short voyage over to the Kentish coast. Nelson operated against the locust-like swarm of gun-brigs, lugger-rigged flats, and floating batteries that thronged the harbour of Boulogne, and succeeded occasionally in destroying such craft as could be reached. But the forts and other land defences, together with the shallow water, effectually screened the enemy from any close attack by large ships. On the night of the 16th of August, Nelson tried a night attack by the boats of his squadron, which, however, were repulsed with heavy loss. The enterprise had been fully anticipated and timely precautions were adopted to frustrate it. Each of the craft forming the flotilla was protected from the assault of boarding parties by a screen of very strong network, formed of ropes and chains, and stretching from the bulwarks to the lower yards. The crews were assisted by large bodies of military, who lay in concealment until the attack began. Owing to the darkness and the strength of the tide, the several divisions of the boats were prevented from adhering to the plan laid down. One division failed to reach its destination till the fight was over; another could not get in at all. The rest were beaten back with heavy loss, after a gallant effort to cut out the well protected vessels. In reporting the failure to government, Nelson stated that had all his boats arrived according to arrangement, not all the chains in France would have prevented our men from bringing away the whole of the Boulogne flotilla. The French meanwhile were effectually cooped up in Boulogne, and it soon became with them rather a question of how best to defend themselves than to ravage the opposite shores. There were other encounters at sea, but none on a large scale. A combined French and Spanish squadron of ten sail of the line and smaller craft, on its way from the Mediterranean towards Cadiz, was set upon in the night of the 12th of July by half as many English ships, detached from the blockading squadron at Cadiz. Two Spanish ships, each of one hundred and twelve guns, caught fire and blew up in the course of the night; another, of seventy-four guns, surrendered; the rest escaped into Cadiz, after sustaining heavy damage from their pursuers. Against this success must be balanced the previous failure of the same English squadron to take or destroy some French ships of war that were anchored in Algesiras bay, under cover of the shore batteries. Besides this repulse in which three hundred and sixty men were killed or wounded, two frigates were obliged to surrender in the Mediterranean to a greatly superior French force, with which, however, they first sustained a gallant fight. Some small settlements in the West Indies belonging to the Swedes and Danes, and the Dutch possessions of Ternate, in the Moluccas, submitted in the course of the summer to British cruisers.

Portugal suffered severely this year for its alliance with England. Spaniards and French invaded the country in overwhelming numbers and imposed upon its government most oppressive conditions, including a large payment in money, a loss of territory, the annulment of all its treaties with England, and the closing of its ports against her commerce. Addington's administration promised help in men and money. Some regiments were sent, but not in force adequate for operations in the field. They held, however, possession of Madeira, which might else have fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the king of Portugal received a subsidy of 300,000*l.* from the British treasury.

Before the French armies in Egypt gave up the contest, and while Nelson was still harassing a long line of the enemy's coast, an active intercourse, with the view to peace, had again sprung up in London, between our foreign secretary, Lord Hawkesbury, and M. Otto, the French agent for the conduct of business connected with the exchange of prisoners. The overture came this time, as on the last occasion, direct from Bonaparte. Addington snapped eagerly at the prospect of peace. He hastily agreed to preliminaries, which gave every advantage to France, and imposed on England enormous sacrifices. But the country was tired of war and the new ministry eager for popularity. The bargain with Bonaparte's envoy was struck in haste and repented of at leisure, soon afterwards. While the English people were still absorbed in defensive preparations against the threatened invasion, they were suddenly and agreeably startled with the announcement that the preliminaries of peace were already signed. This was on the first of October; the suspension of hostilities dated from the ratification by each government, ten days later, of the provisional articles of peace. Fireworks and illuminations throughout the country testified to the general satisfaction. Tired of war, the people welcomed the tidings of peace without waiting to learn the conditions on which it was to be had. Nearly half a year was yet to pass before the tedious negotiation bore fruit in a definitive treaty. Amiens was again selected as the place of meeting for the negotiators. Cornwallis represented the British government, and Joseph Bonaparte, a brother of the first consul, was deputed to act for France. But before the opening of a formal discussion between the plenipotentiaries, Cornwallis visited Paris and had two interviews with Napoleon Bonaparte, in which the forthcoming treaty formed the chief topic of conversation. The first consul, after courteous inquiries about the king of England's health, spoke of the British nation in terms of great respect, intimating, says Cornwallis, that "as long as we remained friends, there would be no interruption to the peace of Europe." The future emperor must have been immensely gratified by the reply, in which he was assured that the English knew him only as a hero and a conqueror when he was first called to fill his present high station; but that the good order and tranquillity which the country enjoyed since he became head of the French government, made them respect him as a statesman and a legislator, and had removed all old misgivings on the part of the British government in respect to a renewal of friendly intercourse between the two nations. The negotiation at Amiens was often ruffled, and all but broken off, by the high demands put forward on the side of France. Towards the close of January, when Cornwallis was despairing of any amicable arrangement, he writes: "What can be expected from a nation naturally overbearing and insolent, when all the powers of Europe are prostrating themselves at its feet, and supplicating for forgiveness and future favour, except one little island?" Bonaparte was now assuming the airs and the tone of an arbiter and dictator, some instances of which provoked the English secretary for foreign affairs, to comment, in a despatch to Cornwallis, on "the inordinate ambition, the gross breach of faith, and the inclination to insult Europe, manifested by the first consul." Pitt would have broken unceremoniously through the unfinished diplomatic tangle, but the new ministry were meeker, as well as weaker men. Their greater patience and forbearance were rewarded at length by the conclusion of a treaty, on the 27th of March, 1802, which deviated very little from the preliminaries laid down half a year earlier. The French were to withdraw from Naples and the Papal States, but to retain Belgium and their conquests along the left bank of the Rhine, down to the limits of the Batavian Republic. Egypt was to be given back to the Sultan, whose empire was to be guaranteed. The Ionian Islands were to form an independent Republic. All the colonial settlements wrested by the British from France and her allies were to be restored, except Ceylon, which had been acquired from the Dutch, and Trinidad, taken more recently from the Spaniards. Malta was to be evacuated by the British, and to be given up to its old masters, the knights, among whom there were to be neither

French nor English. The government of the island was to be placed under the guarantee of the principal states of Europe. While the treaty was yet in its earliest stages of diplomatic discussion, the imperial parliament, in an autumnal session, was the scene of some animated debates on the preliminaries. Windham, in opposing the treaty, called himself a solitary mourner in the midst of public rejoicings. Sheridan happily characterized the peace as an event of which all men were glad, but no man could be proud. Fox held that the peace was honourable, but not glorious to this country; that a better peace might have been secured many years earlier, but as that chance had been thrown away, he would not repine at the present treaty; our safety, he thought, was as much secured as if we had restored the Bourbons; he rejoiced that the promoters of the war had failed in that main purpose which impelled them to commit their country to a prolonged and costly war. In the Upper House, Grenville and his adherents deprecated the peace as more injurious to British interests than the continuance of war, but the Lord Chancellor, Lord St. Vincent, Nelson, and others supported the treaty. On a division it was approved by a majority of one hundred and fourteen against ten.

In the course of the nine years' war England had fully maintained her ancient renown for the prowess of her seamen. She had swept the seas of hostile fleets, as in the days of Drake and Blake. The victories of Howe, Duncan, Jervis and Nelson, shed unfading lustre on the names of those naval heroes, and gave to their country an ascendancy by sea even more extensive than that achieved on shore by the conquering hosts of France. In the whole course of the war the British lost only five ships of the line and forty-six smaller vessels, in contests with the various naval powers. In the same period they captured or destroyed seventy-four ships of the line, five hundred and nineteen smaller vessels of war, and eight hundred and seven privateers, the latter chiefly French. Of the captures fifty sail of the line, and about one hundred under that rating were added to the British navy. At the close of the war, in 1802, the British navy had grown to more than double the force in ships and guns which it numbered in 1793. The navy of France in the same term of years had dwindled down to less than half its strength, despite the ceaseless activity of her dockyards, which were continually turning out new ships. The Spaniards still retained a formidable fleet, for they rarely ventured out of port since the rough handling they experienced in their encounter with Nelson and Jervis in 1797. The Dutch naval power was totally annihilated, and that of Denmark severely crippled. Yet all these nations, though vanquished in the maritime war which England, single-handed, waged against them, were treated in the end as though they had been conquerors in the strife. Extensive colonial territories, won at the expense of untold treasure, and after abundance of hard fighting, were restored to our beaten foes by this astounding peace of Amiens, and the disinterested victors claimed no corresponding acts of self-denial on the part of France. In the meeting after the Christmas recess the king's debts, amounting to nearly a million, gave rise to a long and animated discussion, in which it was contended that the civil list each year ought to contribute a substantial sum towards wiping off the burden of debt, as in the case of the prince of Wales. In the end the whole sum was voted as a special concession, the chancellor of the exchequer admitting that steps ought to be adopted for preventing fresh obligations of the sort from arising. Claims of a similar character were advanced on behalf of the heir-apparent, on the ground that he ought now to be put in a position to sustain an establishment suitable to the dignity of his rank. The increase allowed fell short of the prince's expectations, so he prudently continued to sacrifice state and dignity, devoting, as before, a substantial part of his income to the liquidation of his debts. The budget came under discussion in April. War having ceased, the income tax, levied for war expenditure, was now abandoned. But parliament, equally with the king's advisers, felt that the peace was experimental and precarious, and that it would be the height of folly to fall back at once on the accustomed moderate level of peace establishments. Fresh taxes were laid on beer, malt, hops, most articles of export and import, calculated to yield nearly as much as the condemned tax on incomes. The military service was fixed at 95,000 men, and that of the navy at 75,000 for the remainder of the current year. Such estimates showed how little reliance was placed on the permanence of peace. Before the close of the year events proved that this ominous forecast was but too well warranted. Supplies at the accustomed war level were voted, about 60,000,000*l.* altogether. The loan for the year was 23,000,000*l.* The national debt now stood at 540,000,000*l.*

In the month of May the treaty of Amiens became again the topic of angry animadversion in both Houses. Enormous concessions on the part of England, without any corresponding sacrifices on the other side, looked like a confession that the mistress of the seas was glad to purchase peace at any price—a conclusion most unpalatable to the nation, and derogatory to its government. The success of the nation in its naval operations had been as splendid as that of its adversary by land. The reputation of the country remained untarnished, and the final events of the prolonged contest shed lustre on our arms in both branches of the service, yet the terms of peace were such as might have been imposed on a beaten and dispirited nation. Lord Grenville drew a forcible picture of the one-sided character of the treaty. "France gave up nothing. She retained everything. She was left in actual possession of, or with the most absolute control over, the greatest or richest part of the continent of Europe. She kept Savoy; she kept Belgium; she kept the Germanic states on the left bank of the Rhine; she kept, under a fiction of independence, the whole of Upper Italy and the whole of Holland; she kept whatever she had gained. And yet she was to be repossessed of all that she had lost, and, moreover, to be allowed to acquire immense territories from her submissive and helpless allies. In Asia, she was to have Pondicherry, Cochin, Negapatam, and the Spice Islands; in Africa the Cape of Good Hope and Senegal—for it was idle to talk of the Batavian Republic having or holding anything; in the West Indies, Martinique, St. Lucia, Guadaloupe, Tobago, Curaçoa, and a part, if not the whole of St. Domingo; in America she was to be repossessed of St. Pierre and Miguelon; and, as new possessions, whence she could press upon both the Anglo-American states, the Spanish-American, and Portuguese-American ones. Louisiana was to be exacted from Spain, and Portuguese Guiana from Portugal, to round off French Guiana. And besides this territory of Guiana, extending to the Amazon river, she was to have in South America Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo. In the Mediterranean, too, where our naval superiority was most important, we had dispossessed ourselves of Malta, Minorca, and the isle of Elba, which France wanted merely in order to exclude us from the neighbouring port of Leghorn. We were now, in fact, excluded from all the ports of Italy, and all that inland sea seemed converted into a French lake." The soreness of feeling, prompted by such reflections, found vent in addresses for a vote of censure on the unpalatable treaty, and the current of passing events in France and on its borders, added strength to the dissatisfaction. "It is impossible," said Windham, in proposing the vote of censure on the treaty, "to have seen without anxiety and alarm the unexampled circumstances that have attended the final conclusion of the present peace; the extensive and important sacrifices which, without any corresponding concession, this treaty has added to those already made by the preliminary articles; the unlooked-for and immense accession of territory, influence, and power which it has tacitly confirmed to France; the numerous subjects of clashing interest and unavoidable dispute which it has left entirely unadjusted; and above all, those continued and systematic projects of aggrandizement, of which, in the very moment of peace, we have seen, unhappily, such undeniable and convincing evidence." The address was negatived, but the events of each succeeding week only added fresh force to the discontent embodied in it, and gave to the peace, that had been at first so warmly welcomed, the character of a mere precarious armistice, which might come to an end after the briefest note of warning on either side. For Bonaparte was now so elated by success and urged still onward by a boundless ambition, that he arrogantly assumed the attitude of a master, not alone in the affairs of France, but in the concerns of Europe at large. His control over the French senate now became as absolute as that of the czar or the sultan over their respective councils of state. He caused his senators, the puppets of his new political system, which was now fast ripening into a simple military despotism, to confirm his grasp of power by extending his tenure of the office of first consul to the duration of his own life. He also acquired the acknowledged power of naming his successor; the right of declaring war, of granting pardons, ratifying treaties, appointing to all offices in the state, nominating forty out of the hundred and twenty members of the senate, and controlling its deliberations. Finally, his government was simply personal, all responsibility being taken from ministers and transferred to himself, and each department of state being dependent solely on his will. He had thus all the attributes of an absolute sovereign, though for a little while longer he avoided the use of a title which might grate harshly on the national ear. An army devoted to his will, and an all-pervading system of police espionage, formed the foundations of his rule. This is the epoch in respect to which Thiers says: "His language, full of genius and ambition, offended the pride of the English; his devouring activity disturbed their repose." It is, too, the epoch in which the free-spoken comment of Englishmen notably offended the pride and stirred up the wrath of Bonaparte. Not only was no English newspaper permitted to enter France, but our government was asked, if it valued the continuance of amity between the two nations, to stop the further publication of unfriendly and offensive comment on the first consul, and to send out of England the Bourbon princes and all other Frenchmen who might in any way exhibit hostility to the existing political system in their own country. In reply to this insolent demand, Bonaparte's agent—the same that had negotiated the preliminaries for peace—was informed that "no representation of a foreign power would ever induce government to violate those rights on which the liberties of the people of this country are founded;" that Frenchmen resident in England could not be disturbed in the enjoyment of their asylum, much less expelled, except for breach of English law; that the courts of law were open alike to foreigners and natives for protection against libellous publications; and that our own government had no other defence, and wanted no other, against libel, than such as the law afforded.

Meanwhile, Bonaparte was daily provoking criticism more and more uncomplimentary in its tone, in proportion as his boundless ambition and his astounding good luck found fresh fields for the exercise of French domination. Piedmont, like its sister provinces Nice and Savoy, was now formally incorporated with France. The other states of Italy had scarcely the semblance of independence left. The Cisalpine Republic—formed out of conquests from the Austrians and Sardinians—chose Bonaparte for its president, and quickly found in him an absolute master. Tuscany and Parma accepted a ruler from his hands. The Pope, in gratitude for past favours, and in trembling fear of giving him ground of offence, was now his most obsequious vassal. Naples and Sicily, on his sufferance merely, retained a nominal independence, but under an abiding dread of annexation, whenever his whim should prompt. The Swiss, in an evil hour, sought his mediation to settle their dissensions when they were in the throes of new political convulsions. He accepted the invitation, sent an army of 40,000 men into Switzerland, in addition to the large French force stationed there since his first campaign in Italy, and issued a manifesto, announcing in haughty and menacing language, after the fashion of a born despot, that he was determined to put an end to the disputes which had long agitated the country. He annexed Geneva, Basle, and the district of Valais to France, and took measures for securing the military occupation of the country, to the exclusion of other nations, in the event of war. The government of the country was moulded entirely at his dictation, and the Helvetian Republic became in effect an appendage of France, the mediation which he had promised consisting in the stifling of all political differences under the stern repression of an overwhelming military despotism. His good allies the Spaniards, who had suffered much for their adherence to his cause, met with a poor recompense. He exacted from them the cession of their Italian possession, the duchy of Parma, and their colony of Louisiana, on the continent of North America. At his instigation the king of Spain confiscated all the property of the knights of Malta in his dominions, annexed it to the royal domain, and claimed for himself the dignity of grand master of the order. The intent of this act seems to have been to draw Spain into the new quarrel that was now brewing between France and England; for the British government, in the face of multiplied French aggressions, was now halting in the performance of its treaty obligation to retire from the possession of Malta. Three months before the final settlement of the treaty of Amiens, the French government had despatched an enormous armament to the West Indies, for the recovery of their old possessions of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe, from the rule of the blacks. The British naval force in that quarter was augmented, as a precaution against more extensive conquests, in the event of the peace falling through; and at a not very distant date afterwards, the remnant of the French expedition, with a large quantity of shipping engaged in its service, was actually captured by our naval force on that station. The French government at this time sent its agents in all directions to report on matters with which it behoved them to be conversant, in the event of a fresh outbreak of war with England. Colonel Sabastiani, who was charged with the investigation of affairs in Egypt and the Levant, made a report, which was inserted in the official journal of the French government, to the effect that the English were detested, and the French everywhere honoured, by the populations with which he had come in contact, in Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian Islands. The people in these places were said to be ready to rise against the English, immediately on the appearance among them of a small French force. The insertion of this and other offensive statements in the government journal formed one among various modes in which Bonaparte gave vent to his annoyance at the free comments of the English newspapers at his expense. English commerce was one of his strongest aversions—because it was the mainstay of English prosperity. He delighted to throw hindrances in its path. In the earlier and more rabid days of the Republic, a decree had been passed ordering the confiscation of any vessel, native or foreign, of less than a hundred tons burthen, found within four leagues of the French coast with British manufactures on board. This spiteful law was thought to have lapsed with the end of the war. It was, however, rigorously enforced, even against vessels driven by stress of weather within the prescribed limits. Remonstrances passed unheeded. The new French monarch—in all but the name—was daily growing more arrogant and exacting. Everything indicated that he had no desire to smooth down rising troubles between the two countries, but only to gain more time for the completion of his preparations. On the side of his late antagonists, who were daily growing less reconciled to the recent terms of accommodation, there was certainly no lack of spirit to resent any affronts he ventured to put upon them.

Such was the temper of the two nations, when the new parliament of Great Britain and Ireland assembled in November, 1802, for its autumnal session. The speech from the throne expressed the disquietude occasioned by the attitude of France, and insisted on the duty of making provision for meeting the burden of a new war. The continued encroachments of France on neighbouring territory, and the restless ambition of her political and military chief, threatened the interests of every state in Europe, and could not be viewed with indifference by this country. The debates on the address breathed nothing but war. Every speaker scouted the notion of a tame and apathetic bearing on the part of government, and the people in the face of French arrogance, aggression, and encroachment. In the debate on the supplies, which included 50,000 seamen instead of 30,000 as first intended, and 129,000 for the regular military establishment, besides 71,000 militia and yeomanry, Sheridan was as strenuous in support of a fresh war as he had been for years in deprecation of that just terminated. In the course of a brilliant speech he wished Bonaparte not to mistake the people's joy on the conclusion of the late protracted hostilities. "He should know that if he committed any act of aggression against them, they were ready to enter singly into the contest, rather than suffer any attack on their honour and independence. . . An important lesson is to be learned from the arrogance of Bonaparte. He says he is an instrument in the hands of Providence; an envoy of God; he says he is an instrument in the hands of Providence to restore Switzerland to happiness, and to elevate Italy to splendour and importance. I think he is an instrument in the hands of Providence to make the English love their constitution better; to cling to it with more fondness; to hang round it with truer tenderness. Every man feels when he returns from France, that he is coming from a dungeon, to enjoy the light and life of English independence. I believe, also, that he is an instrument in the hands of Providence to make us more liberal in our political differences, and to render us determined, with one hand and heart, to oppose any aggression that may be made on us. If that aggression be made, we ought to meet it with a spirit worthy of these islands; with a conviction of the truth of this assertion, that the country which has achieved such greatness, has no retreat in littleness; finally, that we ought to meet it with a firm determination to perish in the same grave with the honour and independence of our country." Canning and Windham held a similar strain. The former advocated the displacement of the present ministry and the return of Pitt to power, on the ground that the crisis required the administration of public affairs to be lodged in the ablest and fittest hands—those in which it was then placed not answering that description. Fox remained steadfast in his old antipathy to any meddling in continental affairs. He urged ministers not to rush into a new war without urgent necessity; to rest content with such a naval force as would suffice to protect our own shores from invasion; and to devote their attention to the means of allaying discontents in Ireland, and to the reduction of the heavy burden of the national debt, rather than to meddling in the affairs of other nations, whose quarrels it was no part of our duty to espouse. The rest of the session was consumed in voting the supplies necessary for the naval and military services of the coming year. Meanwhile, at the commencement of 1803, the intercourse between the two governments grew more embittered in its tone from day to day. The French still retained an army in Holland, at the expense of the people of that country, and in defiance of remonstrances on our side; and the British delayed their evacuation of Malta, as a set-off against acquisitions made by Bonaparte since the peace, and as a check against further aggressions that were evidently contemplated. To the remonstrances of the English cabinet, the constant rejoinder on the part of the first consul was that his aggressions were mere miserable trifles, and that he would rather see the English in possession of a section of Paris than of the island of Malta. He told Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, that if the two nations could only maintain a mutual good understanding, the naval power of England, combined with the military force of France, would enable the two nations to govern the world. On his side, if he were treated with confidence and consideration, he was ready to enter into such an international partnership; but that, he said, was clearly impossible in the face of so many proofs of English dislike and animosity towards him, personally. He added, that while he would not provoke a fresh war, he was fully prepared for one; and that with his army of four hundred thousand men, he would attack us at home, again and again, until he succeeded, leading the expedition himself, and making up his mind to the loss of army after army, in the certainty of final triumph. While these angry discussions were passing at Paris, an action for libel was proceeding in London, in which it may be said that Bonaparte was the real prosecutor, against a French exile, who was the defendant. The first consul had called upon our government to suppress a publication that indulged in reproaches and offensive language at his expense. He was informed that government was powerless to give him redress except through the ordinary course of law; that it was open to him to put the law in motion against any offender. He then demanded that our government should prosecute Peltier, the publisher of the offending paper, for "libel on a friendly government." The case came off in the Court of King's Bench on the 21st of February. The Attorney-General prosecuted, and a verdict was recorded against the defendant, notwithstanding the prevalent sympathy in his favour, and despite the prejudice then rampant against Bonaparte. But the satisfaction of the first consul with this verdict was quickly extinguished in the vexation he endured from a full report of the trial, which was translated into several languages and circulated throughout Europe. That report, exhibited side by side with the even-handed course of British justice, the highly eloquent speech of Macintosh, the advocate for the defence, in which the freedom of the press was vindicated with surpassing power, and the attitude of France and England, at the moment vividly depicted. The following passages must have thrilled the hearts of tens of thousands at home and abroad. "The real prosecutor in this case is the master of the greatest empire the civilized world ever saw. The defendant is a defenceless, proscribed exile . . . I am to consider this as the first of a long series of conflicts between the greatest power in the world, and the only free press remaining in Europe . . . One asylum of free discussion is still inviolate. There is still one spot in Europe where man can freely exercise his reason on the most important concerns of society; where he can boldly publish his judgments on the acts of the proudest and most powerful tyrants. The press of England is still free. It is guarded by the free constitution of our forefathers. It is guarded by the hearts and arms of Englishmen, and I trust I may venture to say, that if it be to fall, it will fall only under the ruins of the British empire . . . When vast projects of aggrandisement are manifested, when schemes of criminal ambition are carried into effect, the day of battle is fast approaching for England. Her free government cannot engage in dangerous wars without the hearty and affectionate support of her people. A state thus situated cannot, without the utmost peril, silence those public discussions which are to point the popular indignation against those who must soon be enemies." On the day of this memorable trial and these brilliant utterances against enemies abroad, a party of domestic foes to the British government expiated, in another part of the metropolis, the crime of high treason. Three months earlier a plot was discovered, embracing among other objects, to shoot the king on his way to open parliament, to seize the Tower, the Bank of England and the public offices, to overturn the government, and other equally arduous undertakings. The conspiracy was said to have had extensive ramifications in various parts of London. The men actually arrested were thirty in number, among whom were several private soldiers and men of the humblest grade. The leader and originator of the plot was Colonel Despard, an Irish officer who had served with great credit in the American war, and had subsequently filled an official appointment in the West Indies. On his dismissal from employment he made a claim against the government, which was rejected; in his irritation, caused thereby, he misbehaved himself, and was committed to prison. His embittered feelings now prompted the mad project already described. Six of his misguided accomplices suffered the penalty of death with him, in front of Horsemonger Lane gaol. The severity of government in the punishment of a plot, which to later times looks more absurd than dangerous, was probably founded on a knowledge of the really dangerous conspiracy which some of Despard's countrymen were then busily hatching in Dublin and Paris.

The political world was now rife with presages of fresh war. The king's speech, on the 23rd of February 1803, talked, indeed, of the blessings of peace but in equivocal phrases that betokened little prospect of their permanence. On the 8th of March he was less ambiguous, telling, in a message to both Houses, of hostile preparations then going forward in the ports of France and Holland, and that his majesty judged it expedient, in the face of menaces of war, to adopt precautionary measures for meeting the threatened danger. The royal message was everywhere interpreted as the first note of war. In both Houses earnest and spirited debates testified to aroused patriotism, rife and ready throughout the country to repel aggression and avenge any slight offered to the national honour. The extravagant joy with which the prospect of peace was hailed less than a year and a half ago had long since evaporated, and the fighting instincts of the nation were again in full play, under the provocation of the first consul's insolent bearing and towering ambition. The naval force was increased by ten thousand more seamen, and one speaker blamed ministers for asking fewer than twenty-five thousand, in addition to the fifty thousand voted in the first instance, for the regular service of the year. The militia were forthwith to be embodied and called out as if an invasion were impending. These proceedings in parliament provoked Bonaparte to a most unseemly display of passionate anger towards Lord Whitworth, our ambassador. On Sunday, the 13th of March, his lordship attended a court reception at the Tuileries, with no idea of discussing state business, but merely to pay his respects to the ruler of the nation to which he was accredited, among the usual gathering of ambassadors, diplomatists, and such foreigners of distinction as sought the occasion for being presented at court. Indeed, it was contrary to custom and etiquette to talk on business matters at such a levée or reception. Two hundred persons, including foreign ministers of all nations, were assembled in the great hall of audience when the English ambassador entered the circle. Scarcely had he taken his place in the throng, when the first consul made up to him. The announcement of his name had thrown Bonaparte into a state of visible emotion. He gave vent to his pent-up wrath in a rapid series of reproaches and insulting questions. "Have you any news from England? So you are determined to go to war?" Lord Whitworth, with perfect self-possession, responded, "No, we are too sensible of the advantages of peace." The first consul then passed on to other members of the diplomatic corps, and said to them in a loud and irritated tone, "The English wish for war; but if they are the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheathe it. They respect not treaties; henceforth we must cover them with black crape." Presently he returned to the amazed but patient ambassador, and vented on him a fresh torrent of petulant comments and queries on recent events in London. "Why armaments? Against whom are these measures of precaution? I have not a ship of the line in the ports of France. But if you desire to arm, I also will arm; if you will fight, I will fight. You may destroy France, but you cannot intimidate her." "We wish neither the one nor the other. We wish to live on good terms with her," was the calm reply of England's representative. Bonaparte answered angrily, "Then treaties must be respected. Woe to those who do not respect treaties. They will be responsible to all Europe." Repeating the phrase, "Woe to those who do not respect treaties," the new autocrat of France rushed from the saloon. "It is to be remarked," added Lord Whitworth in his narrative next day to his own government, "that all this passed loud enough to be heard by two hundred people who were present, and I am persuaded there was not a single person who did not feel the extreme impropriety of his conduct, and the total want of dignity, as well as of decency, on the occasion." The assembly broke up instantly in astonishment, some members first expressing to the outraged representative of England their sympathy with him in so trying an ordeal. The French historian, Thiers, in *Le Consulat et l'Empire*, records that from that day "the first consul swore to perish or to punish England. Fatal oath!" He kept his word—and perished, a miserable exile in a remote possession of the British crown. He had already taken the resolve to conduct a conquering host to London, and this unseemly explosion of anger, which soon resounded to the ends of the earth, was the loud crash portending a crushing blow. The haughty despot destroyed himself by the rebound of his own spiteful strokes against the last refuge of freedom and independence, whose representative he thus wantonly insulted and outraged.

Two more months passed before the final close of all attempts to patch up the quarrel, during which there was an offer of mediation on the part of the young emperor of Russia. But neither side would bate one jot in its demand, and further discussion seemed only to widen the gap which divided the parties. In the end, while there were abundant secondary questions on which the two governments were at variance, the question of retaining or yielding Malta formed the insuperable difficulty. The letter of the treaty of Amiens unquestionably required that it should be given up to the knights of Malta, but that body had now become the mere shadow of a name. France and Spain had seized the continental estates of these military monks, who were now a mere bankrupt and powerless order. A thousand overt acts, before and since the ratification of the treaty, made it clear as daylight that if England relinquished her hold of that citadel of the Mediterranean, Bonaparte would promptly snatch it from the nerveless grasp of the impoverished knights, and make it an impregnable centre and stronghold of a naval power that would endanger the essential interests of this country. It was an egregious and unpardonable blunder on the part of Addington's administration to have entered into such an engagement at all. To have carried out the strict letter of the treaty, after their opponents had set at naught its spirit and intent, would have been still more culpable and pernicious. Bonaparte would have chuckled immensely over such quixotic folly, had he succeeded in bullying England into surrendering the island to custodians whose keeper he undoubtedly purposed to make himself. In another and more private scolding harangue, of two hours' duration, a few days before the insult publicly offered to Lord Whitworth, he had declared that, "sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France." He had already given an earnest that his own wish was father to that thought, and a second and more permanent conquest of Egypt was still a cherished project with him, the path to which would be cleared of its only serious obstruction if he could gain possession of Malta. This, then, was the secret spring that moved him to every variety of attempt to shake the stubborn grip of the English on the sea-girt fortress that formed a secure half-way house to the East, offered unassailable shelter to a naval force, and dominated the whole of the Mediterranean.

In this critical state of our foreign relations, the feebleness of the ministry as a whole, and the lack of parliamentary ability or marked force of character in the premier personally, gave rise to increasing uneasiness in political circles, and indeed in society at large. The country began to regret Pitt's absence from the helm of state at a crisis calling for vigour, decision, and pre-eminent ability. Even among his heartiest supporters Addington was felt to be at best a mere respectable mediocrity; nor was he unaware of the prevailing sentiment. His adversaries, among whom Canning held a foremost place, missed no opportunity of expressing their contemptuous estimate of his abilities. It was constantly asserted that Pitt helped him into the position so much above his mark in order to pave the way for peace on easier conditions than those of "indemnity for the past and security for the future" which had so long formed part of his own too exacting programme. Pitt often rendered good service in debate in aid of Addington's ministry, but he never attempted to enlist in the same service those brilliant parliamentary skirmishers, Canning, Grenville, and Windham, who were his own most devoted partisans, but who nevertheless mercilessly attacked his protégé.

His help was rather that of the ostentatious patron of a smaller man than of loyal co-operation with an equal in the political arena. He was widely suspected of playing the part of chief manager behind the scenes, his retirement being regarded as a temporary expedient to save his credit for consistency, while certain troublesome questions were being disposed of in accordance with the exigencies of the times, but not in conformity with principles to which he had over and over again committed himself in the eyes of the world. Addington's fastest friends wished to see new vigour infused into the administration. In deference to that feeling he made overtures to the ex-premier, and strove to coax him into any position he might prefer, so only that the general structure of the administration might remain unshaken. Pitt himself was pining to resume his old post, but his haughty spirit could not brook the thought of serving under one so manifestly beneath his own level as a statesman. Addington hoped to get over that difficulty by descending from the elevation of premier, making some nobleman of high rank the nominal head of administration, and dividing with Pitt—each in the position of secretary of state—the real business of government. Pitt, however, would not listen to the proposal, nor would he take even the first place, which was then offered him, except on condition of being free to frame anew, at his own discretion, the whole cabinet. This was more than Addington could concede without confessing that utter incompetency which his worst enemies charged upon him, but which he at any rate was not prepared to admit. The negotiation was broken off in anger, and thenceforward Pitt ceased to prop up a government which he was disposed rather to overturn. Pitt's proposals went the length of having Windham, Grenville, Spencer, and Melville in the cabinet, with a change throughout the secondary offices. The king, who had grown accustomed to Addington's pliant and submissive temper, stood aghast at the exorbitant demands of Pitt, which he thought went such lengths that one other stretch might reach himself in a culminating proposal to put even the crown in commission. For another year Addington weathered the storm of invective and sarcasm, his supporters dropping off one by one from his feeble government.

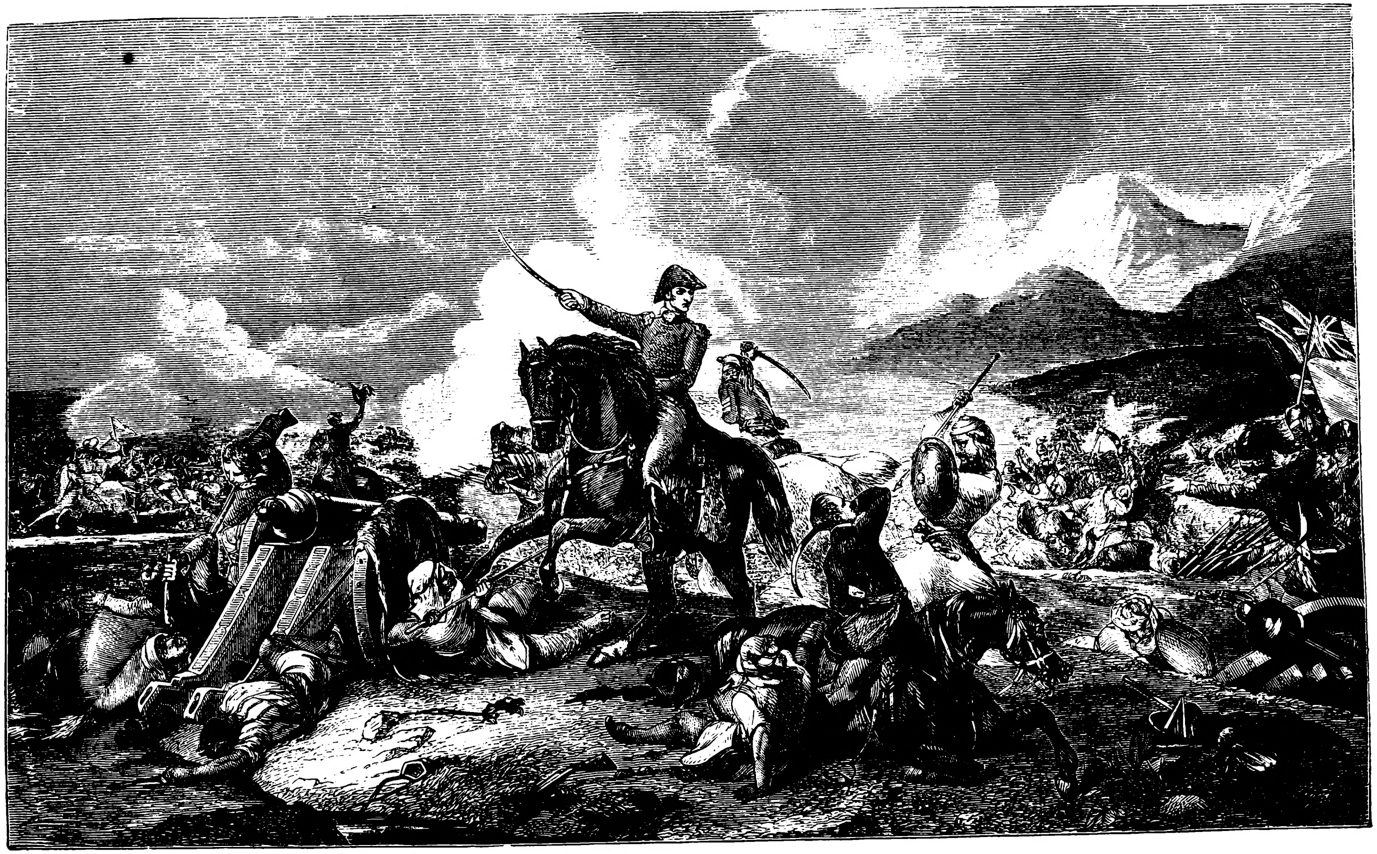
Meanwhile the country was again at war. Bonaparte and his astute foreign minister, Talleyrand, made many efforts to protract the negotiation. They failed, however, to disguise from the British government that their only aim was to gain time enough to recall their dispersed naval force, and to advance their preparations for striking an effective blow, so soon as the inevitable day of strife should come. Lord Whitworth was at length instructed to demand his passports, unless within a single week longer he could obtain an assurance of the moderate disposition of the French government, with concessions on its side as a set-off to the relinquishment of Malta on the part of England. Among other points in this ultimatum, the rejection of which was confidently anticipated, the French were required to evacuate Holland and Switzerland. This of course was too much for the victor in so many glorious campaigns, but Bonaparte still pressed for a continuance of the discussion. He was then busied in selling to the Americans the territory of Louisiana, which he had only just acquired from the Spaniards. It was important to complete the sale before the outbreak of hostilities, which would probably deprive him of that dependency. The bargain was in fact struck on the last day of April, but there were yet many advantages to be got out of further delay, so Talleyrand still insisted that the chances of an amicable adjustment of difficulties were yet unexhausted. It was now too late. Lord Whitworth's recall took effect on the 12th of May. Four days later the fact was notified to both Houses of Parliament, and on the 18th his majesty's declaration of war, with official documents leading up to it, was also formally communicated by ministers. On the 23rd these momentous papers came under discussion. So great was the throng of privileged persons to get places in either House, that the shorthand writers failed to gain admission among the throng of eager competitors for every chance of listening to the great debate. The fourth estate, as the press is not inaptly called, had not yet secured a recognised position. Its representatives had no allotted place in the legislative chambers of the nation. Hence only very imperfect and meagre reports have come down to us of the speeches uttered. Pitt had been absent from the House since the opening of the session. Two hundred members were new to the House since he last addressed it. This day he supported the ministerial policy, yet without saying a word in praise of ministers. His speech was one long strain of the finest oratory, rising at times to thrilling eloquence. Bursts of applause followed each pause that marked the completion of a point. He maintained that the boundless ambition and continued aggressions of France left England no option but a renewal of the war, which was not less incumbent on the nation as a measure of security than the original contest, commenced ten years previously. In the fatality of the times there was no choice but to meet peril and trouble with a resolute front; for a feeble and hesitating policy would merely ward off temporarily the crisis when great sacrifices and exertions and a heroic struggle would be forced upon the country. He relied implicitly on the temper and courage of the people to grapple with the threatened danger, and to submit cheerfully to any sacrifices and privations which the coming war must entail. Canning made an effective speech in the same line, in the course of which he took the ministry to task for their tardy action in resenting the insults and encroachments of France. On the next day, Fox wound up the debate with a three hours' speech in opposition to the war, bestowing equal blame on both governments. He treated the notion of French invasion as an idle boast, not seriously intended to be carried out, and deprecated the embroilment of this country with the French Republic, merely on the ground of encroachments and aggressions on the territory of continental states. The speech, which, like the rest of this great debate, was very imperfectly reported, is described by contemporaries as one of Fox's greatest efforts. Listeners remained in doubt whether to assign to him or to Pitt the palm of superior eloquence. The amendment on the address was thrown out by large majorities in the Commons, and without a division in the Lords. The nation was thus pledged to a vigorous prosecution of the war. Several days before this, the first acts of hostility, though not of actual fighting, had commenced on both sides. The recall of ambassadors on either side, following on the ultimatum presented by the English government, was taken to mark the commencement of a state of war, without the usual formality of a declaration of hostilities. The customary order in council, followed by a proclamation, directed that an embargo be laid on all shipping belonging to France, or countries occupied by her armies. Some two hundred French and Dutch trading ships, then in British ports or found in the Channel, were forthwith seized. This was the customary first step in war, after the departure of ambassadors of the respective nations. Reprisals against British shipping would have been accepted as fair retaliation. But Bonaparte secretly arranged a new form of reprisals, which he suddenly put in force, when no one in France or England expected anything out of the old-established routine. As soon as he became aware that seizure had been made of French vessels in the Channel, he ordered the arrest of all British subjects then in France and the neighbouring territories under his sway. There were some thousands such at that time, most of them on their way homeward from continental trips, under the expectation, on the one hand, that war was about to break out, but without any fear, on the other hand, that any worse usage awaited them than expulsion from France. It is estimated that fully ten thousand private persons, among whom were large numbers of families of the higher social grades, became prisoners of war under this spiteful proceeding. Families were ruthlessly separated, the ladies and children being sent to certain prisons, at long distances apart from those allotted to the gentlemen. Even members of the diplomatic service were included in this rigorous procedure, in defiance of immemorial custom among states making the slightest pretension to civilization. The British minister at the Hague, the secretary to the embassy at Paris, and Lord Elgin, who was returning through France to England, fell under this division. There were besides not a few clergymen, barristers, artists, and men of letters. This multitude of non-combatants remained, for the most part, in their hard captivity until the overthrow of Bonaparte's power, eleven years later. So unexpected a piece of malevolence on the part of the military tyrant called forth a fierce burst of indignation among the countrymen of the victims, and animated with a yet intenser earnestness the warlike spirit which was already sufficiently awakened among all classes in the United Kingdom. In the leisure of his own subsequent captivity at St. Helena, Bonaparte defended his harsh and cruel behaviour towards inoffensive travellers, on the plea that he had as good a right to seize English travellers ashore as his enemy possessed in respect to French travellers at sea. Each side used, after its own fashion, the supremacy belonging to it on its own domain, the one by land, the other by water. In the end one good result grew out of this enormous stretch of the rights of belligerents. The more just, generous, and humane practice of allowing to the ships and subjects of opposing states a time within which to depart unmolested, took its origin from the early incidents in the bitter strife that dates from 1803.

The next reprisal resorted to by Bonaparte was one which threatened the interests and compromised the honour of the German powers, none of which had yet the courage to make common cause with England for the preservation of their independence. While the English ambassador was still at Paris, conducting the final stages of the discussion with Bonaparte and Talleyrand, on the abortive treaty of Amiens, French troops were continually passing into Holland, and taking up their station on the frontier of Hanover. The meaning of this movement was no secret. It is somewhat surprising that George III. seems to have made no strenuous effort to commit his cabinet to the defence of his German dominions. Just about the same day on which English travellers were consigned by thousands to French gaols, Hanover was invaded by a French army. The duke of Cambridge, viceroy for his father, the elector, called upon his German neigbours to come to the rescue, but he called in vain. Unable to oppose an adequate force to the invaders, he was soon obliged to make terms with them. The Hanoverian military force was disbanded and dispersed, and the French secured, without any fighting, the complete possession of the electorate. Their customary acts of spoliation followed immediately, as a matter of course. Requisitions were made on all the towns of Hanover to pay the cost of the invasion. The neighbouring Hanse towns of Hamburg and Bremen, notwithstanding their neutrality, shared in this respect the fate of Hanover. Prussia remained quiescent, and Austria merely protested against this inroad on German territory. Naples suffered a similar invasion, with corresponding burdens, as the punishment of its friendliness to the English. The ports and arsenals of France again resounded with the din and stir of extensive preparations for an invasion of both England and Ireland. Towns far in the interior furnished their offerings of flat-bottomed boats, which were now mustered in shoals in every port on the northern frontier, from Brest and Havre to Antwerp and Rotterdam. In these and larger vessels of war were to be conveyed across to our shores one hundred and fifty thousand troops, ten thousand horse, and four hundred pieces of artillery. Bonaparte looked upon this enterprise as the crowning achievement which was to make him master of the world, and for that great stake he was content to risk the disaster of a crushing and ruinous blow, such as he too well knew might be levelled at his enormous armament in its transit. For three years all the energies of his mind, and all the resources at his disposal, were dedicated to this object. Some Irish fugitives, then resident at Paris, flattered him with the prospect of another rebellion, in aid of which he was to furnish an army of eighteen thousand men, with arms and equipments for a large insurgent force. Robert Emmett, whose brother figured in the previous rising, and Quigley, also a rebel in "the '98," undertook the leadership in the new scheme of insurrection. They enrolled a few hundreds of infatuated men, and without waiting for their French allies, committed themselves to a mad attempt to seize Dublin, Belfast, and Kildare, counting on a general rising of the inhabitants in their favour, if success should crown their first bold step. On the evening of the 23rd of July the effort was made in each of the appointed localities. In Dublin a mob of pikemen held possession of the streets for an hour, during which they committed several atrocious murders. They dragged from his carriage the lord chief justice, Kilwarden, an amiable and venerable judge, and killed him with numerous pike thrusts, in the presence of his daughter. His nephew, a clergyman, who was with him, shared the same fate, and Colonel Browne was shot on his way to the castle to rouse the military. The sight of an advancing body of troops, however, sufficed to disperse the band of insurgents, and Emmett sought safety in flight to the Wicklow mountains. The movement in the other centres of insurrection proved equally unprosperous. The leaders, including Emmett, were promptly captured, tried, and executed. Ireland was placed under martial law, and additional forces were sent over as a precaution against the event of French invasion. Meanwhile parliament had found full occupation in passing a series of measures for adding to the defensive force of the country. On the 26th of June a bill was brought in, and passed rapidly through all its stages, to provide for the formation of an army of reserve of fifty thousand men for England, and ten thousand for Ireland, to be raised by ballot. All persons from the age of eighteen to forty-five were liable to serve, with the same exemptions that applied to the militia. This was but the prelude to a more comprehensive measure that came on a few weeks later, and provided for the arming and training of the whole male population of the country from the age of seventeen to fifty-five. This levy *en masse*, or general enrolment of all who were physically able to carry arms, included four classes, and contemplated the likelihood of an early invasion. The first class was composed of all unmarried men up to the age of thirty; the second, of men in the like condition from the age of thirty to fifty; the third, of married men of the age of thirty and under; and the fourth, of all men not exceeding the age of fifty-five, and not included in the other divisions. These various classes were all placed under the obligation of attending drill in their respective parishes, and were liable to be called out for service within the home dominion, in the event of a foreign foe effecting a landing, and to remain embodied as part of the regular army, until the enemy should be driven out or vanquished. But there was no need of compulsory enrolment. Nearly four hundred thousand men responded, of their own patriotic accord, to the call of danger, and were organized as volunteer regiments, in the course of the six months following this debate. The secretary of war, in his place in parliament, hoped soon to see the day when the youth of Britain would be as familiar with, and expert in the use of the musket, as their ancestors had been with the bow. This would set at rest all risk of subjection to a foreign yoke. He, however, was not so prompt to supply arms as he was hearty in his wishes that young men should acquire facility in the use of them. The armouries of that day were not equal to the duty suddenly thrown upon them. A large proportion of the volunteers had no other weapon than the pike until muskets and bayonets could be placed in their hands. But they were under the spell of a contagious ardour of the same stamp that, nearly sixty years later, prompted their grandsons to rush in myriads to rifle practice, and otherwise qualify themselves to grapple with another threatened invasion. Then, as in the days of another Napoleon, the national spirit was stirred up to a warlike pitch, no wise reassuring to the insolent aggressor who too confidently talked of a march from the shores of Kent to London. The volunteers received no pay, bought their own uniforms, and sought no equivalent for their proud service in their country's behoof beyond exemption from compulsory service as militiamen. But although the government was thus provided with a magnificent defensive force at next to no cost to the national exchequer, the regular military and naval services were pitched at a high level that left its mark in the budget of the year. Supply exceeded, in the aggregate, 41,000,000*l.* Customs and excise duties were augmented. The income-tax was again called into play, at the rate of a shilling in the pound on incomes exceeding 150*l.* There was besides a heavy land-tax, payable both by landlord and tenant. The special war-taxes alone stood at nearly 13,000,000*l.* in the year.

Among other work of this session, not appertaining to war and its pecuniary burdens, may be enumerated an Act to relieve Catholics from certain penalties and disabilities, on their taking an oath pledging them to loyalty to the throne; an Act to make malicious maiming and wounding, and even the attempt to discharge loaded fire-arms with the intent to maim or kill, capital felonies; a Clergy Bill, "to amend the laws relating to spiritual persons holding farms, and for enforcing the residence of such persons on their benefices in England;" besides other ecclesiastical statutes, modifying the Mortmain Act in cases where the building of churches and parsonage houses might be in question.

As the session was about to close, Sheridan introduced a motion for a vote of thanks to the volunteer and yeomanry regiments, for the zeal and alacrity with which they had associated for the defence of the nation. He further moved that returns of the numbers and designations of the various corps be presented to the House, and entered on its journals, that they might thus be handed down to posterity. These motions were unanimously adopted. The session closed on the 12th of August, by a speech from the throne, expressive of great satisfaction with the heartiness and promptitude manifested in providing for internal defence, and the efficient prosecution of hostilities abroad.

Two months earlier, war was declared against the Dutch, who in effect adhered to the cause of Bonaparte, inasmuch as they submitted to his dictation, and adopted measures hostile to British interests. The Stadtholder, meanwhile, was an exile from his native land, and a pensioner on the bounty of England to the amount of 16,000*l.* a year. The ports of Holland, Hanover, and the Hanse Towns held by the French, were all subjected to a strict blockade. English ships of war held possession of the seas, and besides stopping all the external commerce of the enemy, insulted and worried his shores by incessant visits, carrying off or destroying gun-boats and other craft from roadsteads and harbours, and frequently bombarding and destroying the land defences of his ports. Havre, Dieppe, Granville, and other coast towns, suffered hostile visitations on the part of our cruisers, which gallantly cut out or destroyed many of the armed craft destined to convey an invading force across the Channel. In the West Indies our naval squadron captured eight thousand Frenchmen, civil and military, at or off the island of St. Domingo, or on their passage homeward, and that island was now freed from their further attempts at subjugation. On the 22nd of June St. Lucia was taken by a combined naval and military force, under Commodore Hood and General Grinfield. Other West Indian possessions of the French and Dutch were also promptly snatched from their grasp. Before the close of the summer the British flag floated once more over its former conquests, relinquished by the treaty of Amiens, including Tobago, Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo, St. Pierre, and Miquelon. Military operations abroad were limited this year almost exclusively to India, where General Wellesley was now rapidly developing those great military faculties which fitted him, a few years later, to cope on more than equal terms with the best generals of France, and finally to triumph over the greatest genius in war since the days of Marlborough. In this Indian campaign, he and his able coadjutor-general, Lake, shattered a formidable Mahratta confederacy, under Scindiah and Holkar. A French adventurer named Perron held the command-in-chief of Scindiah's forces, which he had disciplined and organised on European models. So well had the Frenchman performed this service, that his army turned out to be the most formidable native foe with whom the British had hitherto contended. Perron had risen to the wealth and rank of a prince, and kept up much of the state befitting that dignity. Under him and the powerful native chiefs, now banded against the English and their allies, were many other Frenchmen. General Wellesley had thus plenty of hard work cut out for him, but he had already laid the foundations of success before the first note of alarm was sounded. His sweeping and efficient administrative reforms in every department of the military service in India had braced up each arm of that service for any enterprise. And now that the day of trial came, he was enabled with a comparatively small army, not a fourth of which was European, to cope successfully with forces numbering in the aggregate a quarter of a million of men, with a proportionate complement of horse and artillery. He and his subordinate generals in the several theatres of active hostilities, covering a territory as large as France, won four pitched battles, and eight strongly-fortified places, which they took by siege and assault. Assaye and Argaum are names that will perpetuate the remembrance of this splendid campaign. All the territory between the Jumna and the Ganges was ceded by the vanquished Mahratta chiefs, and they were compelled to dismiss from their service all French and other European officers. Among the spoils of war were upwards of a thousand pieces of artillery, with an immense store of arms and ammunition. Henceforth the English flag waved over Delhi, Agra, Calpee, and the forts in the provinces of Bundelcund, Cuttack, and part of Gujerat. One of Wellesley's private letters, shortly after the close of the campaign, tells, without any unbecoming pride, some of the circumstances that conduced to his marvellous success. Writing to one of his brothers, he says, "The operations of this war have afforded numerous instances of improvement in our means of communication, of obtaining intelligence, and, above all, of movement. Marches such as I have made in this



Sir Arthur Wellesley at Assaye.

war were never known or thought of before. In the last eight days of the month of October, I marched above one hundred and twenty miles, and passed through two Ghauts with heavy guns and all the equipments of the troops, and this without injury to the efficiency of the army; and in the few days previous to this battle (Argaum), when I had determined to go into Berar, I never moved less than between seventeen and twenty miles, and I marched twenty six miles on the day on which it was fought."

It was not for him to add, though he could not have been unconscious of the fact, that his brilliant generalship in this Indian campaign paved the way for high command in European fields of warfare, and in this way furnished the groundwork of his enduring fame as one of the greatest military commanders of all time. As the British, on the one hand, ventured this year on no military enterprise in Europe, so also the French, on the other, committed themselves to no naval expedition, notwithstanding their persistent boast in that direction. Without allies on the Continent, England could hope for no success in operations on shore; and without maritime allies, the chances of the French in contests with our navy were, to say the least, not more hopeful. As a set-off against our successes in fields of operation where .Bonaparte was unable to cope with us. he did his utmost to seal the Continent against us. In pursuance of that design he was utterly unscrupulous in his dealings with neutral states. He extorted heavy subsidies from the Batavian and Italian republics, and from Spain and Portugal, towards the replenishment of the French treasury; Naples was compelled to defray the cost of French garrisons along the Adriatic; the fortress of Alessandria, in Lombardy, was converted into a French citadel; and Prussia, tempted by the offer of Hanover, was apparently on the brink of an alliance with him.

This was a stirring period in British history; the national spirit proved equal to the occasion, rising always higher in proportion to the emergency. Napoleon spent a considerable portion of his time in the great camp at Boulogne, animating his troops to the great undertaking that awaited them. From the heights of Ambleteuse he often scanned the English coast, assisted by a powerful glass that enabled him to see horses and other large moving objects. The narrow channel he called a mere ditch, to be leapt over when he might deem it the right time for the attempt. That right time was always being deferred; first from the summer to the autumn; then till early winter; then till the spring; then until the Brest and Texel fleets should be ready to protect the passage. On the other side of that mere ditch all was expectation, preparation, confidence and defiance. From prince and peer to grooms and shepherd boys, all ranks were tempered for the fray. Pitt, at Walmer, donned the scarlet trappings of a colonel of volunteers, and laid aside politics for a time, yielding his whole energies to military details and the concerns of his regiment and his district. What this eminent statesman was doing in his capacity of lord warden of the Cinque Ports, was the same work that then engrossed the attention and the time of every lord-lieutenant in Great Britain. The territorial aristocracy, professional men, yeoman, artizans, and labourers, all shared alike the contagious enthusiasm, and pressed forward in inconvenient numbers for military drill and instruction in the use of arms. Every village resounded with the noise of the drum, or the strains of the fife or bagpipes; every common reverberated with the din of musket practice.

The 19th of October was set apart as a day of fast and humiliation. On that day all the churches and chapels were crowded with worshippers, including throngs of volunteers in their military uniforms. Thousands of earnest congregations supplicated in the same moment the blessing of the Omnipotent on the cause which had aroused the nation to arms. Then followed successive reviews of volunteers in Hyde Park, to which the king and his family gave the countenance and encouragement of their presence, just as in later times his granddaughter graced with her presence and animated with her smiles and greetings, at Hyde Park and Wimbledon, the serried ranks of succeeding volunteers, worthy representatives of their sturdy forefathers who stood prepared to beat back the formidable legions of France in the dawn of the century. "Shop and palace, cot and hall," sent forth their inmates, all ardent in the good cause, ready to march and to fight, shoulder to shoulder, against the myriads gathered within sight of their own shores, bent on the conquest of their native land and the overthrow of its institutions. The prince of Wales claimed a suitable post in the general military organization of the country, insisting, in his patriotic ardour, that he ought to be invested with high military rank, like that held by his royal brothers, and placed in such a position as would enable him to excite and sustain, by his own example, the loyal energies of the people. The king, however, had his own notions on the point, and declined to gratify the aspirations of the heir apparent for any more exalted rank than that of colonel of volunteers. He sent word, in answer to repeated applications and remonstrances, that when the enemy landed, his royal highness would have an opportunity of showing his zeal at the head of his regiment; but on public grounds his majesty could never allow the heir-apparent to consider the army as a profession suitable to his position in the state.

Parliament assembled on the 22nd of November. The king's speech teemed with congratulations on successes obtained in the West Indies and elsewhere; on the prompt and easy suppression of the insurrection in Ireland. In reference to the patriotic services of the volunteers, his majesty expressed his determination to share with his subjects, should occasion arise, their sacrifices and dangers in meeting the threatened invasion. The ministry obtained the sanction of both Houses to the continued suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, and other precautionary measures, to meet the risk of a fresh rebellion or foreign invasion in that quarter. They acquainted both Houses with the friendly but unsuccessful efforts made, during the late recess, by the court of St. Petersburg to bring about a good understanding between France and England. The interval before the Christmas recess was devoted to the discussion of the army estimates. The regular army was fixed at one hundred and sixty-seven thousand men; the embodied militia of the United Kingdom at one hundred and ten thousand. It was stated that the volunteer corps included nearly four hundred thousand men; and the sum of 730,000*l.* was voted towards the disbursements of this force. The effective military force of the kingdom, under all heads, amounted to the enormous aggregate of seven hundred thousand men. All necessity for putting in force the Act for compulsory military service had utterly vanished, the zeal, patriotism, and martial spirit of the people being more than equal to the claims of the crisis.

There were at the same date eighty-six thousand seamen and marines; four hundred and sixty-nine vessels of war of all sizes in commission; and a flotilla for coast defence, comprehending eight hundred craft of all sorts and sizes, was in an advanced state of preparation. Since the outbreak of hostilities in May, there had been issued three hundred and twelve thousand muskets and bayonets, sixteen thousand pistols, and seventy-seven thousand pikes; the cannon available for field service had been augmented in the same interval from three hundred and fifty-six to four hundred and sixty pieces, and the stock of ammunition and general military stores had been nearly doubled. But these numbers, large as they appear when measured against the population of that day, failed, so far at least as the service afloat was concerned, to satisfy the expectations of Pitt and his supporters, who now began again to aspire to the direction of affairs, and came early in the ensuing year to some experimental trials of strength with Addington and his adherents. Despite the prosperous posture of public affairs generally, the feeble quality of the administration, and especially the want of commanding power in debate on the part of its chief, caused it to lose ground in the confidence and estimation of parliament and the public, with constantly increasing force, from the conclusion of the unsatisfactory treaty of Amiens.

The early parliamentary transactions of 1804, the incertitude and agitation of parties, and the activity of political intrigues, all expressed the misgiving and uneasy sentiment of the nation in respect to the fitness of the cabinet for guiding the counsels of the country in a great crisis. The king himself is said to have shared the prevailing distrust, and it is to this cause, among others, that one of his accustomed attacks of mental alienation is attributed. On the 14th of February an official bulletin informed the public that his majesty was much indisposed, and this was frequently repeated, without any mention of the exact nature of the malady. On the 9th of March the lord chancellor announced in the Upper House that he had conferred with the king on some pressing public business, and that on the faith of the impressions thus derived from personal intercourse with his majesty, he felt fully justified in declaring "that the king was in a state to warrant the lords commissioners in giving the royal assent to several bills." On the 22nd of the same month the king sent a message to both Houses, informing them of a voluntary offer of the Irish militia to do service in any part of the United Kingdom, and bills were accordingly passed authorizing such extension of their service, and the raising of another ten thousand militia in Ireland to fill the place of those to be withdrawn. These and other lucid intervals of considerable duration afforded ground for repeated assertions that the attack was not so serious as to render a suspension of the royal functions necessary; but, on the whole, the king was in a very doubtful state as respects his capacity for business until late in the autumn. Domestic troubles, especially the scandal of the prince of Wales's separation from his wife, aggravated at this time the anxieties and harassments springing out of an unsettled and critical state of public affairs; so that the king, now an old man of threescore and six years, experienced at this juncture a full measure of the uneasiness belonging to "the head that wears a crown." Ministers were from time to time reminded of the grave suspicion attaching to acts done in the king's name, while he was still under medical control that betokened his incapacity. Treachery within their ranks came to the aid of external attacks on the part of political rivals. On the 22nd of April, Pitt wrote to acquaint the king that he could no longer forbear a direct opposition to the measures of the present ministry. He had in fact already attacked the ministry to so much purpose, in debates originated by himself and other leaders of Opposition, on the various measures for national armaments, that Addington's large majorities of the previous year had now dwindled down to less than forty in a full house. Eldon, the lord chancellor, in disregard of the fealty due to Addington, his political chief, now became the medium of frequent verbal intercourse between Pitt and the king. Pitt wished to include in a new administration, of which he would be the head, Fox and his friends and Grenville and his friends. The king was inexorable in his resolve not to admit Fox. He also attempted to extract from Pitt a pledge that he would never agitate or support Catholic emancipation or the repeal of the Test Act. Further, he wished that the new administration should include as many as possible of the present holders of office. Pitt acceded to these terms, with the limitation that his pledge on the religious points was not to extend beyond the king's lifetime. Grenville declined to take office unless Fox also was included, telling Pitt, on the part of other members of opposition besides himself, "We rest our determination solely on our strong sense of the impropriety of our becoming parties to a system of government which is to be formed, at such a moment as the present, on a principle of exclusion." Addington resigned on the 10th of May. On the 12th Pitt was again premier, filling as before the two great offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The major part of the dissolved administration was absorbed into the new one. Eldon retained the chancellorship; Hawkesbury passed to the home office; and Harrowby succeeded him as foreign secretary; Melville took the place of Earl St. Vincent at the head of the admiralty; Camden became secretary for war and the colonies, two offices that always went together up to the date of the Crimean war in 1855;

Mulgrave filled the post of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Among the subordinate appointments, Canning succeeded Tierney as treasurer of the navy; William Dundas, brother of Lord Melville, became secretary at war; and Huskisson, secretary to the treasury. The law department was left unchanged; and the Irish appointments were not disturbed beyond the appointment of a new secretary. On the whole a majority of the late administration retained their old places under the new premier. Pitt may be said to have been recalled to his old post by the general sentiment of the nation. Canning embodied this wide-spread sentiment in forcible terms in the course of one of the debates that paved the way for the change now consummated. "Look at France, and see what we have to cope with. Consider what has made her what she is. A *man*. . . I am no panegyrist of Bonaparte; but I cannot shut my eyes to the superiority of his talents, to the amazing ascendant of his genius. Tell me not of his measures and his policy. It is his genius, his character, that keeps the world in awe. To meet, to check, to curb, to stand up against him, we want arms of the same kind. I am far from objecting to the large military establishments which are proposed; I vote for them with all my heart; but, for the purpose of coping with Bonaparte, one great commanding spirit is worth them all." As the most eloquent and the ablest, as well as the most attached of Pitt's followers, Canning deserved a better post than that assigned to him in the new government. But in those days the oligarchical principle was still prevalent in the composition of ministries, and such titled mediocrities as Hawkesbury and Castlereagh secured seats in the cabinet, while Canning was condemned to one of the inferior offices, as better befitting his lack of ancestry and broad acres. Pitt could no longer count as of old on overwhelming majorities; it was even possible that he might be outvoted in the Lower House, whenever Fox, Grenville, and their followers should join their forces with Addington's. The first considerable trial of strength came off in June, on the second reading of his bill for providing an army of reserve. In a full house the ministerial majority was only forty. But the session was now drawing to an end, and no other great question remained for discussion. Supplies for the year had already been voted before Addington's resignation, amounting in the aggregate to 53,609,000*l.*, and including nearly 600,000*l.* for discharging further debts and arrears on the civil list. New taxes, loans, and lotteries were put in force to meet the new burdens. The session was closed on the last day of July by a royal speech which foreshadowed, in the following significant words, a new coalition of nations: "I entertain the animating hope that the benefit to be derived from our successful exertions will not be confined within ourselves, but that by their example and their consequences they may lead to the establishment of such a system in Europe as may rescue it from the precarious state to which it is reduced, and may finally raise an effectual barrier against the unbounded schemes of aggrandizement and ambition which threaten every independent nation that yet remains on the continent."

Every semblance of a republic had at length disappeared from the government of France. Its ruler was now emperor of the French, with the right of hereditary succession in his family, a dignity which he assumed at the request of the obsequious senate. Some plots, partly royalist and partly republican, were adroitly turned to account to furnish the excuse for this further revolution. One of these seeming plots was of the same character with several earlier movements of the French emigrés. It contemplated the landing of a party of French exiles from an English ship—being the only means by which they could reach their own country. When landed, these exiles were to proceed to Paris in some clandestine fashion, and there join a more numerous body of conspirators on behalf of the old royal family. The Bourbon princes in London and elsewhere were parties to the movement, and the British government gave, as on previous occasions, the desired passage to the coast of France. Among the leading names associated with the movement, were those of the distinguished republican generals, Pichegru and Moreau. The former of these was in favour of constitutional monarchy under a Bourbon prince. The latter was a genuine republican, jealous of the sovereignty which he saw springing up in the person of Bonaparte, and desirous of thwarting any further movement which should add to the power of the first consul. Georges Cadoudal, a Chouan or Breton insurgent chief, was another prime mover in the royalist plot. The secret police at Paris got scent of the enterprise, and employed spies, who allied themselves professedly with the conspiracy, in order to worm out all its ramifications and bearings. The real and the fictitious discoveries of these spies are so inextricably blended, that it is probable the French government itself was deceived. That government at any rate professed to have secured proofs of the complicity of the British government in plots which embraced the assassination of Bonaparte as a means for securing the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty. This monstrous accusation was persistently put forward, time after time, with many variations, in the "Moniteur" and in diplomatic documents. It need scarcely be added that no proof was ever adduced in support of this outrageous charge. French historians of later times make no pretence at believing its validity. The simple political plot, certainly, without any admixture of the atrocious element of assassination, was confided to Lord Malmesbury early in February, by the leading French refugees resident in London. A correspondence between the British minister in Bavaria and some disaffected persons in France took place at about the same time, and both this and the royalist plot in London and Paris became known to the French government, which seized about thirty of the alleged conspirators in Paris. An official report on the conspiracy, dated the 17th of February, told the first consul that "new plots have been hatched in England," and that "England had no hope of accomplishing her design but by the assassination of the first consul." Pichegru was found strangled in his cell, under circumstances that throw a grave doubt on the official statement that he died by his own hand. Wright, the English captain who landed some of the conspirators on the coast of France, and failed to make good his own retreat, was soon after found with his throat cut, and he also was declared, in the face of the strongest probabilities to the contrary, to have died by his own suicidal act. Georges, and others of his Chouan band, were executed. Moreau, the rival of Bonaparte in the affections of the army, the victor at Hohenlinden and in many campaigns, was banished to America. All the prisoners stoutly and indignantly repelled the imputation of a design to assassinate Bonaparte, but the French government persisted in asserting such a purpose, and in throwing on the British government the odium of complicity in the plot. During the examinations it transpired that the duc d'Enghien, eldest son of the duc de Bourbon, was privy to the design for the restoration of the old monarchy. This prince was then resident in Baden, in dangerous proximity, as the event proved, to his native land. Bonaparte determined to seize and destroy him, in order to strike terror into the other members of the exiled royal family and their restless adherents, who were ever on the alert for the chance of a counter-revolution. He planned every step in the daring and atrocious act, from the kidnapping in a neutral state, to the mockery of a trial and the vengeance of a hasty execution. A troop of horse crossed the frontier in the night, and carried off the unsuspecting victim from his chateau on the border of the Black Forest to the fortress of Strasburg. After a few days' imprisonment in that frontier citadel, he was hurried off to the fortress of Vincennes, in the outskirts of Paris, where he arrived at dusk, in the evening of the 22nd of March. Before the first streak of dawn next day, he had perished and passed away from the eyes of men, under a tragic fate which leaves an indelible stain on the memory of its sole author—the first Napoleon. As soon as the first consul was told that his royal captive was safely lodged in the donjon of Vincennes, he expressed his fell purpose in fierce utterances that horrified his wife Josephine, and prompted her to the most strenuous and cogent appeals to his better nature. She implored him to stop short in his vengeance before committing himself to an act on which the whole world would cry shame, and which would call down the curse of heaven on him and his. But her utmost efforts were fruitless to move him from his stern and dark purpose. Repelling her angrily, he said, "I will put an end to these conspiracies. If the emigrants will conspire, I will have them shot. These are not things for women to meddle with. Leave me alone. The Bourbons must be taught that they are not to sport with my life with impunity." An order was at once drawn up and sent to Murat, the military governor of Paris, charging him to convene instantly a commission of seven, to assemble that night at Vincennes, and try the duke on the charge of "having been, and still being in the pay of England, and of being engaged in plots set on foot by that power against the external and internal security of the republic." This order was in the form of a legislative act, commencing, "The government of the Republic decree as follows." It was signed by Bonaparte, and countersigned by Maret, secretary to the council of state, though the council had no voice in the matter, for the first consul, in his determination not to be thwarted, refused to submit the matter to his council. Talleyrand and other leading members of the government appear to have known nothing of the last act in the dark tragedy until all was over. Murat, who was married to one of Bonaparte's sisters, declared long afterwards, on his death-bed, that he did his utmost to dissuade his stern brother-in-law from his purpose, but that he implored in vain. It is not easy to reconcile this dying declaration with the unquestionable fact, that Murat not only selected the members of the military tribunal, but issued in addition an order in his own name, directing the commission "to assemble *immediately*, at Vincennes, and without separating, to take cognisance of the accused, on the charges set forth in the decree of the government." The seven members chosen by Murat were one and all of them well known as remorseless instruments of Bonaparte's will, and ready to sell their souls for such rewards as he dispensed. The mock trial began after midnight, and occupied two hours. No evidence was presented against the accused; no assistance was allowed him in his replies to the indictment. Verbal charges, beyond those in the decree under which the trial was held, must have been imported into the case; for the president of the tribunal, in an elaborate attempt to exculpate himself, has handed down to posterity the fact that the prisoner repelled with indignation "the charge of having conspired, directly or indirectly, in any plot for assassinating the first consul." In reply to the charge of being in the pay of England, he said it was quite true he received a yearly allowance from that court, but that it was not less true that he had nothing else to live upon. In answer to the reproach that he had fought against his country, he frankly avowed that he had borne arms against France, insisting, with courage and pride, that he had therein only maintained, with other adherents of the king, the rights of his family. After other less important interrogatories, and without the presence of any witness or the production of any evidence, the trial closed. The existing law required that counsel should be assigned to every prisoner on his trial. This humane provision was now set at naught. The duke was ordered to withdraw, without being told the decision of the tribunal; and so little did he expect the terrible sentence of death, that he was presently sound asleep on the couch from which he had been aroused on the first arrival of his judges. At about five in the morning an execution party entered the chamber of the prince, awakened him from a sound sleep, and desired him to rise and follow them. A grave had been dug in the moat of the castle *before the trial began*. Without a word of warning of his doom, the prisoner was now hurried down to the side of the open grave. Ten paces off stood eight soldiers, their muskets gleaming in the lurid light of torches and lanterns. Then at length, when words were not needed to proclaim his fate, the sentence of death was read to him. Even in this trying moment the prince retained entire self-possession. He asked for the services of a priest, but in vain. A minute later he fell under a fusilade, with seven mortal wounds in his body. He was immediately huddled into the gaping grave, which was filled in while yet the blood was gushing over his dress. Europe received with a thrill of horror the news of this mockery of a trial, followed thus swiftly by the judicial murder of the kidnapped Bourbon prince. Russia and Sweden remonstrated against the violation of neutral territory, and the criminal transgression of the law and rights of nations; but all the German princes were silent under this flagrant affront to the independence of the empire, and the other states adjacent to France were equally meek and reserved, under dread of the vengeance of the master of half the continent. Meanwhile the plots, whether real or feigned, had worked out well for the further development of Bonaparte's aspiring scheme of personal aggrandizement. Addresses from the army, the towns, the departments, came up in shoals to Paris, congratulating the head of the government on the frustration of the wicked schemes of his adversaries, urging increased precautions for ensuring the safety of his life, and the adoption of securities for his person and government. Then came, in the midst of the enthusiastic and sympathetic addresses, a proposal, first in the tribunate or lower chamber, and then in the senate or upper house, to bestow on Napoleon Bonaparte the title of emperor, with hereditary succession in his family, as the appropriate reward of his services to France, and the fittest remedy for the evils to which the elective principle would expose the nation. The events of the past four and a half years had all been steadily tending to this consummation. A decided reaction had set in against the atheistical and anarchical philosophy which had expressed itself in the desecration of churches, the entire overthrow of Christian worship, the abolition of the Sabbath, and the deification of Reason. The first consul, though himself utterly devoid of piety or reverence for sacred things, or of any definite form of religious belief, had yet, from motives of state policy, built up out of the ruins of the old ecclesiastical establishment a renovated church, and thus gained the support of the clergy. It is further only just to add that he had achieved many other victories of peace as well as of war. He had remodelled the judicial system and most of the other civil institutions of the country, and redeemed its finances from hopeless confusion into working order. The press had kept France in perpetual ferment, and had instigated and excused the worst atrocities of the worst days of the revolutionary period. He had muzzled that rabid press, and he had snuffed out the lambent flames of chronic insurrection. It was good for France at that unquiet epoch that its press should be gagged. The decree on this head rings strangely in the ears of later generations, but it suited well the temper of the time when it was launched. "Every journal," insisted this emanation of personal government, "shall be at once suppressed which shall publish matter opposed to the respect due to social order, the sovereignty of the people, and to the glory of the armies; or which shall insert abuse against the government and the nations which are friends and allies of the republic." Bonaparte's police system, despite its manifold abuses, had certainly rendered good service to the cause of social order. Under it he had, it is true, swept away even the semblance of liberty. But the French nation was hardly yet ripe for free institutions, as had been proved by enormous crimes committed in the name of liberty. De Tocqueville, the most philosophical of French historians, describes his countrymen at the period under notice as "indocile by temperament, yet accepting the arbitrary and even the violent rule of a sovereign more readily than the free and regular government of the chief citizen." The people had been, as it were, schooled up to the point of believing that the rule of one was better than the rule of many, and that monarchy of one sort or other was the only thing that could put an end to anarchy in France. That generation of Frenchmen carried a lively remembrance of ten and a half years of misery and turbulence, followed by four and a half years of strong government under the control of one man. Those recent four and a half years had been fruitful in results dear to the hearts of Frenchmen. The nation had enlarged its borders beyond the wildest dreams of its most ambitious monarchs since the days of Charlemagne. Flanders, Brabant, Hanover, Holland, the German electorates of Mentz and Treves, Piedmont, Liguria, and Lombardy were reduced to the condition of provincial dependencies of France. These years of vast expansion of French power were also years of large growth in the internal prosperity and resources of the nation—years of hope, amelioration, and, to a large extent, of national regeneration. All these thoughts lent their help to bring about among representatives and constituents a frame of mind which afforded easy access to the new political cry—that the government of one was a national want, and the government of many a national calamity. The first consul and his thick-and-thin adherents were not slow to turn to account the temper of the times. That temper had indeed been to a large extent created by his consummate political craft, and it was now adroitly moulded into effective action by his astute genius. Some of the priests, whom he had propitiated by the restoration of their order, called him a Moses or a Cyrus, and declared that the finger of God was visible in his elevation. He and his clever political wire-pullers had another sort of providence in which they placed implicit reliance. Their providence took the shape of a skilful manipulation of the legislative bodies—an art which seems to be inherent in the Bonaparte dynasty. The soothing and cementing influences growing out of a good understanding with the military and clerical forces was the other prime moving power in the further revolution now to be inaugurated. Both the tribunate and senate were packed with men who had sworn fealty and loyalty to a series of political systems, each of which they had assisted to throw overboard when their personal interests prompted. Some of these were yet to bear their part in subverting the new constitution which they were now eager to set on foot. By the adroit management of such supple and facile instruments, the consulate budded and bloomed into the full glory of the empire, on the 18th of May, 1804

Later in the year the pope was summoned to Paris to bear the part assigned to him by his new patron and master in the pageant of a coronation. The ceremony took place in Nôtre Dame. To add to the significance of the event, the new emperor, who owed his elevation solely to his genius and the brilliancy of his career as a soldier of fortune, placed upon his own head the imperial crown. His brothers were forthwith raised to the rank of princes, and his favourite generals were made marshals of the empire. His court at once adopted all the pomp of regal belongings and an exacting etiquette, with a numerous train of grand dignitaries, marshals, chamberlains, and pages. In France his power was absolute; and the France of that day had enlarged its boundaries to an extent which, in practice, reduced Holland, Hanover, Switzerland, the German states on the left bank of the Rhine, Belgium, and a large section of Italy to the condition of provincial appendages to the new empire. Spain, too, was constrained by its fears to do the bidding of its too powerful neighbour. The German powers, cowed and meek, deprecated the conqueror's wrath by prompt recognition of the new imperial style and title Only the distant courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm still ventured to stand aloof from the parvenu emperor; but not a nation in Europe yet ventured to take part with England in a strife waged for the general behoof.

The military and naval transactions of the year 1804 were few and unimportant. The Dutch colonial settlement at Surinam, a most undesirable acquisition on account of its insalubrious climate, was captured in May by the same forces that in the preceding year had taken possession of the neighbouring French and Dutch dependencies. The French, on the other hand, surprised Goree on the African coast; but they held it only from January till March, when a British frigate retook it and made prisoners of its captors. A French naval squadron, of one ship of the line, three frigates, and a gun-brig, under Admiral Linois, succeeded in evading our fleets, at the date of the commencement of the war, and made its way into the eastern seas, calling at the Cape of Good Hope to land succours for the Dutch. Failing in its main purpose of co-operating with Scindiah and Holkar, in the war which Wellesley brought to so satisfactory a conclusion in December, 1803, Linois made depredations on our commerce in Indian and Chinese waters. He first seized and plundered the English factory or trading depôt at Bencoolen, and then went in quest of such booty as could be snapped up at sea. In the course of a cruise off the Straits of Malacca, he had the good luck, on the 14th of February, to fall in with a fleet of sixteen richly laden Indiamen, of which he confidently expected to make an easy prey. But four of the largest of the anticipated prizes, instead of shunning a meeting with their pursuers, formed in compact order of battle, bore down upon them, and opened a smart cannonade. This unexpected salute imposed on the Frenchmen the belief that their assailants were frigates instead of mere Indiamen. Under this delusion, Linois hoisted the signal for retreat, having no inclination, or else no authority, to risk an action with what seemed an equal force. The Company's ships had only recently taken to the use of guns. The crews were above the customary strength for times of peace, but no one expected so much smartness, address, and daring, as were exhibited in the action between English merchantmen and French fighting ships. To keep up the delusion, Captain Dance, who acted as commodore to the fleet of Indiamen, made a show of pursuing the enemy for some distance. He then made good his passage without further molestation. The news of this exploit was received at home with almost as much applause and satisfaction as if it had been a considerable naval victory. Dance was deservedly rewarded with the honour of knighthood. The officers and crews of all the ships received pecuniary rewards from public companies, and from the patriotic fund.

The harbours of France were sealed, throughout the summer and autumn, by blockading squadrons, and her shores were constantly insulted by visits on the part of our enterprising sailors. The Boulogne flotilla again called for the utmost vigilance, and it was often vigorously assailed by such of our craft as could go close enough in shore. In October, an attempt was made to destroy the flotilla by means of a new sort of fire-ship, named catamarans, which were designed for destructive service among the crowd of anchored craft in the harbour. When the catamaran came in collision with a vessel, it was calculated that the shock would be followed by a destructive explosion. About a dozen of these novel war engines were duly put in motion, but for lack of due guidance, which it was found impossible to give them, their explosions did little harm to the enemy. The failure of this project exposed all concerned in it to not a little ridicule, as well as to the discredit attaching to a mode of warfare which national sentiment held to be unfair and un-English.

Among other efforts to recruit his naval forces, Bonaparte again sought to enlist in his service the fleets of Spain. Admiral Cochrane found a powerful squadron preparing in Ferrol, and reported to the admiralty his grounds for believing it was destined for early hostile action on the side of France. Explanations were demanded, but the tone of the reply, far from allaying misgivings, strengthened the conviction that Spain was only waiting the arrival of certain treasure ships from South America, before joining in hostilities against England. Government, thereupon, sent four frigates to cruise off Cadiz, and intercept the treasure, with the purpose of holding it as a guarantee until Spain should pronounce decidedly for peace or war. The treasure ships proved to be of the same apparent strength with the four British frigates, so that the Spanish commander was compelled, under a sense of honour, to resist the attempt at capture. A fight ensued, which resulted in the destruction of the largest Spanish ship by explosion, and the surrender of the other three after some damage and loss. No little odium fell on our government for not sending on this expedition a force strong enough to have compelled submission without fighting. An acrimonious discussion between the two governments ended in a rupture towards the close of the year. Spain declared war against England on the 12th of December, and became, thenceforward, the open, as she had for some time previously been the secret, ally of France.

Pitt turned the leisure of the parliamentary recess to account in unceasing labours to form continental alliances. The fruit of these exertions will shortly appear. The activity of his diplomatic agents in the German states stirred up the animosity of the French autocrat to an ungovernable pitch. In the spring of the year he had not scrupled to violate neutral German territory in order to kidnap an obnoxious Bourbon prince. In the following autumn he hazarded a repetition of that form of outrage. A body of French cavalry went without warning, and in the night, to the residence of Sir G. Rumbold, British envoy to Lower Saxony, and then resident near Hamburgh. He and his papers were seized and carried to Paris, where he was imprisoned in the Temple. Prussian honour was seriously compromised by the invasion of German territory close to its own frontier. Under a politic desire to keep Prussia neutral in the contest which might soon have to be waged with Pitt's new coalition, Bonaparte promptly yielded to representations from Berlin, and released the imprisoned diplomatist, but without offering the slightest atonement for this flagrant breach of international law.

At the same time that Pitt was labouring incessantly to form an effective coalition of continental states, by which to stem the tide of French encroachment and curb the insatiate arrogance and ambition of the upstart emperor, he was constrained to cast about for alliances at home, to enable him to face the coming session with greater chances of securing a good working majority in support of his measures. Grenville was still resolute in his purpose of refusing to join Pitt's cabinet unless Fox also were admitted to it. Pitt would have been glad enough to take his old rival for a colleague, but the king stubbornly resisted the proposal, and recurred to his old favourite project of a partnership between Pitt and Addington. This latter scheme actually took effect. The duke of Portland, now suffering under the infirmities of advanced age, resigned his post of lord president, in favour of Addington, who was forthwith elevated to the peerage, under the title of Viscount Sidmouth. At about the same date Lord Harrowby was disabled by illness, and made way for Lord Mulgrave as foreign secretary.

The opening of the new year was marked by a direct proposal from Napoleon Bonaparte for bringing the war to an end. On the 2nd of January, 1805, he wrote with his own hand to the king of England a seemingly frank and friendly epistle, but under the specious guise of downright openness and straightforwardness lurked the latent purpose of screening his own projects, and of sounding, if possible, how far the English government had progressed in its advances towards a new coalition. Thiers holds—and his opinion carries great weight in such a point—that this letter was an insincere parade of moderation, adopted solely to make an occasion for addressing the sovereign of Great Britain as an equal. "Sir, my brother"—the customary style between monarch and monarch—such was the form in which this sensational document claimed regal or imperial rank for one who, only ten years earlier, had been a subaltern in an artillery corps. The foundation of his exalted dignity was next advanced: "Called to the throne of France by Providence, and by the suffrages of the senate, the people, and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace." Then the writer adds: "Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity; what can it expect from war? To form a coalition with some continental states? The continent will remain tranquil. A coalition can only increase the preponderance and greatness of France." The foreign secretary sent a reply to the French minister, Talleyrand, stating that his Britannic majesty was anxious for the blessings of peace on terms compatible with the permanent security of Europe; that the overture now made on the part of France could not be met by any engagement on the part of the United Kingdom, until the king had communicated with those continental governments to which he stood pledged.

The session began on the 15th of January, when the royal speech announced that Spain, under French influence, had refused satisfaction to all demands for explanation of hostile preparations directed against us, and had thus forced us into a state of hostility with her. There was a gratulatory tribute to the high spirit of the volunteers, and to the zeal and efficiency of all branches of the military and naval forces in confronting the danger of invasion. It was noted that the French ruler continued to make the most active preparations to cross over with his army, notwithstanding his professed desire for peace and the corresponding assurance given on our side. In the discussions on the war with Spain, Grenville and Fox severely reprehended the attack on the treasure-ships before war had been declared. The only colourable defence for that act is to be found in the hard necessity of warfare. Spain was notoriously the vassal of France, and was bound by treaty to furnish cash subsidies instead of men in the war into which every circumstance proved that she was about to enter against us. It was simply a measure of self-defence to prevent that treasure from reaching its destination, the French treasury. The Spanish declaration of war, issued some weeks later, stated that the government of his Catholic majesty intended war with Great Britain ever since France began hostilities; and a year before the seizure of the bullion, the British government had notified to Spain that if she continued her warlike preparations, and persisted in promoting the interests of our enemies, hostilities would be commenced against her without further warning than these persistent protests against acts on her part which amounted to aiding and abetting our foes.

The estimates for the year included a provision for a military force under all heads of three hundred and twelve thousand men; there were besides nearly as many volunteers, the greater portion of whom were reported to be in a condition of high efficiency. For the navy, one hundred and twenty thousand seamen and marines were voted. The cost of the two services for the year was set down at about 36,000,000*l.* This, with the other items of expenditure, brought up the total supply to 55,590,000*l.*, to which a heavy addition was made before the close of the session. Large loans figured, as usual, among the ways and means, for public men had all grown callous to the claims of posterity. No voice in those days was ever heard in parliament to plead the cause of unborn generations.

The session now commencing proved fruitful in bitter mortifications to the premier. He had resigned office in 1801 because he could not gain the king's consent to his contemplated measures for the conciliation of the Catholics. He had now resumed office on the express understanding that he must resist the claims which he had before advocated. Fox and other leading members of opposition dealt some hard hits at his inconsistency, accusing him of surrendering his principles for the gratification of his lust of power. To reproaches and attacks on this score he had the sufficient excuse that existing circumstances were adverse. There ought, he argued, to be a general agreement of opinion in Ireland in its favour; it ought to come as a measure of conciliation and peace, which, while it gratified one party, should not excite the alarm of the other. "I ask any gentleman," said he, "whether he does not believe, looking to the opinion of the members of the established church, of the nobility, of the man of property, of the middle and respectable classes of society, of the mass of Protestants both in this country and in Ireland, that there is the greatest repugnance to this measure; and that, even if it could be now carried, so far from producing conciliation and union, it would rather tend to disappoint all the prospects of advantage which, under other circumstances, would be derived from it. Even those who have argued most strongly in its favour, have candidly confessed that, in the present state of men's minds, it is not likely to be carried. I should disguise my real sentiments if I did not say that at present the prevailing sentiment is strongly against the measure. What circumstances may occur to overcome this sentiment it is not for me to predict or conjecture." Large majorities sided with him against the motion. But the defence of his altered tone on the Catholic question was the simplest plain-sailing in comparison with the sea of trouble in which he was immersed during many weeks of the session, in connection with charges brought against his private friend and official colleague, Lord Melville, the first lord of the admiralty. The late ministry, among other measures of reform in the working of the public departments, had appointed a special commission of naval inquiry. One of the reports of that commission brought to light some highly culpable transactions, for which Melville was mainly answerable. These transactions occurred in the period when, under his name of Mr. Dundas, he filled the office of treasurer of the navy. The report set forth that large sums standing in the name of the treasurer of the navy at the Bank of England had been removed and lodged with private bankers, and employed in unauthorized and illegal ways for the personal benefit of Dundas and Trotter, the paymaster of the navy. Speculations on the stock exchange, extensive discounting transactions, loans to the extent of tens of thousands, and other speculations on a large scale, figured among the items of the charge against Trotter; some of his largest loans were for the accommodation of his official chief, the treasurer. Indeed, the whole of the paymaster's malversations were conducted under the connivance of his superior, and, as was alleged, with his participation in the profits. When the report had been some time in the hands of members, Mr. Whitbread brought forward, on the 8th of April, a motion of censure on Lord Melville. The discussions on this motion, on Pitt's amendment, and on subsequent motions for the impeachment of Melville, were among the most animated and protracted of the parliamentary proceedings of this session. Whitbread's opening speech took a retrospect of the thirty years during which Melville had filled a succession of lucrative offices, by virtue of which he had exercised large influence on the direction of public affairs. In 1785 he had promoted the Act for checking those very abuses in the navy department in respect to which he was now so seriously inculpated. Up to that year the highest officials of the admiralty drew large emoluments from miscellaneous sources, in addition to fixed salaries. But the Act of 1785, and an order in council of the same year, for regulating the department of the treasurer of the navy, expressly disallowed all fees, profits, and other forms of emolument, except the fixed salary, which was largely augmented in recompense for the stoppage of irregular forms of emolument. Whitbread argued that the malpractices disclosed in the report were in direct violation of the act in question. As much as 100,000*l.* had been advanced at various times by Trotter to his chief, who professed not to know whether these loans were drawn from Trotter's own property, or from the public fund of which he had the handling. Among other sharp comments on these nefarious proceedings, Mr. Whitbread remarked: "The truth was, that Lord Melville knew, when he patronised this man, that he had no property, except what was derived from his salary. It was absolute equivocation, then, for his lordship to protest ignorance of the source whence Trotter was enabled to supply him with advances." Pitt opposed the motion, under a strong conviction that there had been no real pocketing of public money on the part of his old friend, nor any fair ground for imputation on his personal integrity; and moved, instead, that a select committee be appointed to consider the report of the commissioners, together with documents and other evidence bearing on the case. A succession of speakers followed, some insisting that the report of the commissioners ought to be adopted as conclusive evidence against the accused, without further resort to a select committee; while others, among whom were Canning and Castlereagh, supported Pitt's view, insisting that further explanations were forthcoming that would give a new complexion to the case, and that such explanations ought to be received before the House pronounced judgment. It was four in the morning before the House divided, when the numbers were two hundred and sixteen on each side. The Speaker, after pondering in a painful state of hesitation for ten minutes, gave his casting vote for Mr. Whitbread's motion. Pitt was touched to the quick by this utter shipwreck of Melville's reputation, influence, and honour, under the dark cloud of a vote of censure. There was no escape from the further mental anguish involved in the task of driving his old friend in disgrace from the high office he filled in the government. He announced to the House on the 10th of April that the king had accepted Melville's resignation. But mere removal from office was only an instalment of the disgrace and loss which Melville had brought upon himself. The opposition insisted that, besides the deprivation of his official dignity and emoluments, it was essential that the culprit should never again pollute with his presence the councils of his sovereign. There was talk of an address to the throne, praying his majesty to deprive Lord Melville of every civil office held during the pleasure of the crown, and to dismiss him from the national councils for ever. The address was deferred, and was only not at length moved, because Pitt submitted, not, as he told the House, without a bitter pang, to the hard necessity of advising the king to strike Melville's name from the list of privy councillors. Soon afterwards he consented to an impeachment of his disgraced and ruined colleague at the bar of the House of Lords, under the ominous charge of high crimes and misdemeanours. Pitt's selection of a successor to the expelled first lord of the admiralty gave umbrage to Sidmouth. There were other serious grounds of dissension between them, on account of which Sidmouth and several of his followers resigned. Camden then became lord president, Harrowby resumed official duty as head of the admiralty, and Castlereagh was advanced to the foreign secretaryship.

Pitt's health visibly declined under the pressure of anxieties that, from this date onward, gnawed at his heart through the few remaining months of his career. His last speech in parliament was spoken on the 25th of June, in the debate on the motion for the impeachment of his friend and colleague. He had just formed another mighty coalition against Bonaparte, and secured from parliament a supplementary vote of 3,500,000*l.*, to be used in subsidies to Austrian, Russian, and Swedish armies. The session closed on the 12th of July.

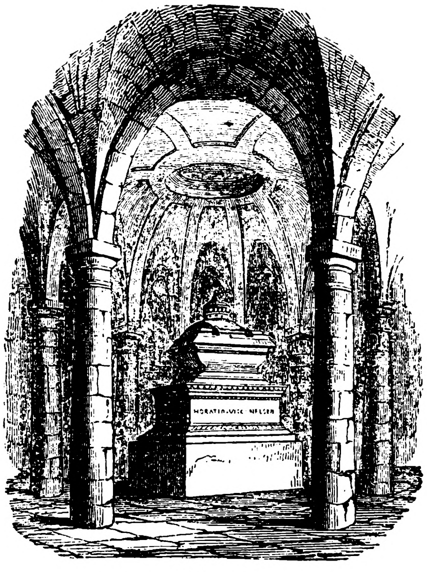
The ruler of France, a few months after his insincere overtures for peace, afforded by his public conduct a complete refutation of his professed moderation. The two Italian states, then known as the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics, were annexed, the one in May and the other in June, to his dominion, and he was crowned at Milan king of Italy. These annexations came close on the heels of his declaration to the French senate that no territory not already united to France would be incorporated with it. Ships, colonies, and commerce, were more than ever the most coveted national advantages that Bonaparte aspired to gain for his subjects. These three words expressed his conception of a future in which the ascendancy of France would be as complete on the sea as on land. Genoa, with its convenient port, numerous ships, and a large sea-going population, would add materially to the maritime force at his disposal. To tone down the harsh procedure of an annexation by right of conquest, means were found to prompt the Doge and senate to make an obsequious petition that he would be graciously pleased to admit the Ligurian Republic, with Genoa, its capital, to the honour of becoming an integral portion of the French empire. These usurpations, or by whatever milder term the extension of his rule over Italian soil may be characterised, were palpable infringements of the treaty of Luneville, and on that ground were now resented by Austria and Russia. But this new favourite of fortune held cheap the protests and the anger of neighbouring governments. The armaments gathered on the shores of the English Channel, if foiled in their purpose of moving northwards across a few miles of water, were yet available for continental conquests. This thought was Bonaparte's abiding consolation. He and Pitt, the two master minds of Europe, were now marshalling all their forces for a decisive stroke. Pitt's golden arguments had again braced up the sluggish energies of Austria and Russia to the fighting pitch. A campaign was planned, having for its object the reduction of France to its old territorial limits. Bonaparte still clung tenaciously, though withal somewhat despairingly, to the project of carrying an overwhelming army to London. Early in August he visited Boulogne, where he reviewed his numerous battalions, that covered a line of seven or eight miles. His formidable army, fronting and menacing the Kentish shore, numbered one hundred and thirty-two thousand men, with fifteen thousand horses, and six hundred pieces of field artillery. The flotilla for conveying the invaders now numbered two thousand craft, all of handy dimensions for service in shallow water. These were assembled in the ports of Boulogne, Etaples, Ambleteuse, and Wimereau. Men and horses were frequently brought down from their cantonments to the beach, to rehearse the manœuvres for rapid and orderly embarkation and landing. Every man moved promptly to his assigned boat, and such was the precision acquired in this preparatory drill, that it was computed the whole force could be got clear of the shore in two hours from the first summons. After his review of the army, Bonaparte witnessed the evolution of the flotilla along the shore. He found all in readiness and efficiency for the enterprise which had now been years in preparation. But the short watery way to be traversed by his formidable host was still barred by the presence of blockading squadrons. So also his contingent of twenty-four thousand troops, under Marmont, who were to issue from the Texel; and so of other contingents at Brest and Rochfort. British cruisers, ever on the alert, barred each port of egress. The time had, however, now arrived when France expected to cope, on more equal terms than in the previous war, with the naval armaments that had so long sealed her ports, and paralysed her strength for offensive warfare against her insular and maritime enemy. Scores of new ships of war had been built in the dockyards of France since the peace of Amiens. Spain, too, had renovated and augmented her fleets in the same period, and these were now ready to serve the behests of Bonaparte. Genoa, with her fifteen thousand seamen, gave him a strong reinforcement for service afloat. Now or never seemed to be the thought of France, and England was on the stretch of nervous expectancy. Expresses were ever traversing the roads to Toulon, Cadiz, Ferrol, Rochfort, Brest, and the other abiding places of the French and Spanish navies, urging the admirals to be on the alert for chances of combining their fleets and concerting plans to draw off from the shores of Europe the squadrons under Nelson, Collingwood, and Calder.

The anxiety of the blockaded fleets to escape from inglorious durance was amply seconded by the longing desire of their vigilant foe to tempt them out to battle. When Nelson had been fourteen months up the Mediterranean, exhausting all the resources of his skill as a naval commander to lure the French fleet out of Toulon, he was congratulated in a formal address, from the lord mayor and aldermen of London, on his efficient discharge of the duty of keeping the foe shut up in that port. "I beg to inform your lordship," said the blunt admiral, in his rejoinder, "that the port of Toulon has never been blockaded by me: quite the reverse. Every opportunity has been offered the enemy to put to sea, for it is there that we hope to realise the hopes and expectations of our country." On one occasion the main body of Nelson's fleet remained out of sight of land, leaving only three ships close in shore to insult the powerful fleet within the harbour. This time the French admiral Latouche, who commanded at Boulogne, at the repulse of Nelson's boat attack in 1801, came outside with seven sail, and gave chase for a few leagues to the three decoy ships. Turning tail, as soon as he discovered the hazard he was running, he got safely into port again. On this small and very safe feat, Latouche founded the mendacious statement that he had driven Nelson and the whole British fleet from the roads of Toulon. This impudent report was widely circulated in the newspapers, and after some lapse of time it came under Nelson's notice. Despite his established character of being the man the least apt of all afloat to run away from a foe, he deemed it a proper precaution to send formal proofs home to the admiralty, showing the brazen falsehood of the Frenchman's story. Writing to his brother about the same event, he says, "You will have seen Latouche's letter; how he chased me and how I ran. I keep it, and if I take him he shall eat it." For nearly two years his squadron was buffeted about the gulf of Lyons, or the coast of Sardinia and Corsica, with an occasional stretch across to the shores of Spain, and a frequent reconnoitre of the enemy by his detached frigates. At length, on the 18th of January, the fleet, under Admiral Villeneuve, escaped from Toulon. Bad weather had forced Nelson to a distant anchorage off the island of Sardinia. He got timely notice, and went in pursuit, making just such another round to Egypt, and back to Malta, as in 1798. He then learned that the enemy had retraced his steps, owing to bad weather. On the 4th of April he again looked in at Toulon, but this time Villeneuve was found to have cleared out four days earlier, with eleven sail of the line and nine smaller vessels. Villeneuve made good his passage to Cadiz, where he was joined by other French and Spanish ships. The small blockading squadron, under Sir John Orde, necessarily retired from Cadiz in face of so large a force of the enemy, and the combined fleet, under Villeneuve and Gravina, bent its course without delay to the West Indies, taking with them several thousand troops. Nelson lost much precious time before ascertaining the course taken by the combined fleet, which was now of fully twice his own force. Crossing to the West Indies, he had an exciting chase from Barbadoes to Tobago and Trinidad, southwards, and then again northwards, in and out among the chief ports of the whole group of islands.

His presence in those seas was soon made known to the enemy, who took the alarm and steered forthwith for Europe. They had snapped up some fifteen only out of two hundred laden merchantmen that were about to leave for England, and they had not ventured on any larger enterprise than the capture of the Diamond Rock. When within a day's sail of the Bay of Biscay they were met, on the 22nd of July, by another English fleet, under Sir Robert Calder. Their force consisted of twenty sail of the line, three fifty-gun ships, five frigates, and two brigs. Calder had fifteen line-of-battle ships and two frigates. A fight of four hours' duration ensued, in which two large Spanish ships surrendered. Then the combatants parted, but kept within sight of each other for four days, without any serious attempt on either side to renew the engagement. The loss of life in the allied squadrons was afterwards ascertained to have been very severe; that on our side was almost insignificant, in comparison with the numbers engaged. Taking into account the disparity of force, Calder's victory would have gained him substantial rewards a few years earlier. But Nelson's achievements had raised the standard of public expectation to a high pitch, and murmurs rather than applause greeted the ears of a victor who had no more than two captured ships to show as trophies. Calder was afterwards tried by court-martial, and severely reprimanded for his lack of enterprise and energy. Yet he rendered a greater service than his countrymen knew of at the time. The drubbing inflicted on the combined fleets frightened them into Ferrol, the nearest port of shelter. But for their encounter with Calder's squadron, they were to have pushed on to Rochfort and Brest, and, with the large reinforcements there awaiting them, to have sailed up the Channel in such commanding superiority of force as would have enabled them to scatter the blockading fleet at Boulogne, and finally to convey the invading host to its destined work of conquest. Marshal Ney, who held the chief command at Boulogne, rates Villeneuve's slackness and timidity with a severity of censure tenfold heavier than that bestowed on the British admiral who defeated him. Writing long after the event, he says, in his "Memoirs": "When the army at Boulogne flattered themselves that the French fleet would speedily arrive to protect their embarkation, they learned that the admiral, deterred by a cannonade of a few hours, and the loss of two ships, had sought refuge in Ferrol. A mournful feeling took possession of their minds, and every one complained that a man should be so immeasurably below his destiny. Hope, however, was not yet lost, for the emperor still retained it. Accordingly, he continued his dispositions, and incessantly urged the advance of the marine. All flattered themselves that Villeneuve, penetrated with the greatness of his mission, would at length put to sea, join Ganteaume, disperse Cornwallis's fleet, and at length make his appearance in the Channel; but an unhappy fatality drew him on: he only left Ferrol to throw himself into Cadiz, and it was no longer possible to reckon on the support of his squadron. The emperor in vain attempted other expedients, and made repeated attempts to embark. Nothing could succeed for want of the covering squadron." Thus hopelessly baffled in his grand project, Napoleon at length led away his vast army, to meet, in more accessible battle-fields, the forces of the new coalition. Nelson, meanwhile, in his hot pursuit of the flying enemy, had taken a more southerly route, and so missed his mark. He reached Gibraltar three days before Calder's indecisive action off Cape Finisterre, and went on shore for the first time in upwards of two years. Within a few days he was again in headlong chase of the foe, up and down the shores of Spain, Portugal, France, and Ireland. Failing to trace them, he joined the channel squadron in the middle of August off Ushant. Then followed his visit of a few weeks to his home at Merton, in Surrey, where news reached him that the French and Spanish fleet, strongly reinforced, had passed in safety from Ferrol to Cadiz. To shatter this great naval armament was now the paramount object of the British government. Nelson's broken health and worn constitution gave him the fullest title to repose; but, at such a crisis, the thought of retirement was torture to him. Eager to follow a prey to which he had established a sort of title by virtue of his long watching and anxious pursuit, he went to the admiralty, where his offered services were at once and gladly accepted. Everybody felt that the destruction of the combined fleet was essential to the safety and repose of our own shores, and that the work belonged of right to Nelson. Hence the nation at large felt relieved of a load, and breathed more freely, when the welcome intelligence was announced that Nelson would forthwith take the command off Cadiz. "Choose your own officers," said the first lord of the admiralty, on giving the command to Nelson. "Choose them yourself, my lord; you cannot choose wrong. The same spirit animates the whole profession." Such was the splendid tribute rendered by the most competent living authority to the high efficiency of the naval service. On the 14th of September the admiral was again afloat at Portsmouth, on board his old favourite ship, the Victory. With a foreboding that the coming battle would be his last, he gave orders that his coffin, made from the mast of the Orient, the grim souvenir of his magnificent triumph seven years before, should be got ready for his reception. Touching manifestations of the popular feeling in his behalf greeted him at his departure on this his last cruise. Southey thus vividly describes the spontaneous burst of emotion, honourable alike to the great naval hero and to the humblest grades of his countrymen, who appreciated him so thoroughly: "He endeavoured to elude the populace by taking a bye-way to the beach, but a crowd collected in his train, pressing forward to obtain a sight of his face; many were in tears, and many knelt down before him, and blessed him as he passed. England has had many heroes, but never one who so entirely possessed the love of his fellow-countrymen as Nelson. All men knew that his heart was as humane as it was fearless; that there was not in his nature the slightest alloy of selfishness or cupidity; but that, with perfect and entire devotion, he served his country with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his strength, and therefore they loved him as truly and as fervently as he loved England. They pressed upon the parapet to gaze after him when his barge pushed off, and he was returning their cheers by waving his hat. . . . . The people would not be debarred from gazing, till the last moment, upon the hero, the darling hero, of England." Throughout the fleet which he was to command ran a thrill of liveliest emotion when the admiral arrived on the Cadiz station. He took every precaution to avoid alarming the enemy by a show of his force. Only a few frigates cruised inshore. These communicated by signal to the nearest outlying ship any movement of the combined fleets, and the signal was repeated until it reached the admiral, fifty or sixty miles seaward. On the 19th of October the welcome signal passed from masthead to masthead, "The enemy is coming out of port." Nelson had well matured his plan for the battle, which was a modification of his favourite principle of breaking the enemy's line. His fleet was to advance in two main columns of attack, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest two-deckers. Collingwood, the second in command, was to lead one line, and to cut off about a dozen of the rearmost ships of the enemy; Nelson himself would lead the other column, and penetrate the centre of the enemy's line; the advanced squadron was to cut the enemy's line three or four ships from the centre. In addition to more detailed instructions, and, as a complete substitute for them, every captain was informed that the chief aim of the admiral was a close and decisive action. To leave no risk of misunderstanding, the instructions wound up in the single comprehensive direction, "In case signals cannot be seen or clearly understood, no captain can do wrong if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy." That day and the next passed in anxious manœuvring to cut off a retreat into Cadiz, and to avoid scaring the enemy by a premature display of force. On the 21st, at daybreak, the whole of the combined fleet was clearly discerned from the deck of the Victory. It consisted of thirty-three line-of-battle ships, and seven large frigates. Nelson had twenty-seven sail of the line and four frigates. Besides this superiority of ten ships on the side of the enemy, they had an aggregate of 2626 guns, against only 2148 in the British fleet. They had, too, a much greater preponderance of large ships. Some four thousand picked soldiers, chiefly Swiss and Tyrolese riflemen, were dispersed through the combined fleet. Many of Nelson's ships were old and patched; those of the enemy were many of them new. But the smaller force in ships, crews, and guns, on the side of the British, was more than compensated by the quality of the men, by the practised skill and native daring of the sailors, the dash and enterprise of the officers, the never-failing resource of the admiral, and the confidence and enthusiasm he inspired in all serving under him. Only very light westerly breezes were stirring, so that but little ground had been covered since the enemy came out of harbour. They were about twenty miles from Cape Trafalgar, sailing in double line, when Nelson gave the signal to bear down and attack, according to previous instructions. He led the weather column of fourteen ships, Collingwood the lee column of thirteen. While the space between the hostile fleets was fast narrowing, Nelson withdrew for a few minutes to his cabin, and wrote a prayer, beseeching the Almighty to vouchsafe to his country a great and glorious victory. He wrote, also, a memorandum, setting forth the claims of Lady Hamilton on the bounty of the nation, in consideration of her services in inducing the Neapolitan government to befriend his fleet; and invoked the beneficence of his country in behalf of some dependent relatives. He then resumed his station on deck, confident of victory, yet impressed with a calm expectation of death. The presentiment that he was to fall in this battle had got a firm hold on his mind; yet he was thoroughly self-possessed, as in previous engagements. It was, however, observed that he had none of that glowing exhilaration of spirits which marked his every word and gesture at the battles of the Nile and Copenhagen. He told Captain Blackwood that he should not reckon the coming victory sufficiently complete unless twenty ships were captured. He then asked whether another signal was not wanting. On being told that the whole fleet seemed clearly to grasp his wishes, he gave instructions, on which up went his memorable last signal, "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY." Hearty responsive cheers resounded across the water from every ship in his fleet, an earnest of the strenuous part each man was about to play in working out the purpose of his beloved commander. "Now," said Nelson, the sublime shouts of acclamation yet ringing in the air, "I can do no more. We must trust to the Great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty." Slowly and majestically moved the double line of attack athwart the longer and stronger double line of defence. While waiting and watching for the enemy to put to sea, Nelson had sent six ships to Gibraltar for stores. He was, consequently, so far weakened in force that he had to give up his first intention of an advanced third column of attack. Collingwood, at the head of the lee column, was the first to get into action, breaking the enemy's line at the twelfth ship from the rear, exactly as was settled beforehand. Nelson, in the Victory, led the other column, and severed his opponents' line at their tenth ship from the van. The succeeding ships in both columns broke through, in all parts, astern of their leaders, and fought in the closest possible contact, the guns frequently grazing the sides of the ships with which they were contending. It was just noon when the battle fairly commenced. The enemy showed no colours until they found the need of them to indicate surrender. The ship with which the Victory first came in contact and got entangled was promptly silenced by the terrific broadsides that carried destruction through the length and breadth of her fighting decks. But her tops were filled with riflemen, who picked off scores of the Victory's crew. Nelson's conspicuous uniform, and especially the embroidered stars and emblems of the orders with which he was decorated, fixed the attention of one of these marksmen, who aimed with fatal precision. The ball entered the admiral's left breast, just under the shoulder, and penetrated to his back. He fell on his face in the blood of his secretary, who had been killed by a cannon ball on the same spot shortly before. Though fully conscious that the wound was mortal, he retained the coolest self-possession. When lifted up he noticed that the tiller-ropes were shot through, and ordered new ones to be rove immediately. Then, to spare his crew the shock and confusion which his fate might have occasioned, he covered his face and stars with his handkerchief. It was a quarter-past one when he fell. He was carried below among the throng of wounded, and lingered till half-past four, sensible to the last, and was cheered and sustained in his dying agonies by successive reports of more and more of the enemy's ships vanquished and captured. The hurrahs of his own ship's crew, that marked each fresh surrender of the enemy, lighted up a gleam of joy and triumph in the stiffening features of the dying admiral. Captain Hardy, towards the close of the fierce fight, went down below, and, taking the hand of his dying friend and chief, congratulated him upon having gained a complete and glorious victory. How many were taken, he was not yet quite sure, but not less than fourteen or fifteen. "That's well," whispered the expiring chief; "but I bargained for twenty." And the event proved that he had not over estimated the powers of the gallant men serving under him in his crowning battle. Twenty was the precise number of French and Spanish ships that had surrendered when the last guns were fired upon the enemy's retreating ships, a few minutes before Nelson breathed his last. The pangs of his death were assuaged by consolation, joy, and triumph, that found frequent expression in the utterance, "Thank God! I have done my duty." These were the last words spoken by the dying hero, as he closed a career of fame by a death of glory, and established a clear and unquestioned title to the first place in the proud roll of England's most illustrious naval commanders.

Some few other incidents in this momentous battle of Trafalgar claim a brief mention. The incontestable superiority of British seamen over those of France and Spain was illustrated over and over again in this fight. Villeneuve was a brave and skilful commander, and his ships were many of them fought with a desperation that seemed to imply that the motto of the crew was to conquer or die. But when British ships gripped their adversaries in fierce embrace, until opposing guns rubbed muzzle against muzzle, the Frenchmen never stood more than a single broadside at such murderous close quarters, but let down their lower deck portholes and ran from their guns. Our men, on the other hand, kept on coolly loading and firing until victory was secure. To diminish the risk of setting fire to the ships with which they were in contact, while plying them with double and even treble shotted broadsides, the firemen in the Victory stood ready with buckets of water, which they dashed into the holes made by the shot from their own ship in the hull of their adversary. Many Spaniards on the Santissima Trinidad, the huge four-decker which Nelson called his old acquaintance, when no longer able to stand the terrible broadsides of the Victory, jumped overboard and swam for safety to her bows and sides, and were helped in at her lower ports by their humane antagonists. The French admiral Villeneuve, and the Spanish vice-admiral Alava, were among the captured officers. Both Alava and his chief, Gravina, were mortally wounded. Dumanoir, the second in command of the French, got away with five ships, which had borne little part in the action. As they passed some shattered English ships, they poured in their broadsides; but their sails and masts being in sound trim, they escaped with little molestation from their crippled foe. They also exercised their valour against the captured ships of their Spanish allies, into which they sent several destructive broadsides. This piece of pitiless ferocity stirred the resentment and indignation of the Spanish prisoners to such a pitch, that they offered their services to fight with the English against seven French ships, which came out of Cadiz a few days afterwards to attempt the recapture of some of the prizes. Dumanoir and his four sound ships were intercepted by the English blockading squadron, under Sir Richard Strachan, off Rochfort, at whose hands they sustained a severe drubbing, and were all carried as prizes to England. The prisoners taken at Trafalgar were nearly twelve thousand in number, including military. The English loss in killed and wounded was fifteen hundred and eighty-seven. Bad weather came on the day after the battle. Many of the English ships, as well as their numerous prizes, were so crippled as to be almost helpless. Collingwood made the ablest dispositions which thorough seamanship could suggest to save his prizes and carry them into Gibraltar. But a gale came on and frustrated his precautions: several of the prizes foundered; some were wrecked; one escaped into Cadiz, its crew overpowering the small force in charge of it; the rest were scuttled or burnt, except four, which were taken into Gibraltar, and afterwards brought to England. The wounded Spaniards were sent into Cadiz, their government undertaking that they should not again serve in the war until duly exchanged. In requital for this courtesy, the Spaniards offered ample accommodation in their hospitals for any wounded British. And when the gale drove several of the prizes on shore, they treated the shipwrecked British prize-crews most hospitably, refusing to consider them as prisoners of war. These chivalrous international kindnesses were not without their weight in cementing that mutual goodwill which resulted eventually in an intimate alliance.

British supremacy on the seas was now effectually established, for the maritime force at Bonaparte's disposal was all but annihilated, and England was safe from invasion. Villeneuve was sent to England with the other prisoners. He was liberated on parole, and started for Paris, but never reached his destination. His death is surrounded with mystery; but the French government gave out that he died by his own hand, rather than survive the disgrace of his defeat. Napoleon's darling dream of "ships, colonies, and commerce" was now again utterly dissipated. He had just achieved a splendid success at Ulm, where he had captured an army of thirty thousand Austrians. He was on the road to Vienna, there to complete his triumph over the broken power of Austria, when news reached him of the utter ruin of his naval power at Trafalgar. Fouché thus describes his reception of the intelligence:—"The disaster of Trafalgar, by the ruin of our navy, completed the security of Great Britain. It was a few days after the capitulation of Ulm, and on the road to Vienna, that Napoleon received the dispatch containing the first intelligence of this misfortune. Berthier has since related to me that, while seated at the same table with Napoleon, he read the fatal paper, but, not daring to present it to him, he pushed it gradually, with his elbow, under his eye. Scarcely had Napoleon glanced through its contents, than he started up, full of rage, exclaiming, 'I cannot be everywhere!' His agitation was extreme, and Berthier despaired of tranquillizing him." He did his utmost to suppress authentic accounts of the disaster. The "Moniteur" informed France that "a tempest had deprived the nation of some of its ships, after a battle imprudently entered upon." A similar gloss was thrown over the ruinous catastrophe, in his address to the senate, somewhat later. But all Europe, France included, and the remotest nations of both hemispheres, soon learned that the naval power of Bonaparte had sustained a staggering and crushing blow. All his after triumphs and glories were dimmed by the dark shadows of this irretrievable defeat on the ocean. It is hardly beyond the bounds of sober matter of fact to assert that Wellington's splendid military successes in the Peninsular war, with the crowning glory of Waterloo and its momentous results, were sequences that time might never have yielded, if Nelson had never lived to cross Napoleon's path, and thwart his grand design of founding a naval as well as a military dominion. In England, the greatest naval victory recorded in history brought almost as much of sorrow as of rejoicing. The destruction of the combined fleets might be said to close the maritime war. Nelson's work was therefore done. But he had passed beyond the reach of all the rewards, and honours, and tokens of a nation's love, which his grateful countrymen would have delighted to shower upon him in unmeasured profusion. The burden of an inextinguishable debt lay, as it were, on the national conscience; and the grief of a severe bereavement hushed the jubilant expressions of the people's rejoicing for the great victory. Collingwood's official despatch to the admiralty reached London on the 7th of November. Everybody, from the highest to the humblest in the land, shared, in varying degrees, the feeling sentiments expressed in the despatch by that intimate friend and associate of the departed admiral. "I have not only to lament," said Collingwood, "in common with the British navy, and the British nation, in the fall of the commander-in-chief, the loss of a hero, whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country, but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years' intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell does not bring that consolation which, perhaps, it ought." So little public joy over a splendid victory was never before or since witnessed in England. Lord Malmesbury, telling the result of his own personal observations, says, "The illumination seemed dim, and as it were half clouded by the desire of expressing contending feelings; every common person in the streets, speaking first of their sorrow for him, and then of the victory." Every form of posthumous honour was lavishly heaped on the name and memory of the great patriot. His nearest kindred received a substantial portion of the rewards which would have fallen to him had he survived. His brother, who succeeded him in his peerage of a baron, was advanced to the higher rank of an earl, receiving at the same time a landed property and 6,000*l.* per annum. To each of his two sisters was given a sum of 10,000*l.* Among other forms of grateful homage to his memory was the pageant of a public funeral at St. Paul's, where a monument was soon afterwards placed in commemoration of his great public services. Statues, columns, and other monuments expressive of a nation's love were also reared in quick succession in many other places in the three kingdoms.



NELSON'S TOMB.

Napoleon broke up his camp at Boulogne, and abandoned his great scheme of invasion across the channel, in September. On the 23rd of that month he informed the senate that Austria and Russia had joined with the eternal enemies of the continent, and that all hopes of peace had vanished. He urged the immediate raising of eighty thousand conscripts, and started next day for the seat of war in Bavaria. The "army of England" startled Europe by the rapidity of its march from Boulogne to the Black Forest, and diffused something like a panic in most of the governments of Europe by its quick and easy mastery over every force that ventured to confront it. Before the tardy Russians could come to the rescue, an Austrian army of eighty thousand, that occupied a series of detached positions in Bavaria, was broken, captured, or destroyed. No less than thirty thousand men, under general Mack, surrendered at Ulm on the 20th of October, the day before the victory of Trafalgar had inflicted an irreparable blow on the French and Spanish fleets. Three weeks later the French entered Vienna, the Austrian troops under their emperor retreating into Moravia, there to effect a junction with the Russians. On the 2nd of December the allied armies of Austria and Russia, with whom were their respective emperors, were attacked by the French under Bonaparte and defeated with very heavy loss at the village of Austerlitz, near Brunn, in Moravia. One of the most awful incidents in modern warfare occurred in this battle. Some six thousand of the retreating Russians were crowded on a frozen lake. Bonaparte directed his artillery to ply the ice near the shore with round shot. By this means retreat was cut off, and presently the ice, loaded as it was with horses, men, and guns, gave way, and the whole division sank beneath the water. The loss of the allies in killed alone was fifteen thousand, and nearly forty thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the victors. This terrible disaster, following within a few weeks of the loss of another army at Ulm, broke up the coalition on which Pitt had built large expectations. Austria, under this crushing reverse, was stripped of three millions of her subjects, the inhabitants of the large territories now ceded to France under the treaty of Presburg. More than all that Austria had acquired by the peace of Campo Formio,—Venice, Dalmatia, and other Italian territory, was now wrested from her. The Russians made good their retreat into Poland, there to await the issue of negotiations then in progress at Berlin. The temporising Prussian government was playing its old game of fast and loose. It paid a heavy penalty this time for its slowness in making up its mind.

Pitt's end was fast approaching. His health was visibly impaired in the summer, before the close of that anxious session which witnessed the disgrace and impeachment of one of his principal colleagues and most steadfast friends. His jaded spirits rallied somewhat in the recess, until events on the continent took a bad turn. He refused to believe the first rumours that a large Austrian army had capitulated at Ulm. "It is a mere fiction; do not believe a word of it," said he to Lord Malmesbury. But next day a Dutch newspaper was brought to him containing the terms of Marshal Mack's surrender. He carried the paper to Malmesbury, who translated the evil tidings. The shock called up a look which was not his own, and gave a foreboding of its fatal effect on his worn and exhausted frame. Intense anxiety gnawed at his heart, misery was pictured in his face, his food ceased to nourish him, his sleep came only by fits and starts. Trafalgar brought its great consolations at the same time that it claimed regrets as deep. No one better appreciated its present and remote consequences than the great statesman whose grasp of the helm of state was now fast relaxing, under a premature exhaustion of commanding faculties spent in the public service. But the great coalition, from which he expected so much, had collapsed on the fatal day of Austerlitz. That event, which he full well knew would confirm French ascendancy on the continent, wrought the ominous change in his countenance, which one of his most intimate friends used to call "the Austerlitz look." He died in his forty-seventh year, at his villa on Putney Heath, on the 25th of January, 1806, being the twenty-fifth anniversary of his first entry into parliament. He had filled the place of first minister of the crown for a longer period than any of his predecessors, and yet he was younger at the close of his career than most English premiers at the outset of their administration. When parliament assembled on the 21st of January it was known that he was dying, and the opposition refrained in consequence from the attacks on the policy of ministers which had been prepared. There was therefore no debate on the address on the king's speech. On the 27th it was moved, that the great services of the departed statesman should be honoured with a public funeral and a monument in Westminster Abbey. Fox opposed this, in a speech marked by good taste and a sensitive appreciation of what is due to a dead rival.' Windham was averse to conferring public honours, because it had not been the usage of mankind in general to grant the highest rewards except where merit had been crowned with success. Other speakers, less reticent and more invidious, supported the opposition, which, however, was overborne by a large majority. The funeral took place in February, with more than the customary state ceremonial, and amid touching testimonies of the grief of Pitt's more intimate political associates. His grave was appropriately chosen close by that of his illustrious father, who had also received the same posthumous honours in testimony of the public gratitude, and close, too, to the spot where his great rival, Fox, was soon to repose. Like his father, Pitt died poor, and his debts were defrayed at the public expense. His too partial admirers were prone to boast that his great debts were the proofs of his great virtues. He who had made many rich had not enriched himself. He who had made scores of peers, and bestowed riches and titles among those who sought them, died plain "Mr." himself, untainted with ill-gotten gains and burdened with debts. The glowing picture, however, loses much of its warmth when it is remembered that as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, Pitt's income was never below 6,000*l.* a year, besides which he had another 4,000*l.* per annum since 1792, in his sinecure capacity of lord warden of the Cinque Ports. This large income was squandered on several expensive establishments, in which the most reckless profusion among a large staff of servants passed without any control, check, or rebuke, on his part. He had neither wife, children, nor needy kindred to drag him into wasteful expenditure, so that he really stands inexcusable in the very point in which his too ardent admirers most forcibly insisted on his merit.

Before the war with the French Republic, Pitt's bearing on all political questions was that of a firm and consistent friend and supporter of civil and religious liberty. Then came upon him, as upon nineteen-twentieths of his countrymen, a horror of political innovation. He went with the stream in a backward course, and with him went most of the liberal party, lending him their hearty support in his gagging bills, his suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, his restraint on public meetings, and all the reactionary severities which were then thought indispensable as barriers against the advancing tide of democracy. His expenditure of the public income was of a piece for wastefulness with the reckless profusion of his personal outgoings. A prodigious national debt, that his successors despair of wiping off, threatens to remind remotest posterity of his reckless prodigality. His great talents, patriotic intentions, liberal opinions, and pre-eminent moral and intellectual qualifications for the post of parliamentary leader in prosperous and tranquil times, still left him conspicuously deficient in the face of great national emergencies. In the earlier part of his career he gained the confidence of the nation by a frugal and liberal policy. In an after epoch of peril and trial, the sturdy assertor of the people's rights, the steadfast reformer of political abuses, the rigid economist of public income, the strenuous promoter of the commercial and financial interest of the nation, he whose name, before the French Revolution, was associated with freedom, philanthropy, mild constitutional administration, and temperate reform, was suddenly changed, by the shock of a great political convulsion, in a neighbouring state, into the upholder of arbitrary rule at home and abroad, the originator of harsh laws for the stifling of written or spoken opinion; and the lavish squanderer of the national income, not alone of the critical times in which his own lot was cast, but of the countless generations to follow.

The death of the premier led to an immediate and sweeping change in every department of the administration. The king tried several alternatives, before making up his mind to the distasteful expedient of a Whig ministry. Hawkesbury was first invited to become head of the government. He declined, and withdrew altogether from public life. But although he declined the burdens he unscrupulously grasped at the sweets of office, carrying with him into his retirement his late chief's lucrative sinecure of lord warden of the Cinque Ports. Sidmouth, too, was invited to form a ministry. With every wish to comply, he knew too well that he could not hope to take the lead. He elected, therefore, to take a less responsible place than that of chief in the new cabinet. According to constitutional usage, Fox ought next to have received the invitation. But the king's strong personal prejudice against the sturdy champion of democratic principles rendered such a step too humiliating for majesty to contemplate. He sent therefore for Grenville, who filled the place of second leader of opposition. Grenville would not undertake the task, except on condition that Fox should hold a chief place in the cabinet. "I know all that; make your arrangements accordingly," said the stubborn old king, who contrived at last to stifle his purpose of keeping Fox out of office. So many men of mark were included in the new administration that it gained the title, half facetious and half complimentary, of "the ministry of all the talents." Fox took the post of foreign secretary; Grenville, of course, was premier; Windham had the war department; Spencer was home secretary; Sidmouth became lord privy seal; Erskine, lord chancellor; Earl Fitzwilliam, president of the council; Grey (as Lord Howick) became head of the admiralty; and Lord Henry Petty (afterwards Lansdowne) was chancellor of the exchequer. Among secondary posts, Romilly was solicitor-general; Pigott, attorney-general; and Sheridan's brilliant but erratic genius gained him the post of treasurer of the navy. Sidmouth was so little in accord with his new colleagues on most of the leading questions of the day, that the Whig chiefs were much blamed for taking him among them. They accepted him, not for his own sake, but for the votes he could command. His biographer says his fifty followers in the Commons formed "a species of armed neutrality, far too powerful to be overlooked." He not only gained a seat in the cabinet for himself, but bargained for the admission into it of Ellenborough, the lord chief justice. This arrangement was jocosely described at the time as resembling "a faithful old steward, with his mastiff, watching new servants, lest they should have some evil design against the old family mansion." The admission of the chief justice to political office was strongly censured, as an infringement of the constitutional principle, that a judge should be absolutely independent. The ministers defended the appointment, on the ground that it was in accordance with frequent precedents down to the reign of George II. Romilly, however, admitted that it was certainly very desirable that a judge should not take any part in politics. Wilberforce argued that the decision in our courts of justice, especially in political causes, ought to be absolutely free from all taint of that suspicion which could not fail to attach to them while the presiding judge was invested with political as well as judicial functions. Canning made an effective speech on the same side, advancing, among other objections, that the attention of a lord chief justice would be distracted in the discharge of political duties, and instead of building his fame on the strict and honourable administration of justice, he would be aspiring after other objects of ambition. It was matter of surprise and not a little unfavourable comment that Grenville retained his old and lucrative post of auditor of the exchequer, even after he became first lord of the treasury. The two posts were even more incompatible than Ellenborough's judgeship in conjunction with a place in the cabinet. In deference to murmurs on this head, the new premier got an Act passed, empowering him to discharge his auditorship by deputy during the term of his own tenure of office as first lord of the treasury. The "ministry of all the talents" soon gave other proofs that they were not a ministry of all the political virtues. They included in their body some very discordant elements, that afforded poor promise of harmonious co-operation. Fox and his adherents were advanced liberals, committed to the promotion of large political reforms, Catholic emancipation, reduced taxation, the freedom of the blacks, and the restoration of peace. Sidmouth and Ellenborough were rank Tories, averse to any change in the parliamentary system, and as hostile as the king himself to the notion of political equality between Catholics and Protestants. Grenville and Windham filled a middle station, between the extreme sections of this composite ministry.

The budget included provisions which invited hard hits at the consistency of those members of the cabinet who, before they took office, were clamorous for retrenchment, reduction of taxation, and the termination of the war. They had now to share the odium which fell on the whole administration for its heavy increase in the income-tax, which was now raised from six and a-half to ten per cent. Every income down to 50*l.* a year was brought under this obnoxious tax of two shillings in the pound. The total supplies demanded were upwards of sixty-two millions, of which eighteen were raised by a loan. In consequence of the charges in the previous year of malversation in the admiralty, all the spending and collecting departments were now subjected to new checks, to prevent any use of the public money for the profit of officials charged with its custody. The credit of these very desirable though not splendid reforms belongs to the young chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Henry Petty. He astonished the House by revelations of arrears in the auditing of public accounts, extending back almost a quarter of a century. The accounts relating to army expenditure remained unexamined since 1782; these embraced a total of 534,000,000*l.* The new finance minister charged his predecessors with neglect to check dishonesty and rapine that had prevailed through that long term of years on the part of contractors and officials in collusion with them. Two bills were passed, one for the West Indian colonies and the other for the kingdom in general, for the more effectual prevention of such delinquencies. Payment by fees, the fruitful source of enormous abuse in the customs department, was abolished and fixed salaries substituted. These, with salutary administrative reforms in the financial business of the East Indian establishment, in which similar abuses had long been rampant, entitled the much abused "ministry of all the talents" to the gratitude of the country.

Windham's army bill, an important measure of reform in the position and prospects of the rank and file of the service, absorbed a large share of the session. The new secretary for war had rendered himself not a little unpopular by his unfriendly criticism and disparaging and contemptuous remarks at the expense of the volunteers. Any proposal on his part which tended to discredit existing provision for the military defence of the country was accordingly accepted with the utmost suspicion, and subjected to the severest scrutiny. The aim of his bill was to make the regular military service more attractive, so that it might at all times be practicable to fill the ranks of the army by enlistment to any limit the public exigencies might call for, and thus to diminish the need for either volunteers or militia. Enlistments, instead of being for life, as hitherto, were to be for twenty-one years only, with the right on the part of the soldier of claiming his discharge at the end of specified terms of years, which were, for infantry, at the close of each period of seven years, and for the cavalry and artillery after ten, sixteen, or twenty-one years. Pensions and allowances were to be increased and the rigours of discipline softened. The old stock arguments against large standing armies and in favour of those more constitutional establishments to which Pitt had given the greatest encouragement, viz., the militia, yeomanry, fencibles, and volunteers, formed the staple of many debates; but in the end ministers carried their measure through both houses.

Lord Melville's trial by his peers, on the impeachment carried the year before, occupied many days between the close of April and the middle of June. The three principal charges in the articles of impeachment were, first, that he had applied to his own personal use and profit various sums of public money, entrusted to him as treasurer of the navy; second, that he had allowed his paymaster, Trotter, illegally to withdraw monies from the Bank of England and to lodge the same with private bankers; and third, that he had fraudulently allowed Trotter to employ on private purposes the sums thus transferred, with the view to personal profit, in which both had participated. The verdict of "not guilty," pronounced at the sixteenth sitting on this trial, occasioned not a little scandal; many thought it contrary to plain, strong, cumulative evidence. Some spiteful but fruitless attempts were made to impeach the marquis of Wellesley, who had recently returned from India, after filling for eight years the high office of governor-general. His administration had been conspicuously able, energetic, and successful, and had added largely to the resources and the power of British government in the East.

The shafts of scandal struck at yet higher game in the course of the session. The prince of Wales had lived apart from his wife, after little more than a year from their ill-assorted marriage. The king had evinced the utmost kindness to the unfortunate princess; and for years had uniformly turned a deaf ear to the injurious imputations that were heaped upon her by the prince. But allegations of a most startling character were now advanced, which, if true, might affect not only the honour of the royal family but even the succession to the throne. The story ran that the princess had given birth to a child at her residence at Blackheath. After some formal depositions, made by Sir John and Lady Douglas, who in the interest of the prince had long acted the part of spies on every movement of the princess, a royal warrant was issued, appointing a commission of four principal cabinet ministers to investigate the charges. For six months this inquiry, together with the several references from the commissioners to the king and from the king to the cabinet, supplied abundant material for indelicate rumours. In the end the princess was entirely acquitted of the imputation of criminal conduct. It turned out that she had foolishly adopted the child in question and behaved towards it with a suspicious fondness. In some other respects the conduct of her Royal Highness had been wanting in the dignity and reserve befitting her exalted station. On the advice of the cabinet the king wrote to her, exonerating her from the graver charges, but seriously admonishing her on her unbecoming deportment, as shown not only by the depositions of several witnesses, but also in her own letter to himself in refutation of the charges. The notorious profligacy of the prince, coupled with what looked like malicious conduct towards his forsaken wife, redoubled the odium with which he was regarded in those social circles where strict moral and religious principles held sway. The whole ministry too, from the time when they drifted into the investigation, inevitable though it was, suffered in reputation with their client; while public morals received a shock from the prurient and eager excitement to which the prodigious scandal furnished nutriment.

The most signal parliamentary transaction of the short-lived Fox-Grenville ministry remains to be narrated. In the course of the session, resolutions condemnatory of the inhuman traffic in slaves were carried through both Houses, by larger majorities than those which through the preceding twenty years had almost uniformly defeated the holy labours of the Abolitionists. Two bills were now passed: one to suppress forthwith the traffic in slaves between British subjects and foreign nations, and the other to prevent any extension of the existing trade between the African slave-markets and British possessions. Both these measures were mere instalments of that entire abolition of negro slavery for which Clarkson, Wilberforce, Fox, and other philanthropists, had perseveringly laboured for nearly a quarter of a century, and which was not finally accomplished in its completeness until after the lapse of twenty-eight more weary years of similar effort. The nation had gradually but slowly come round to the conviction that the inhuman traffic ought to cease, but the selfish interests of planters and merchants were barriers too powerful to be overthrown in a hurry. Hazy notions floated loosely in the minds of the governing classes that it was dangerous to meddle with established institutions. It was argued that all security for other property would be undermined from the moment that property in slaves was wrenched from the grasp of its owners.

But more enlightened views were gaining ground steadily; Wilberforce and his earnest coadjutors never lost faith in the ultimate triumph of the good cause to which they had dedicated their lives. For the current year, Fox was convinced it would be useless to attempt to carry a measure of total abolition; yet he paved the way for such a measure by the two bills already described, and by a further resolution that the trade in slaves was "contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, and that effectual measures should be taken for putting an end to it, in such a manner and at such a period as might be deemed advisable." His speech in support of this resolution was marked by an impressive earnestness that dwelt the more firmly in the remembrance of his hearers from the circumstance that it was almost the last occasion of his addressing the House. In the course of this speech he made the touching declaration, "so fully am I impressed with the vast importance and necessity of attaining what will be the object of my motion this day, that if, during almost forty years that I have enjoyed a seat in parliament, I had been so fortunate as to accomplish this, and this only, I should think I had done enough, and should retire from public life with comfort and conscious satisfaction that I had done my duty." Lord Castlereagh, the Liverpool members, and others representing west India interests, vehemently opposed the motion, but this time to no purpose. It was carried by a majority of a hundred and fourteen votes against fifteen in the Commons, and by forty-one against twenty in the Lords. Subsequently a joint address from both Houses to the king urged his majesty to enter into communication with foreign powers, in order to secure their co-operation in the suppression of the traffic in slaves.

Fox's position as foreign secretary was looked upon from the first as significant of an altered attitude on the part of the British government towards France. He had for a series of years condemned the foreign policy of his great rival, and had treated with marked asperity the ungracious bearing of Pitt towards such overtures with a view to peace as had from time to time been made by the French government. It was therefore matter of no small surprise to the public that he heartily concurred in and ably supported the measures of his colleagues for the vigorous prosecution of war. The expenditure provided for under the heads of naval and military establishments had never been heavier than in the year in which Fox was one of the chief ministers of the crown. It was nevertheless true that the most earnest purpose of his mind was to restore peace on a safe and honourable basis; but he soon discovered that this was no easy task. He was hardly installed in office when a Frenchman arrived from the continent, and addressed to him a request for an interview on urgent public business. Fox gave the man an audience, and was presently astounded by the statement that a plot was on foot to get rid of the oppressor of Europe. It is supposed the man was in reality an agent of the secret police in Paris, and that his story was merely a ruse to sound the purposes of the new ministry in London. Fox treated the disclosure, whether true or false, with the sternest indignation, and sent forthwith to the French government a statement of the alien's revelation, keeping the man in durance, to be dealt with according to circumstances. Talleyrand wrote in reply, bestowing high praises and compliments on Fox personally, and conveying to him a message from Bonaparte, who appears to have entertained a strong liking for the sturdy Whig leader. "Tell him," said the emperor to his minister, "that in this act I recognise the principles of honour and virtue in Mr. Fox. Thank him in my name, and tell him that whether the policy of his sovereign cause us to remain yet a long time at war, or whether a quarrel so useless for humanity have that speedy termination which both nations ought to desire, I rejoice at the new character which, by this proceeding, the war has already taken, and which is the presage of what may be expected from a cabinet whose principles I estimate according to those of Mr. Fox, one of the men best formed to feel in all things what is beautiful and what is truly great." Despite these and shoals more of honeyed words and phrases, Bonaparte's desire for peace soon proved to be less firm than his resolve to make very small, if any, sacrifices to secure that blessing. His ambition, fanned by recent successes, found new fields for its gratification. He had now entered on a project of extensive king-making, with the object of securing fealty and service from a band of vassal sovereigns, standing towards himself in a similar relation to that which bound the feudal nobles in the middle ages to their monarch. His German allies, the electors of Bavaria and Wurtemburg, were the first to reap the benefit of his new project. He advanced them to the rank of kings, and rewarded their adhesion to his cause by giving to each a large increase of territory at the expense of humiliated Austria. And while the prestige of his great victory at Austerlitz was still fresh, he easily persuaded or coerced all the petty German principalities to coalesce, with Bavaria and Wurtemburg under the name of the Confederation of the Rhine, in a new league, entirely independent of Austria and Prussia. With equal facility he caused himself to be chosen the Protector of this federation of states, and his armies forthwith occupied all the principal military stations within its limits. The military force of these German territories was at his disposal, and it was not long before he turned it to account in his campaign against the Prussians. Meanwhile the crushing reverses that had robbed Austria of large territories and deprived her of the faintest semblance of influence in neighbouring German states, led her despoiled monarch to give up the pretentious title of "emperor of Germany." Henceforth he assumed the more modest style of "emperor of Austria." With Germany at his feet, the victorious French emperor now took some further steps in his king-making scheme. At the opening of the year he placed his brother Joseph on the throne of Naples, from which he expelled the reigning sovereign, Ferdinand, for the unpardonable offence of again entering into alliance with the English. His proclamation, addressed to the army that accompanied the new King Joseph, arrogantly announced that he had suppressed the reigning dynasty because its existence was incompatible with the honour of his throne! And the army charged with putting this decree of confiscation into force had its special instruction for the treatment of such English forces as might be found in southern Italy:—"Soldiers, fling into the waves, if they wait for you, the weak battalions of the tyrant of the seas." In June another brother, Louis, was made king of Holland. At a somewhat later date Jerome, a third brother, was placed on the throne of the new kingdom of Westphalia, wrested from Prussia and neighbouring states. French generals and other principal officers were at the same time advanced to titles and dignities as princes and dukes, each with the substantial appendage of a landed estate in those Italian or German territories which were lately annexed to the French empire. There was little room for surprise that now in the plenitude of his success and his power, Bonaparte was not in such a yielding and conciliatory mood as might have disposed him to treat for peace on conditions acceptable to the British government. Fox's letter drew from him the declaration that he desired peace with England, and that he would be ever ready to conclude it on the basis of the treaty of Amiens. There were fears in England that Fox would make peace at any price, even on conditions as adverse to his country as those accepted by the Addington ministry, and now again proposed on the side of France. He promptly dispelled the injurious reflection on his patriotism. He stated in the House that the first wish of his heart was for peace, but for such a peace only as should not abate one jot of the national honour. On the 26th of March he informed Talleyrand that a safe and lasting peace, and not a mere uncertain truce, was what the British government had in view. He proposed as the basis of negotiations the mutual acceptance of the following principle: "That the object of both parties should be a peace honourable for both and for their respective allies, and at the same time of a nature to secure, as far as is in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe." Then followed a protracted negotiation, in which the blunt straightforward proposals of the Englishman were met by evasive, astute, involved diplomatic fence and chicane on the side of the wily French diplomatist. Fox insisted that Russia, then in alliance with England, should be included as a party in the negotiation. Talleyrand, on the other hand, persistently argued for the exclusion of Russia. He counted on persuading each power separately to accede to terms which the two in conjunction would be pretty sure to reject. Lord Yarmouth, one of the many English detained as prisoners since the outbreak of the war, was now released from durance, and employed as the medium of communication between Fox and Talleyrand. But it soon appeared that he placed too large an interpretation on some of the dark diplomatic utterances of the Frenchman. Lord Lauderdale was next accredited to Paris to carry on the discussion. All the summer and autumn passed without any settlement of terms. It is quite clear there was little desire for peace on the side of Bonaparte. The main if not the sole purpose of negotiation on his part was to occupy the attention of the British government with delusive prospects of peace, and thus keep it clear from any entanglement with Prussia, at the time when he was maturing plans for dealing a crushing blow at the latter power. He offered to restore Hanover to the British crown, and to add to it Hamburg and the other Hanse towns, on condition that the English would yield to his brother Joseph the island of Sicily, which they held for their unfortunate ally, Ferdinand, who was dispossessed of his continental territory. The Cape of Good Hope had been recaptured by the English early in the year. Talleyrand intimated that France would consent that this possession and Malta should remain as permanent appendages of the British crown. He however claimed the restoration of most of the other British conquests in the East and West Indies, made at the expense of France, Spain, and Holland, but showed no disposition to make corresponding sacrifices of French conquests in Europe. Fox died while yet the tedious conference was still in progress, and the discussion ended in October by the withdrawal of the English envoy from Paris.

Fox's health broke down early in the session. In April he was warned by his medical adviser that he ought to retire for a time from the worry and excitement of his official occupations. This was to him a sentence scarcely less hard than death itself. He preferred to stand his ground at all hazards, and to play his part in the two great public questions on which he had set his heart,—the abolition of the slave-trade and the establishment of peace on a sound basis. One of these wishes was, in effect, gratified, although not in an immediate consummation of all the aims of the Abolitionists. The probable failure of the peace conferences for the present was well known to him some weeks before he sank. He died on the 13th of September, in the 59th year of his age. Parliament was not sitting, but his colleagues ran no risk of after censure in giving him the honours of sepulture and a monument at the public expense. The spot chosen for his last resting-place was close to the tomb of his illustrious rival, who died in the same year,—

> "Where, taming thought to human pride!
> The mighty chiefs sleep side by side."

Alike through ill and good report Fox had stood by his first principles, as the never-swerving advocate of civil and religious freedom. His foremost parliamentary adherents, scared by the sight or the sound of breakers ahead on the political horizon, fell away, for the most part, until the reappearance of smooth waters gave assurance that onward movement had ceased to be perilous. Courteous to a fault, if possible, he was yet so little of the courtier that he incurred the bitterest animosity of the king through a long term of years, rather than bate one jot of his loyalty to principles and opinions then held to be hostile to the interests of rulers. He was beloved in his life and lamented in his death beyond the circle of his party. Even the intolerant and bigoted king who had hated him through almost the whole term of his long public career, forgot old grievances and came to like him at the last. His manners were gentle and engaging, and his sympathies always enlisted on the side of the oppressed and suffering. Ever simple and natural, his most magnificent flights of oratory, that warmed and kindled his hearers, carrying them along in the torrents of an impetuous and convincing eloquence, were uniformly marked by the absence of artifice and tinsel or the studied graces of the professional orator. He had his vices, that detracted from the splendour of his genius and dulled the lustre of his public and private virtues; but his vices were the fashion of his time and of the highest circles among his countrymen, up to the heir-apparent to the throne, and should therefore be measured by a not too exacting standard. Hard drinking, such as in our time is unknown in respectable society, with gaming through the night for heavy stakes, and other fashionable immoralities, fixed no serious blot on the reputation of a gentleman in the eighteenth century or in the earlier years of the nineteenth. Burke's genial tribute to Fox's great merits—that "he was a man born to be loved," a tribute that found, as it were, spontaneous utterance, against the will of the speaker, when he renounced a deeply cherished friendship at the same time that he foreswore the political creed of his friend,—affords weighty evidence that there remains, after taking full account of his failings, a large balance of good to the credit side of Fox's account in the reckoning of his countrymen. On his decease some changes necessarily ensued in the distribution of ministerial posts. His nephew, Lord Holland, and the premier's brother, Mr. Thomas Grenville, were brought into the cabinet; Lord Howick became foreign secretary, and Sidmouth filled the presidency of the council in the room of Earl Fitzwilliam, whose health had failed.

In the course of the year 1806 several detached sections of our naval and military forces came into collision with the enemy on widely separated scenes of action. A small fleet under Admiral Popham conveyed a military force to the Cape of Good Hope. The expedition reached its destination in January, and conducted its business so well that in a few days British authority was re-established throughout the settlement, without bloodshed. The Dutch accepted terms of submission, and their troops were promptly shipped away to Holland. Acting on imperfect knowledge of the means of defence possessed by the Spanish South American colonies, on the estuary of the river Plata, Popham now took upon himself the grave responsibility of venturing an attack on Buenos Ayres. He induced Baird, the military commander, to spare a detachment of the troops which had made so easy a conquest of Cape Colony, and in his passage across the South Atlantic called at St. Helena, where also he contrived to get a small reinforcement. The total military force, including marines, was still only sixteen hundred men. Towards the end of June a landing was easily effected in the vicinity of Buenos Ayres; and the facility with which this small body of men, under command of General Beresford, gained possession of the city, seemed at first fully to warrant the confidence with which Popham entered upon the unauthorized attempts. Much valuable property belonging to the Spanish government, including a substantial sum in dollars, fell into the hands of the captors. This was forthwith shipped off to England, with despatches announcing the easy conquest, and inviting the mercantile community to send out cargoes. But reverses followed fast on the heels of this prosperous beginning. In the month of August the Spaniards mustered from distant stations a force too strong for Beresford's handful of soldiers. After some hard fighting in the streets and principal square of the city, the British offered to lay down their arms, on condition of being allowed to pass unmolested to their ships. Their surrender, given and accepted on that understanding, was nevertheless treated as an unconditional submission, as soon as they had parted with their arms. They were marched into the interior and detained as prisoners of war. Their liberation, a year subsequently, followed the yet more disastrous failure of a second expedition against the Spanish settlements, of which further mention will be made in due course. One great consolatory feature marks both attempts: the men behaved with admirable courage and endurance in the face of insurmountable difficulties, and merited a better fate than that in which the blundering of their leaders involved them.

When the French again overran Naples and placed Joseph Bonaparte on the throne, the ex-king, Ferdinand, retired with his court to Sicily, where they owed their safety exclusively to British protection. Sir John Stuart commanded a British army in Sicily, and Sir Sydney Smith directed the naval force which prevented an invasion of the French from the mainland. The people in Calabria rose in insurrection against their French masters, and their king urged Stuart to send them help. He crossed over on the 1st of July with five thousand men, and advanced against a body of the enemy, reported to be of inferior numbers. The opposing forces met on the 4th, about ten miles inland, near the town of Maida. The French numbered seven thousand. Their general, Regnier, was so confident of an easy victory, that he came down from his strong position on high ground and advanced across a level tract, in extended line, to attack the enemy whom he rashly estimated as of small account. The event must have impressed him with profound astonishment. The battle lasted less than half an hour, and resulted in the complete defeat and rout of the French. Their own general tells the story of their discomfiture with a candour that redeems his presumption. As they neared the British line, each side fired a volley, and then moved forward to the charge. Just as they were about to cross bayonets, the soldiers of the 1st French regiment wavered, turned, and fled, hotly pursued by their enemy. The 42nd regiment, forming a continuation of the first line, caught the contagious tremour, hesitated, and turned their backs, only to receive the vigorous thrusts of an enemy they could not evade. Some Polish regiments, forming the second line, were equally averse to the close encounter with cold steel. The French lost two thousand men under the thrusts of British bayonets, and many more of them, who flung away their arms and escaped to the hills and woods, were set upon and slaughtered by the peasantry. The English loss was not more than fifty in killed, and three times as many wounded. This brilliant episode, however, had no lasting effect on the course of events in Italy. The French promptly advanced larger forces into Calabria, in the face of which a small contingent could do nothing. Stuart therefore withdrew into Sicily. The battle of Maida was an affair of no account, measured against the crash of mighty armies, such as decided the fate of kingdoms a few months earlier and a few months later. But it was of first-rate importance to the British troops, from its effect in confirming the self-reliance already engendered in their minds by the campaign in Egypt, after a succession of dispiriting experiences in preceding campaigns nearer home. The memory of this brilliant passage of arms gave heart to many a battalion of untried men, who soon afterwards met most worthily the shock of war on a larger scale, in contest with the seasoned veterans who had carried the eagles of France victoriously into most of the capitals of Europe.

The navy had its share of successes this year. A French fleet of eleven sail of the line, with several frigates, eluded the blockading squadrons, and got away from Europe. Half this force steered for the West Indies, and was met, on the 6th of February, at St. Domingo, by a squadron of seven ships of the line under Admiral Duckworth. A stubborn fight ensued, resulting in the surrender of three of the largest French ships and the destruction of two more. The smaller craft escaped. The other French squadron was bound for the Cape, but on learning the capture of that settlement, altered its course, and eventually found its way to the West Indies. Only one ship returned to France; another was wrecked near home; the rest perished in an awful gale on the coast of North America, at a time when a British squadron was in earnest quest of them. On the 13th of March two of Admiral Linois' ships, after three years' successful marauding in the Indian seas, were just nearing the French coast when they were encountered and taken by Admiral Warren's squadron. In September a fleet of five frigates and some smaller craft, carrying troops for the West Indies, got safely away from Rochfort. Most of these were snapped up by a squadron under Hood, after a running fight of several hours' duration. Popham was recalled from the scene of his unauthorized operations in the river Plate, tried by court-martial for acting without orders, and for weakening the small force which had in its keeping the important settlement of the Cape, and for these errors of judgment was severely reprimanded.

The autumn and winter brought about yet fuller extensions of French dominion. The mean-spirited king of Prussia had long hesitated between the hazards of war with Bonaparte and the benefits of an alliance with him. He had deferred his decision too long. Had he made common cause, a year earlier, with Austria and Russia, as was expected, the weight of his arms must have turned the scale and reversed the fatal issues of Ulm and Austerlitz. But Bonaparte dazzled his vision with a tempting bait—the annexation of Hanover to the Prussian monarchy. Such a prize, however, was not to be had gratis. Prussia must render a substantial service to France in requital for so great a boon. She must give up Anspach and Baireuth, which Bonaparte had decided to incorporate in the new kingdom of Westphalia, of which his brother Jerome was already designated king. British commerce, too, must be excluded from Prussian ports, as from all other avenues to the continent over which France exercised control. Acceptance of the plunder would involve present risk of reprisals and hostility on the part of the English, but greed of extended territory and reliance on the protection of the controller of many nations overcame all scruples. After long and painful indecision, King Frederick William closed with the bargain, and entered on possession of Hanover. He, however, found but small satisfaction in his ill-gotten gains. His ports were forthwith closed to other commerce besides that which he was bound to exclude. British cruisers hovered about his coasts, and established a blockade at the mouths of the Elbe, Weser, Ems, and Trave. His subjects murmured at the loss of foreign trade, and public opinion throughout Germany was nowise tender on his servile and selfish policy. The French, on his frontiers, were arrogant and rapacious at the expense of several German nationalities. A bookseller at Nuremberg was shot by sentence of a French court-martial, for publishing a pamphlet that told the Germans of their abasement. A thrill of indignation passed through Germany and other lands, and even the time-serving Prussian king concluded that there was greater danger in subserviency than in carrying a bold front. To fan the flame of his smouldering disgust, news came that Bonaparte intended to give back Hanover to its rightful sovereign, as part of the price of the peace then under discussion. This was too much for Frederick William's patience. He quarrelled with Bonaparte, entered into an alliance with Russia, and even began to talk of restitution to England, if only he could draw a handsome subsidy from that quarter. But before the Russians reached the scene of imminent war, and before terms of conciliation with outraged England could be settled, the shock of war shattered the degenerate armies of Prussia. On the 14th of October, 1806, a quarter of a million of men mingled in battle, under the din of seven hundred pieces of artillery, on the fatal fields of Jena and Auerstadt. The Prussians left twenty thousand on the field, and thirty thousand prisoners in the hands of the victors. Some regiments retreated with their sovereign to the northern confines of the kingdom; a greater number broke and dispersed in utter rout. Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph, robbed the palace and the tomb of Frederick the Great of their proudest trophies, and in a few subsequent weeks gained possession of most of the fortresses of the kingdom without any fighting, and with a promptitude that remains a standing marvel to after times. The sudden and complete collapse of a great military monarchy, under the crash of the first collision with its invaders, following on the long list of triumphs that fell to the legions of France over all the armies of Europe, raised in many a thoughtful mind the conviction that Bonaparte was an instrument of vengeance raised up by Providence to disperse terrors and desolations upon degenerate nations. With Prussia at his feet, Napoleon had still to meet the gathering forces of Russia. Pending the coming conflict with his only remaining continental foe, he now entered on a new species of warfare with enemies beyond the reach of his conquering armies. On the 21st of November he fulminated the famous Berlin decree, dated from the palace of the kings of Prussia. The British Isles were declared to be in a state of blockade, though not one hostile ship was cruising off their shores, and all the Continent was charged to hold no intercourse with the tyrants of the sea, under pain of French vengeance. All merchandize from Britain and its dependencies was declared contraband. The property of British subjects, wherever found, was declared lawful prize. Europe was paralysed with dread and with a superstitious sentiment that Bonaparte's armies were not to be withstood. From the depths of humiliation and despair regeneration was to come, but not yet. Disunited Germany gained strength, in the long run, out of its deep abasement. Common suffering went far to efface mutual jealousies between its numerous separate states and nationalities, and in the end blended discordant and hostile interests into one general community of patriotic sentiment. In the darkest hour of disaster and humiliation some few true patriots nourished the conviction that brighter days were in store. Blucher, who eight years later bore a conspicuous part in wresting from the grasp of the arrogant victors the spoils they were now sending from Berlin to Paris, kept heart and hope through this darkest crisis of his country's history. While a prisoner in Hamburg, he told Bourrienne, Bonaparte's minister, and afterwards his biographer: "I place great reliance on the public spirit of Germany; on the enthusiasm which prevails in our universities. The chances of war are constantly changing. Even defeats contribute to nourish the sentiments of honour and nationality. You may depend upon it, that when once a whole nation is determined to shake off a humiliating yoke, it will succeed. England will always lend us the support of her navy and her subsidies, and we will renew the alliances with Russia and Austria. . . . It is impossible but that the time will come when all Europe, humbled by Bonaparte's exactions and impatient of his depredations, will rise up against him. The more he enslaves the nations, the more terrible will be the reaction when they break their chains." But the chastening and renovating influence of calamity that Blucher thus accurately appreciated was not yet active enough to animate the Germans with one great united purpose. Another of their rulers was even now base enough to make common cause with the scourge of nations. The elector of Saxony, previously in alliance with Prussia, changed sides, joined the Confederation of the Rhine, of which Bonaparte was virtually master; and, like the electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, had his reward in promotion to the rank of king. He gained, too, a large increase of territory, severed for that purpose from the Prussian monarchy. The dukedom of Brunswick and the electorate of Hesse-Cassel were treated like Ferdinand's kingdom of Naples—extinguished by a decree of the arrogant French autocrat, who was now more than ever persuaded that the destinies of Europe were at his disposal. More humiliations were yet in store for Germany, more trampling under the heel of its French master remained to be endured before all its sundered and dissociated parts could be stirred with a common impulse and animated with that community of feeling which makes the cause of each the care of all.

Some fragments of the Prussian army retired with their king behind the Vistula, where they formed a junction with the gathering forces of Russia. The French armies, meanwhile, swarmed into Poland, purposing to go into winter quarters there. Warsaw, hastily evacuated by the Russians, received the soldiers of France with heartiest welcome, for Bonaparte had addressed to the Poles one of his customary oratorical proclamations, in which he flattered them with delusive hopes that he had come among them to restore their independence. After events prove that he never entertained seriously the notion of helping them to regain their place among the nations. He wanted large bodies of recruits to repair the waste of war, and he readily gained them in thousands among deluded Polish patriots, who followed his fortunes with a fidelity that merited a better fate. Most of them perished in hard-fought battles in all parts of Europe, gallantly sustaining the French emperor's unrighteous cause in the next eight years of sanguinary strife; their failing lives embittered by the thought, tardily and dimly opening on their minds, that they had been made the dupes of a heartless imposture. Poland's opportunity glided away unimproved, merely because nothing was to be gained for France or her emperor by the restoration of independence to that down-trodden nationality. France has boasted that she alone among the nations goes to war for an idea, but it would be difficult to point out an occasion when she has battled for a sentiment which was barren of material recompense for herself. Bonaparte, in turning his back upon Poland, was at least consistent with himself. It was hardly to be expected that the enslaver of other nations should turn liberator of down-trodden Poland.

Before narrating the issue of hostilities between France and Russia, which was worked out in the course of the next half-year on the eastern frontier of Prussia, we revert awhile to home affairs. Parliament reassembled a few days before Christmas. There had been a dissolution during the recess, and the new elections had not disappointed ministers in their reckoning of stronger parliamentary support after an appeal to the constituencies. The royal speech was delivered by commission. Its principal theme was the deplorable issue of the campaign in Prussia. Mention was made of the fruitless negotiations for peace, and of the continued need of endurance, firmness, and unity, as the only means of securing peace on equitable and honourable terms. In the debate on the address, Canning indulged in a strain of eloquent, yet bitter sarcasm on the clumsy management of the peace negotiations, and severely censured the conduct of the cabinet in respect to Prussia. He contended that England should have refrained from any hostile acts towards Prussia, despite the aggression of that power, inasmuch as the obvious intent of Bonaparte, in handing over Hanover to the king of Prussia, was to create war between the two countries whose alliance he had most reason to dread. It would have been wise to have overlooked the provocation, or to have leaped over the stumbling-block which the French emperor had adroitly placed in our path. "Prussia," argued Canning, "unable to resist France, encroached on us. We had, however, the option to pass over a just cause of complaint, and to leave untouched the only state in Europe which appeared capable of forming the germ of an alliance hostile to the ambitious views of France. But the conduct of ministers was the converse of their policy. By that conduct Prussia had been compelled to act without our advice or assistance, and to plunge into a war, of which, if our advice could not have prevented it, our assistance might at least have meliorated the termination. Would any man of common reflection say, that for the restoration of Hanover it was worth while to make war on Prussia? The British government, however, continued at war with Prussia as long as her resources were unimpaired and her strength unexhausted." This was a mere clever blending of specious, though utterly untenable maxims of public policy, with undeniably sound sense. As a responsible minister of the crown, Canning would have been the last to countenance the doctrine which he now coolly ventured to advance for party purposes; a doctrine which claimed for Prussia, at the expense of England, all the rights of war without any of its inconveniences, and all the advantages of a close alliance, coupled with full license to despoil us at pleasure. If it was wrong to molest Prussia for her aggression on an hereditary dominion of the king of England, it would be equally wrong to resent the annexation of the Orkneys or Shetlands, the Channel Islands or the Isle of Wight, whenever the lust of extended territory might prompt some other good ally of England to help himself at her expense. Lord Hawkesbury, also in opposition and eager to second to the utmost all Canning's damaging attacks on the Whig ministry, had too much candour to adopt the same line of argument. He frankly avowed that the crushing calamity that had befallen Prussia was the result entirely of the narrow and selfish policy in which she had long isolated herself; and that had her ruler, or his advisers, paid any heed to the teachings of history, they would have seen that those who lend their aid to get others devoured are in the end devoured themselves. He added that he gave all credit to ministers for their spirited conduct towards Prussia, in retaliation for her aggression in Hanover, and her exclusion of British ships and goods from her ports. He blamed however the tardy and utterly inefficient proceedings adopted when it was resolved to suspend our particular quarrel with Prussia for the purpose of aiding her in resistance to the common enemy.

The debate on the failure of the peace negotiation came on in the first days of the new year, 1807. Lord Howick's vindication of Fox, in respect to the conduct of the correspondence with Talleyrand, was memorable for its eloquent peroration, expressing in few words the attitude of Europe at that disastrous crisis. "I am far," the speech concluded, "from encouraging very sanguine expectations, after all that has happened on the Continent within these few years; the event is in the hands of Him who giveth the victory. But one thing is clear, that the progress of Bonaparte has never yet been stopped by submission. Our only hope, therefore, is in resistance, as far as we can resist his ambitious projects. We have done what our honour and duty required us to do. When this instrument of vengeance may be deprived of his terrors, I know not; but we may at least look to the honour and independence of this country as secure against his attacks. And while Great Britain exists as an independent and an honourable nation, there will still remain some hope of restoring that political balance in Europe which has for the present been overturned."

The thanks of parliament were voted to the gallant little army that achieved the brilliant exploit at Maida. Windham's post of war minister afforded him the occasion, of which he cordially availed himself, to render the merited tribute of high official praise. At a time when the most renowned continental armies had been shattered in contests with Bonaparte's legions, and when our country had ceased to send large military expeditions to the Continent, it was no small exploit for a body of 5000 men, a large proportion of whom had never before been under fire, to vanquish and rout a force of 7000, including regiments of bronzed veterans, who had carried the eagles of France through Egypt, Syria, and half the countries of Europe. Such were the thoughts that stirred Windham to words of praise which to later times look lavish; for the achievement, after all, was but a small affair in comparison with fully a score of battles that in closely succeeding years yielded ample laurels to the British army. Of the men who won the victory at Maida, Windham declared, "I praise them with my whole heart; I praise them with my understanding." He held Maida worthy to be inscribed in the same list with Crecy, Poictiers, and Agincourt; a roll of fame exhibiting to the world in latest, as in earlier times, the higher pluck and sturdier spirit of English as compared with French soldiers. Europe had of late come to regard the French as invincible; that impression went far to insure the defeat of the mistrustful ranks that met the shock of war against troops confident of victory. Now the dangerous spell was broken; in that result we were repaid tenfold the cost and the exertion that yielded such success. The glory achieved at Maida must be prolific of further military renown, as it would inspire in the service a high spirit that was of infinitely greater national concern than any mere material gain.

Parliament sanctioned without a murmur substantial increments to the sea and land forces. The financial statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer contemplated the continuance of war for many a year to come, and made provision for that contingency. The expenditure of the year 1806 was assumed as the mark for perhaps a score of years to follow. Pitt had contemplated a permanent scheme of finance, professing for its object to provide means for sustaining the burdens of war and the repayment of each loan within the compass of a limited term of years from the date of its creation. That "heaven-born minister," if he ever discovered the secret, failed to bequeath it in a form that will stand the test of trial for the benefit of posterity. But he impressed the financiers of his own generation with the feasibility of his aims, and an attempt was now seriously made to give effect to them. There was to be a long succession of yearly loans, if the war continued, and the war-taxes, of 21,000,000*l.* yearly, were to pay not only the interest of each, but also such a contribution to a sinking fund as, at compound interest, would redeem in successive terms of fourteen years each sum of capital debt contracted fourteen years before such date for liquidation. The House was not then so learned in monetary science as it became after the dear-bought experience of another quarter of a century. It therefore accepted with much satisfaction the ministerial scheme. The war-loans for the three next years were to be each 12,000,000*l.*; that for 1810 was fixed at 14,000,000*l.*; and for each of the years onward to 1820 a new debt of 16,000,000*l.* was contemplated. That portion of the pretty piece of financial mechanism which provided for periodical increments of debt worked with unfailing regularity; but the part which was to extinguish debt, by regular annual allotments, was always out of gear and never answered the beautiful design of its ingenious inventors.

The Slave-trade Acts of 1806 stayed the further growth of the infamous traffic in human flesh, and sounded the knell of its early doom as a legalized branch of trade. They were designed to form the preliminary steps of a larger measure, and accordingly, on the 2nd of January, Grenville brought forward a bill for the total abolition of the slave trade. The bill became law on the 25th of March. It enacted that no slave should be landed in any British possession after the 1st of March, 1808. Only a very small minority in either House ventured any longer to raise their voices against this long-deferred national renunciation of the odious traffic. The House of Commons burst into loud expressions of applause, in honour of Wilberforce, when, on the second reading, Romilly eloquently contrasted the feelings of the conqueror, Bonaparte, whose elevation had cost the lives of myriads, and the misery of nations, with the pure and holy satisfaction which the honoured philanthropist would that night carry to his pillow in the remembrance that the slave trade was no more. The ministry ceased to exist on the day that the royal assent was given to the abolition bill. They foundered on the same rock that broke up Pitt's first administration. When they came into office it was expected they would deal with the question of religious disabilities, inasmuch as Fox and Grenville, in particular, with many of their colleagues, had long advocated a liberal measure under that head. There had been no stipulation between the king and his ministers on this question. They knew his stubborn distaste for concession, and he was equally aware that their political antecedents laid them under obligations in the other direction. Grenville now decided to make a move in the matter, with or without the royal consent. He began with so moderate a measure, and fortified it with such powerful arguments, that royal obstinacy was at first somewhat subdued. As the law then stood, no Catholic officer could serve in the army in England, although in Ireland Catholics were privileged to hold any commission beneath the rank of general. To remove this anomaly a bill was brought forward early in March, to legalize the service in the army and navy of any of his majesty's subjects in all parts of his dominion without distinction of religion. In a time of war, in particular, it was neither prudent nor politic, not to mention higher motives, to prevent a large section of the people from contributing to the defence of the country. This line of argument was adopted by Lord Howick in introducing the bill. But among his colleagues were men averse to every measure of political or social amelioration. Sidmouth and Ellenborough, although in the cabinet, co-operated with Eldon, the duke of Portland, Perceval, Castlereagh, and the other Tory expectants, in impressing upon the king a dread of the proposed concession, which they represented as fraught with danger to the constitution. The king took the alarm and resumed his old attitude of no surrender to Catholic pretensions. He was still haunted by the dream that the tenure on which he held the crown, and the terms of his coronation oath, obliged him to resist the removal of civil disabilities from Catholics. He suddenly recalled the partial consent he had already given to the bill, and, not content with its mere withdrawal, which was offered by the premier, he demanded a written pledge from the whole cabinet, binding them never again to moot the question in any form. He could scarcely have supposed for a moment that his constitutional advisers would submit to such an imperious requirement, smacking strongly of absolutism. The refusal of the cabinet was conveyed in an elaborate minute, stating frankly that those of his majesty's confidential advisers who had promoted the bill in parliament expressly designed it as a first instalment of a system of policy, which they conscientiously believed to be essential to the best interests of the empire; and that their sense of duty left them no choice but to propose measures calculated to remove disaffection and to make the Catholics of Ireland good and loyal subjects, and upholders of the peace and security of all parts of the United Kingdom. Thereupon followed the dismissal of all the ministers except Sidmouth and Ellenborough, who had dissented from their colleagues in this question. The change had been for weeks past under constant discussion between the king and that knot of busybodies in high station who continued to enact the part of "the king's friends"—those secret advisers in whom, throughout his reign, he reposed the confidence which belonged of right to his responsible ministers alone. The names of the new ministers were announced on the 31st of March. The duke of Portland was nominally the premier, but the real head of the new administration was the chancellor of the exchequer, Perceval, for whom the king had conceived a strong partiality on account of his staunch Conservative Protestantism and demonstrative professions of the "No Popery" character. He had filled the minor offices of solicitor and attorney-general under Pitt and Addington. His principal colleagues were Canning, as foreign secretary; Castlereagh, secretary for war and the colonies; Hawkesbury, home secretary; Eldon, lord chancellor; with Lords Camden, Bathurst, Mulgrave, Sidmouth, Ellenborough, and Westmoreland in secondary or inferior posts. The duke of Richmond filled the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, with Sir Arthur

Wellesley as chief secretary. The universities and some corporate bodies in municipal towns, including the City of London, had strengthened the hands of the king in his quarrel with ministers by sending petitions against the relief of the Catholics. The lead thus taken was promptly followed up in many a pulpit and in the periodical press. "No Popery," and the "Church in danger," became popular watchwords, as on sundry previous occasions back to the days of Titus Oates. Parliament itself took the infection. Wilberforce and his followers, nicknamed the "saints," transferred their allegiance from Grenville to Perceval. The men who went heart and soul for negro emancipation abhorred the thought of Catholic emancipation. The same House which recently reckoned large majorities for Grenville now gave a respectable working majority to his political adversaries. The new opposition appealed to the judgment of the House, on the 9th of April, on the constitutional question involved in their dismissal. They moved a resolution, asserting "that it is contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the crown to restrain themselves by any pledge, expressed or implied, from offering the king any advice which the course of circumstances may render necessary for the welfare and security of the empire." This was defeated by a majority of thirty-two in a very full House; not, however, by a direct negative, but by the side-wind of a motion for passing on to the other orders of the day. Every exercise of the prerogative is held to carry the consent of the king's responsible advisers. In requiring the pledge that they would refrain from a certain course of policy, he had acted without their advice. No one on the part of the new ministry ventured to defend the pledge, although it was strongly put to them that by accepting office they had taken upon themselves the responsibility of it, and this view is accepted as the correct one by our latest constitutional writers. Despite the very fair prospect of support in the existing House of Commons, ministers resolved on an appeal to the constituencies, before the ultra-Protestant sentiment, aroused by recent events, had time to sober down. The dissolution accordingly took place on the 27th of April, when the cashiered parliament was only four months old. Ministers found that they had not miscalculated the signs of the times. Electors in those days were a privileged few, not very enlightened or discerning in nice constitutional questions, but very distrustful of papists. The hustings cry of "King and Constitution" did good service on the side that profited most, for the time, by that breach of the constitution which sank the responsibility of ministers in the sole will and whim of the king. A majority of the nation certainly approved the course taken by the aged monarch.

The new parliament met on the 22nd of June. Few members of the old ministry gained seats, for the cry of "the Church in danger," and "no Popery," had resounded through the realm, and awakened dormant prejudices; so that the new ministry, aided by the unlimited command of crown influence and public money, gained a large accession of strength. Bribery had been rampant and unstinted in the late elections. Wilberforce despaired of retaining his seat, but his friends came to the rescue with unlimited funds, and although his two opponents spent little less than 200,000*l.*, he triumphed over them by an outlay of 18,000*l.* out of a subscription, in his behalf, of more than twice that amount. Tierney, the steadfast preacher of political purity, failed to get a borough at the price of 10,000*l.* which, with all his reforming fervour, he was prepared to pay for the privilege of representing a constituency in those times of our boasted "glorious constitution," the "envy of the world." The king's speech, delivered by commission, deplored the failure of an effort to heal the quarrel between his majesty's good allies the Turks and Russians, who had been lately stirred into hostilities by French intrigue. Worse than failure in the attempt to compose their differences, British peace-making intervention had, in fact, resulted in hostilities with the Sultan, and he had got the best of it in the petty war into which we had absurdly drifted. Another part of the speech told of his majesty's anxious desire to assist the northern powers against the oppression of France. A few days later came dark tidings of the utter discomfiture of the powers thus ineffectually helped by good wishes merely. Aid in money and arms was then forwarded, but by the time the Russian emperor received those forms of help he had made peace with Bonaparte, and grown hostile to England.

A few trials of strength showed that the new ministry had added largely to their majority at the late elections. Very little legislation took effect in the short summer session that closed on the 14th of August. Among the bills passed was one to strengthen the hands of the Irish government in dealing with disturbed or disaffected districts. Under this bill certain curfew-like regulations, restraining men from quitting their homes between sunset and sunrise, were put in force in proclaimed districts, that is to say, in localities pronounced by the Irish executive to be in a state of insurrection. An arms bill, passed at the same time, gave the magistracy powers of search and seizure of arms in suspected houses, and established a scheme for the registry of arms retained for lawful uses. Such was the inevitable counterpart, in unquiet times, to the refusal of equality of civil rights between men differing in religious faith. In comparison with the conciliatory policy of the last administration, the whole bearing of government towards the Irish was repressive and reactionary. A bill to secure the establishment of a school in every parish in England was carried through the Commons by a private member, but did not thrive in the Lords. The education of the artisan and labouring ranks of the community was sternly discountenanced, as a dangerous innovation, by the bulk of the governing class. Before the dissolution there had been some smart parliamentary skirmishing on Perceval's life-appointment to the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster. The king gave him this fat sinecure, not unasked certainly, but under special bargain, as a set-off against those gains of his profession as a barrister in good practice which he must forego on taking one of the highest political offices such as he now filled. A member of the opposition now brought in a bill to restrain the crown from granting any office in reversion, or for life, before the end of six weeks after the opening of next session of parliament. As this measure touched no existing interest it was permitted to pass, but in the course of the debates on it, each side of the House gave vent to much virtuous indignation at the expense of the sinecurists on the other. There was, in truth, scarcely a shade of difference between Whig and Tory, in respect to systematic addiction to enormous and scandalous jobbery then rife among politicians even in the front rank.

The military and naval operations in which our forces bore part in the course of the year 1807 brought a greater burden of odium than of credit or advantage to the nation. Before the reverses sustained by Beresford at Buenos Ayres came to the knowledge of government, considerable reinforcements were on their way to the river Plate. The discovery that disaster had overtaken the first irregular venture inspired ministers with the resolve to retrieve the tarnished credit of our arms. But they blundered seriously in two respects. They made a bad choice of a chief to conduct operations, and they sent too few men for the work. A force of four thousand men, under Auchmuty, sent in the previous autumn, landed in January at Monte Video, defeated a superior force of Spaniards in the field, and then laid siege to the town. In February the place was taken by assault, but not without heavy loss. Orders now came to await the arrival of another small army, before attempting further conquests. Craufurd, at the head of four thousand two hundred men, originally sent to capture Chili, but subsequently ordered to the Plate, reached Monte Video in June. Whitelock, with sixteen hundred more men, had arrived somewhat sooner, bringing with him orders to take the chief command, and to recover Buenos Ayres. He accordingly landed about thirty miles from that city, and invested it with seven thousand eight hundred men. On the 5th of July the attack was ordered in three divisions, on different quarters of the town. To insure a close hand-to-hand encounter, Whitelock arranged that all the men should advance along their respective routes with unloaded muskets, and depend on their bayonets alone. There were barricades in the streets at all commanding positions, armed with cannon; and the low flat-roofed and parapeted houses were all occupied by concealed marksmen. The several divisions forced their way into the streets, under a galling fire of musketry and volleys of grape-shot, which struck down large numbers. Hand-grenades and every description of missile were showered upon the men on their deadly march, and on each party that halted to force an entrance into the houses or larger buildings. Despite these formidable difficulties, which left the troops small scope for retaliating, one division reached the central square, which was the appointed rendezvous for the whole of the storming parties, and there captured eighty pieces of cannon with immense quantities of ammunition and stores. They also made prisoners of about eight hundred Spanish troops. Another division was so much cut up, and so effectually cut off from retreat or advance, that they surrendered themselves prisoners. Whitelock meanwhile had kept himself well out of the way of danger, and so posted that he was unable to superintend operations or to send help where needed. A third of his force had fallen or surrendered when the enemy sent proposals to treat. On learning the full extent of the disaster he accepted the proffered terms, under which all prisoners were given up on either side, and he was permitted to withdraw unmolested. He was further required to yield possession of Monte Video, and every post held by British troops in that quarter within two months. Fierce were the execrations showered on the luckless general when his despatches informed his countrymen of these degrading terms. Government contrived to delay the court-martial until the lapse of months had cooled down the widespread indignation to which this disgraceful failure had given rise. The verdict of a court of officers eventually pronounced Whitelock deficient in judgment, zeal, and personal energy, and "totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever." It was notorious at the outset that he owed his appointment to the command exclusively to court influence, and not to considerations of professional merit. The whole scheme of operations on the Plate settlements was an error from the beginning. Instead of attempting a conquest for ourselves, the liberation of the colonists in those parts from the detested rule of the court of Spain should have been the sole aim of the expedition. The circumstances of the time all beckoned to such a form of intervention. The settlements were in a state of chronic insurrection. Miranda, an able leader, had sought the help of the English in his efforts to establish that independence which was eventually attained without extraneous assistance. Our aid would have shortened the inevitable reckoning, and it would have been a proper retaliation on Spain for having helped our own North American colonies to sever the bond of union with the mother country. Sir Arthur Wellesley entertained this view at the time, and other members of the government shared the notion, but it never took effect. He writes in February, 1808, when a project was afoot to send him, with an auxiliary force, to fight on the side of General Miranda, chief of the insurgents: "From what has lately passed at Buenos Ayres, and from all that I have read of those countries, I am convinced that any attempt to conquer them with a view to their future subjection to the British crown would certainly fail; and, therefore, I consider that the only mode in which they can be wrested from the crown of Spain is by a revolution, and by the establishment of an independent government within them." But Spain herself was then entering on a new line of policy in regard to England, and a force which was actually destined to operate in the direction suggested in the foregoing opinion of General Wellesley soon afterwards fought with effect in the home territories of the Spanish monarch, and on his behalf in another war of liberation that will occupy many subsequent pages of this volume.

Two other abortive expeditions, one naval, the other military, marked the course of this year of unfortunate war. Bonaparte prevailed on the Turkish government to join him in hostilities against Russia.

The sultan was flattered with the tempting prospect of winning back, by the help of his new ally, those large tracts of territory from the Danube to the Crimea which the Russians had wrested from his predecessors in successive encroachments. The immediate gain from this alliance was large and important to Bonaparte, for war with Turkey compelled the Czar to detach for service on the Danube an army that would else have joined its strength to the forces that were about to contend in Poland with the gathering legions of France. While the sultan was still under the conflicting persuasions of French and British diplomatists, and sorely puzzled between the risks of breaking with England and the advantages of siding with France, the Grenville ministry sent Admiral Duckworth, with a squadron of seven line-of-battle ships and several smaller vessels, to make a threatening demonstration at Constantinople, as a counterblast to Bonaparte's seductive promises. The justification of this step was found in the fact that the Turks possessed a fleet, which would as a matter of course be used on the side of France if the sultan entered into the proposed alliance. The British admiral was therefore instructed to demand a clear declaration of the sultan's views; whether he purposed maintaining his old alliance with England, or cancelling existing engagements, and espousing the side of our enemy. In the latter case the surrender of the Turkish navy was to be demanded. In the middle of February Duckworth carried his squadron through the Dardanelles, but not without serious molestation. In the narrowest part of the channel, between Sestos and Abydos, some land batteries saluted the fleet with a smart fire of heavy shot. A force of marines, however, under direction of Sir Sydney Smith, landed and stormed the forts, spiking the guns. A squadron of eight Turkish vessels of war, anchored near the batteries, was demolished with the utmost ease by the more formidable British ships. Duckworth lost one of his ships by a lamentable accident. Several days before a shot had been fired on either side, the Ajax blew up with a terrific explosion, that killed most of her crew. The rest of the squadron made good the passage to the vicinity of Constantinople, and the admiral sent in his demands. Under the able guidance of General Sebastiani, the French ambassador, the sultan continued, on a series of plausible plans, to decoy Duckworth into negotiation. Every day thus consumed was turned to the utmost account in defensive preparations. Batteries sprang up each night on every commanding position. The whole male population laboured night and day, in conjunction with the sultan's troops, on military works, under the instruction of Sebastiani and several French military engineers. When at length the sultan's refusal was communicated to the British admiral, the wind and current were both adverse to the approach of his ships within fighting range of the city. Longer delay, he well knew, would only add to the difficulty of return. He decided to clear out while this was still practicable. The fire sustained on his advance had been sufficiently warm; but it was simply insignificant in contrast with that which greeted his retrograde movement. For thirty miles in the narrow water that divides Europe from Asia, the fleet sustained a terrific bombardment. The castles of Sestos and Abydos were now mounted with enormous cannon, throwing missiles of fabulous weight and dimensions for those days. Masts and even decks were broken, and huge holes made in the sides of the stoutest vessels of the squadron by granite shot weighing seven or eight hundred pounds. The loss in killed and wounded amounted to three hundred; the damage to several of the ships was very severe; while the discredit to the high character of the British naval service formed a yet sorer aggravation of this ill-conducted expedition. Scarcely less damaging to the national repute was the issue of an invasion of the sultan's Egyptian territory. There were rumours that he was about to cede that country to the French, in consideration of large gains of territory to be wrested by them from Russia and added to Turkey. The same policy that dictated the visit of a British fleet to Constantinople, and a similar hostile raid, somewhat later in the year, on the Danish capital, prompted also the seizure of Egypt. If it was about to fall into the hands of our enemy, to be used by him as a stepping-stone to India, self-preservation warranted that we should forestall him. On this plea the invasion was resolved on, with the avowed design of holding possession only so long as Turkey continued in league with our enemy. A well-appointed and efficient little army of five thousand men, including many of the troops that had fought at Maida the year before, passed in the month of March from Sicily to the coast of Egypt. They promptly secured possession of the forts in and about Alexandria. Two attempts on Rosetta, however, resulted disastrously. It was impossible, with only five thousand men, to seize and to hold a series of forts and several large towns in the face of a hostile populace. The fighting on two occasions in the streets of Rosetta, with Albanian and other Turkish troops, who fired from the roofs and windows of the houses, ended in the loss of a third of the men composing the expedition. With numbers thus diminished, no tidings of reinforcement, and gathering clouds of besiegers hemming him in and cutting off all stragglers, Fraser came to terms with the enemy. He got back his prisoners, and relinquished his hold on the country in September. This was a melancholy sequel to the magnificent achievements of Nelson and Abercrombie, only a few years earlier, in the same neighbourhood. Yet the gallant little army, though worsted, came off with no stain on their character for high soldierly prowess and endurance. The discredit attaching to their failure was not theirs, for the task intrusted to them was manifestly beyond their strength. When France sent forth her expedition for the same conquest, nine years earlier, she employed in the service forty thousand of her choicest soldiers, under her most renowned general. England was now in the fourteenth year of the most costly war she had ever waged, but had yet to learn that large operations concentrated on a single object are less costly, in the long run, than a series of petty expeditions, embracing the two hemispheres in their diffusive action.

One other enterprise, in which the naval and military services co-operated, was worked out with entire success, yet with more detriment, probably, than benefit to the nation, and certainly for a time with serious disparagement to the honour of the country. Denmark possessed a navy on which the French emperor had cast covetous longings. The battles of Eylau and Friedland, to be noted presently, had paved the way for the treaty of Tilsit, under which the Czar had entered into intimate alliance with Bonaparte. Prussia was prostrate, despoiled of half her territory, and her conqueror, in league with Russia, was now putting a pressure, that it was perilous to resist, on all the states of Europe, obliging them to fall in with his persistent crusade against British commerce. The Berlin decree, soon followed by similar edicts from Milan, had now closed most of the ports of Europe against all the products of British industry. These decrees provoked reprisals. British orders in council authorized the seizure of all descriptions of French goods found in neutral bottoms. Denmark made loud complaints of the injury inflicted on her trade by the orders in council, but submitted meekly to Bonaparte's violation of the established usages of war and the rights of neutral states in relation to their trade with England. Every circumstance indicated that, either with or without the consent of the Danish government, its navy would soon be at the disposal of France. These considerations prompted the Portland ministry to seize the fleet that must soon be hostile, and to hold it in safe custody till it could be released without risk of mischief. They had formed this decision, and made great progress in their plan, before the signature of the treaty of Tilsit. The secret articles of that treaty included engagements between Russia and France, under which Sweden, Denmark, Portugal and Austria, were to be forced into the league against England. Despite the mutual pledges of the French and Russian emperors to keep this and other conditions inviolably secret, the British government obtained early and precise information of the dangerous plot, and was thus amply confirmed in its previous forecast of the drift of events, and justified in its project in respect to the Danish navy. The expedition was the best planned of any yet attempted in the previous fourteen years of warfare. It was carried into effect without a single hitch. The secret had been well kept. Early in August a powerful fleet of twenty-five ships of the line and a greater number of smaller vessels, accompanied by hundreds of transports, bearing an army of twenty-seven thousand men, made their appearance in Danish waters, without any previous note of warning. Gambier commanded the naval forces, and Cathcart, with Wellesley for his second, the military. The Danish government was apprised on the 12th of August that Great Britain desired the alliance of Denmark. Failing that, the Danish fleet must at all hazards be kept out of the hands of the French. The crown prince was earnestly invited to avoid a hopeless contest, and surrender his fleet to the much stronger force then blocking up all the approaches to his capital. A solemn pledge was offered that the ships would be well cared for in British ports, and restored to Denmark on the conclusion of the war. Had the fleet been yielded up, under suitable protest, the marked inferiority of force belonging to the weaker power supplied ample warrant, in the eyes of all nations, for such an act of submission. The honour of Denmark would have remained untarnished, equally as in another contest, in later times, from which the small army of Denmark, when opposed to the overwhelming forces of Prussia, Austria and other German powers, might have retired without discredit. But the high spirit of that brave little nation preferred certain defeat, in each instance, in a sturdy fight against hopeless odds, to tame submission. A flat and indignant refusal was the only reply to the demand of the British envoy. Cathcart's army was thereupon landed on the island of Zealand; the fleet was so posted as to shut out all access of reinforcements; and Copenhagen was closely invested. When the land forces had completed their preparations for bombardment, General Cathcart sent a further summons for the surrender of the ships, accompanied by a warning that refusal would be the signal for the commencement of the attack. Submission was still out of the question, so on the 2nd of September the land batteries and bomb-vessels opened simultaneously a terrific fire on the devoted city. The narrow streets of lofty wooden houses were soon ablaze in many directions, but the inhabitants applied themselves coolly and courageously to battling with the devouring flames, as well as with the besieging force by land and water. Not until the fifth day of the bombardment, when the Danes had exhausted every means of resistance, and their capital had suffered large damage, was there any sign of submission. The governor then proposed an armistice, which was followed three days later by a formal capitulation, ceding to the British the fleet and naval stores, with temporary possession of the citadel, dockyards, and those military points which were necessary in order to enable the captors to equip and carry away the vessels, many of which were laid up in ordinary. Within the stipulated six weeks our forces evacuated Copenhagen, carrying with them about fifty Danish vessels of war of all sizes, including sixteen ships of the line. Before quitting the scene of strife, the British commanders made fresh overtures to the crown prince for an alliance between their nation and his, the first condition of the compact to be the restoration of the captured navy. This, however, was resented as the heaping of insult upon unpardonable injury. Our fleet had no sooner withdrawn from the Baltic than war was declared against England; all British property in Denmark was confiscated, and the Danes fitted up numerous trading craft as privateers, with which they made vigorous depredations upon our commerce.

The governments of France and Russia pretty well exhausted the vocabulary of stinging and opprobrious language in their fierce denunciations of this unforeseen act of vigour. Yet in each case they were fully conscious that the so-called outrage had the amplest warrant in the circumstances. Fouché, once high in Bonaparte's confidence, and one of the most unscrupulous instruments of his crooked policy, tells in his "Memoirs:" "About this time it was that we learned the success of the attack on Copenhagen by the English. This was the first derangement of the secret stipulations of Tilsit, by virtue of which the Danish fleet was to be placed at the disposal of France. Since the death of Paul I., I never saw Napoleon give himself up to such violent transports of passion. That which astonished him most in that vigorous *coup-de-main* was the promptitude with which the English ministry took their resolution." Bonaparte suspected Talleyrand had sold his secret to the English cabinet. The Czar made the attack on Copenhagen bear the blame of his breach of friendship with England. He issued a declaration upbraiding our government with neglecting their continental allies in order to pursue their separate interests. This profound dissembler had engaged, nearly four months before, to make common cause with France, in case England should reject such terms of peace as the two allied despots should offer, and to compel the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon to join their league against the mistress of the seas. The other states of Europe, deceived by the hypocritical pretence of virtuous indignation on the part of the Russian and French emperors, joined in a chorus of rebuke on what they denounced as a perfidious outrage at the expense of the weak government of Denmark. The king of England issued a becoming answer to these angry remonstrants, in which all Europe was informed that he "had received positive information of the determination made by the ruler of France to occupy, with a military force, the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of excluding Great Britain from her accustomed channels of continental communication; of inducing or compelling the court of Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against British navigation, and availing himself of the aid of the Danish marine for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland; further, that, Holstein once occupied, Zealand would be at the mercy of France, and the navy of Denmark at her disposal." Looking back on the transaction after all the actors in it have passed away, and with the light of successive instalments of truth, impartial history is bound to acknowledge that a hard necessity left the British government no safe or patriotic course but to do a seeming wrong, under the imperative dictates of state expediency. Since the Danes refused to be conciliated on any terms, threw themselves into the arms of France, declared war against England, and exercised all the rights of war against British property, our government issued orders for the customary reprisals. Thereupon the West Indian colonies of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix were taken from the Danes by a squadron under Cochrane. Heligoland, a rocky islet in the German ocean, insignificant in itself, but handy for purposes of war and trade at that time, was also seized and annexed to the British crown. The only other acquisition made and held in the course of this year was the Dutch colony of Curaçoa, which surrendered in January to some British frigates under Commodore Brisbane.

The arms of France, meanwhile, had again triumphed in another great and decisive contest that fixed, for a time, the fate of several of the northern nations. We left Bonaparte at Warsaw at the close of the year, animating the Poles with hopes, never to be realized. The Russians, under Benningsen, soon gave tokens of a disposition to fight. One division of the French army, under Lannes, suffered a sharp repulse at Pultusk, in the neighbourhood of the Polish capital, towards the end of December. There were more collisions in January, not on a large scale, but severe enough to caution the French that they had now a sturdy foe to encounter. This lesson was indelibly impressed upon them and their emperor by the terrible battle of Eylau, on the eastern frontier of Prussia, fought on the 8th of February, 1807. The Russians numbered seventy-two thousand, and with them were associated a Prussian division of eight thousand. The French had nearly as many, and were greatly superior in cavalry. The battle occupied all the hours of daylight. Each side in turn, or in different portions of the extended field, was cheered with the assured prospect of victory. The day was wintry, with a keen east wind and a heavy snowstorm that obscured the movements of the opposing forces until within a few paces of each other. The fighting was therefore mostly at close quarters, and the carnage was terrific. Darkness scarcely checked the progress of the battle. There was doubt as to which side had the advantage when the fighting ceased towards midnight. It became known subsequently that the French would have retreated, if their foe had shown a disposition to renew the battle on the return of light. But the Russian general had no succours at hand, while he knew that in following the French he would be driving them towards reinforcements. He retreated in good order at dawn of day, unmolested by the French. The snow-clad scene of slaughter for a space of several miles exhibited ghastly contrasts to the prevailing whiteness. Fifty thousand dead and wounded, of whom the French were the more numerous, lay strewn over the fatal field. Napoleon made overtures for a separate peace with the king of Prussia, who, however, refused to be cajoled by such tampering, the aim of which he saw clearly enough was to divide, and thereby to weaken the coalition. Four months passed without any decisive action, and indeed with very little movement at all on the part of the main armies on either side. Dantzic submitted in May to a besieging force. The Swedes, hard pressed in Stralsund, were eagerly expecting help from England. Each side meanwhile was gathering reinforcements. The delay proved of the utmost advantage to Bonaparte. It enabled him to draw supplies in men and money from all the nations subject to French domination. He called up contingents of Dutch, Swiss, Italians, Belgians, Poles, Bavarians, and other Germans from all the states of the Rhine confederation. France reluctantly responded to his call for another levy of eighty thousand conscripts, the third within seven months, so rapid was his drain upon the manhood of the nation, to repair the prodigious havoc made in his battalions by war and disease. He had a quarter of a million of men under his standards on Prussian and Polish soil alone. Prussia and all North Germany groaned under the pressure of heavy and repeated requisitions for money, provisions, stores, and clothing on behalf of the great invading host. The other side gained little by delay. The Russian army received inconsiderable reinforcements that barely made good its losses in action. The Czar looked to England for money, after the fashion of all the continental kings and emperors who from time to time were associated with this country in hostilities against the common enemy. He further urged that a British army should be landed on the Baltic shores of Prussia, or in Pomerania, to co-operate with the Swedes, who were with difficulty keeping at bay a large force of French at Stralsund. The occasion was certainly most opportune and pressing for such help as was demanded. An effective military force, such as later in the summer was sent to Copenhagen, and such as in succeeding years fought and beat the French in many a battle in Spain and Portugal, might have done immense service in the Prussian and Polish campaign. Paralysed Austria and down-trodden Germany were only waiting for the turn in Bonaparte's long run of good fortune to break their shackles, and spurn their ignominious bondage. In stinted measure, and too late to be of service, troops and arms, and cash were despatched to the Baltic. The Czar, meanwhile, was deeply irritated at the slackness of the British government in responding to his pressing appeals. The crisis was at hand in which his disappointment on this score prompted a total change in his policy. Bonaparte's skilful strategy drew the Russian army into a position where it was compelled to fight under certainty of defeat that might be overwhelmingly disastrous. This was at Friedland, not far from the fatal field of Eylau. The battle was fought on the 14th of June, the anniversary of Marengo. The same stubborn courage on the part of the Russian troops that marked the previous battle was equally conspicuous here. The carnage was again terrible. Fearful gaps were made in every French battalion that ventured into close fight. Their well-placed artillery, however, did the heaviest part of the destruction inflicted on the compact masses of Russians, who at length were worsted and compelled to retreat. Konigsberg, hitherto covered by the Russians, now fell into the hands of the French. It was the only remaining Prussian city to which they had not yet penetrated; in it the king and queen had hitherto found an asylum; they now took refuge with the retreating Russians. Both the emperors now wished to close the contest. Napoleon had no inclination to follow his beaten foe into the interior of Russia, with the risks of an uprising of exasperated nations in his rear. There were risks, too, in protracted absence from France. He had new schemes of conquest on hand that required his presence there. He had already been nine months absent. And Alexander, chagrined at his ill success, and irritated with his allies, wished himself clear of the coalition. The first amicable overtures proceeded from Bonaparte, eight days after the battle of Friedland. On the 25th of June, the two emperors met near Tilsit, on the river Niemen. The interview, from which momentous consequences were to flow, took place on a large raft, moored for that purpose in mid-stream, in presence of both armies which lined the opposite banks. Each emperor had with him a few of his principal officers. After the interchange of courteous salutations in sight of gazing multitudes, the two chief performers in this sensational drama withdrew into a gorgeously decorated pavilion, erected on the raft for their accommodation. Biographers and historians have beguiled their readers with confident narrations of the private converse held in the course of this two hours' interview, at which no third person was present. Discarding such idle speculations, and judging solely from the two treaties of peace signed a few days later, we may safely assume that these two masters of many legions mutually agreed not to cross each other's path, in certain pet projects that pointed ultimately to a division of all the European states between them, with Paris and Petersburg as the respective capitals of new Western and Eastern empires. The humiliated king of Prussia held no place in this and other high conferences. The terms on which his lot was settled proved the Czar's supreme unconcern for the interests of his good ally. Prussian Poland received new masters. One slice of it fell to Alexander, who was not ashamed to share the spoils of a kingdom he had undertaken to uphold. The rest fell to Saxony, whose new-fledged king was one of the batch of Bonaparte's obsequious and unpatriotic German adherents. All Prussian territory westward of the Elbe was also taken from the vanquished monarch, and handed over to the conqueror's brother, Jerome Bonaparte, now advanced to the regal dignity as king of Westphalia. Dantzic, with some neighbouring territory, was at the same time dissevered from Prussia and declared a free city, like the Hanse towns, and like them it forthwith became, in effect, a French possession. Hanover, too, was now taken out of the clutches of the Prussian eagle, and sliced out among newly-constituted states, most of it falling to Westphalia. After these extensive spoliations, the Prussian monarchy remained at about half its former limits. That Frederick William was permitted to rule at all, was said to be due solely to the intercession of the Czar. Meanwhile, French garrisons were to hold all the fortresses of Prussia, and all her ports, until the end of the war. Under certain secret articles of the treaty, France and Russia were to force the few states not yet ranked among the enemies of England to side against her in one common league, which was to ruin her commerce, annihilate her maritime supremacy, dispossess her of her colonial empire, and sink her to the level of a petty dependent state.

In addition to the written articles of the treaty, whether declared or secret, there appears to have been a mutual compact, not committed to paper, under which the two imperial robbers engaged not to molest each other in the pursuit of pet projects of aggrandizement, on which each had set his heart.

Events immediately subsequent to the peace fully confirm this surmise. Alexander soon astonished Europe by turning upon Sweden, his stedfast ally in the war against France, and wresting from her the long-coveted provinces of Finland. Napoleon, who gave full sanction to this dismemberment of Sweden, and similar Russian aggressions at the expense of his deluded ally, the Sultan, was troubled with no opposition from the Czar in respect to a great marauding scheme then just about to take effect in Spain and Portugal. All the resources of the Spanish monarchy, naval, military, and financial, had for years been at the almost absolute disposal of Bonaparte. The navy of Spain had perished in fighting his battles, and her armies were now serving under his standards, on the shores of the Baltic and the German Ocean. With a shameless effrontery, and an ingratitude unparalleled for baseness, he was now on the eve of requiting the heavy load of benefits Spain had squandered on his cause by usurping her crown, and inflicting on her people all the direst calamities of war. Poland and Turkey, heartlessly tricked by Bonaparte's delusive promises into playing the part of goads in the flanks of the grim Russian bear, were coolly left to their fate now that the surly monster was subdued, by dissembling caresses and blandishments, into an accommodating temper in respect to further French aggressions. The other continental states, under an abject dread of Bonaparte, became forthwith the merest puppets in his hands. On his journey homewards to Paris a throng of German princes paid him servile homage. Austria and Prussia, at his dictation, recalled their ambassadors from London, and enrolled themselves in his crusade against everything British. Russia, and all the rest of Europe, with the sole exceptions of Sweden and Portugal, now fell in with his "continental system"—a league and interdict against commercial, social, or political intercourse with the British Isles and their dependencies. Sweden had long been hard pressed in her province on the south shore of the Baltic by overwhelming French forces. These at length mastered Stralsund, and then Sweden was left to the tender mercies of the Czar, who had long cast covetous eyes on Finland. With French connivance, he gained possession of it early in the ensuing year. Bonaparte meanwhile was bestowing his special attention on Portugal, the other ally of England. Throughout the war we had drawn no active assistance from Portugal. But her ports were open to our commerce, and they were the inlets by which hardware, calico, woollen cloth, and a host of commodities, products of British industry, or imports from all climates, found their way to continental populations. The haughty dictator and master of many nations had commanded that these ports should be closed against his enemy. The trade continued nevertheless. At length he resolves on a sweeping act of vengeance. The House of Braganza must cease to reign, and the map of Europe must cease to exhibit a kingdom of Portugal! The sentence of ejectment and seizure must be carried out by an army. The sea affords no safe path, so the line of march must be through Spain. That country was under the nominal rule of the infirm and imbecile Charles IV. The government was in reality directed by Godoy, originally a private soldier in the bodyguard, and afterwards the reputed paramour of the infamous queen. He accepted a treaty from Bonaparte at Fontainebleau, under which Spain gave all facilities for the passage of a French army through her territories, and Portugal was allotted by anticipation among new masters, under a tripartite division that never actually took effect. Godoy was to have ruled the southern section and to become a satrap of the French emperor; the northern part was to be given to one of Bonaparte's kinglings; the central province, with Lisbon, he was to keep for himself. He had larger designs than those set forth in the treaty. To compass these, it was requisite he should gain a footing for his troops in the Spanish fortresses.

Quarrels in the wretched royal family of Spain came to his aid and soon furnished the desired opportunity. But Portugal was first subdued. While his armies were on the march to Lisbon, his official organ, the "Moniteur," told the world the behests on which he had sent them. "The prince-regent of Portugal loses his throne. He loses it influenced by the intrigues of England. He loses it because he has not been willing to seize the English merchandise at Lisbon. * * * * The fall of the dynasty of Braganza will remain a new proof that the ruin of any power that allies itself with England is inevitable." Vainglorious boaster! The pride that goeth before destruction was never more memorably exemplified than in the chain of events beginning with this arrogant declaration, continuing in the repeated defeats inflicted by British troops on his choicest legions, under the leadership of his most renowned generals, and ending in his utter overthrow at Waterloo, followed by bitter exile for the remainder of his dishonoured life in a remote dependency of the British crown!

The invading army of thirty thousand men, under Marshal Junot, began its march from France a fortnight before the signature of the treaty by which Spain consented to the transit through her territory. Portugal offered no resistance. In the vain hope of appeasing the wrath of Bonaparte, the Portuguese government had, at the eleventh hour, complied with his demands, and declared war against England. But he was not thus to be baulked of his prey. England showed no resentment at the declaration of hostilities, forced from the despair of her ancient ally. The sailors of our fleet worked night and day in fitting out the small navy of Portugal for its escape from the clutches of the invaders. Assisted and escorted by a British squadron, the royal family of Portugal, with a numerous following, cleared out of the Tagus, and sailed for Brazil on the last day of November, just as the French troops were marching into Lisbon. Spain not only consented to the raid on Portugal, but lent her troops to aid in the iniquitous spoliation. The conquest proved easy, but before the spoils could be divided, Spain found, to her lasting chagrin, that she had been duped into the burglarious partnership only with the intent, on the part of the robber-in-chief, of dragging her under the same yoke that she had helped to fix on a sister kingdom. That discovery sent her as a suppliant to England. Her appeal was not made in vain. We presently recur to her crisis of tribulation, and to the dawn of better days springing out of it for all the prostrate nations of Europe. While that crisis was yet only dimly shadowing itself forth in the haze of an obscure future, the year 1808 opened gloomily on England. It was the moment of our lowest ebb of fortune. All our naval and military expeditions, all the long series of coalitions, purchased at the cost of a heavy drain on the resources of the nation to remotest succeeding times, all our grandest achievements on the ocean, had closed in the utter frustration of our purposes, and the elevation of our mighty antagonist to a loftier and wider dominion. France had now attained a towering eminence of dominion, transcending the wildest dreams of her most ambitious and aggressive kings in all the past centuries of her existence. Her victorious eagles looked proudly down from towers, and bastions, and palaces in half the capitals of Europe. All the nations from the Tagus to the Vistula, from the Adriatic to the Baltic and the German Ocean, acknowledged her sway and swelled the ranks of her enormous armies. The few states not held in subjection were nevertheless at her disposal, under alliances which they courted as the means of escape from hostile collision with her formidable hosts. Terrified emperors and kings ruling only under her permission, joined submissively with her imperious autocrat in his spiteful ban and interdict against every British interest. Even republican America, where hatred of the mother country was nourished as a patriotic duty, threatened to side with France and her host of confederates against the single power in all Europe that stemmed the avalanche of a universal military despotism. It must be conceded that the Americans at this time laboured under a heavy provocation. Between French decrees of confiscation on the one hand, extending to all neutral ships and cargoes that submitted to search by British cruisers, and British orders in council on the other, interdicting, under similar penalties, any commerce with ports from which British ships were shut out, the commercial marine of the United States was driven from all except contraband trade in European waters. Smarting under the harassment of this double fire, the commercial interest in America grew clamorous for war. But their resentment was entirely one-sided, and breathed vengeance against England only. Their president was a hearty hater of England, and he had a strong following. On the 22nd of December Congress ordered the ships of all nations to quit the harbours of the United States immediately, with or without cargoes, and laid an embargo on all American vessels, preventing them from leaving their own ports. This was merely a first step in hostilities that must have ensued but for timely concessions on the part of the British cabinet, securing exceptional privileges to American shipping. Such was the cheerless outlook abroad on the opening of parliament on the last day January, 1808. The royal speech, delivered by commission, presented a frank retrospect of the adverse round of events which had gone far towards putting Great Britain beyond the pale of political, social, or commercial intercourse with the rest of Europe. The operation of the treaty of Tilsit, said the speech, had largely extended the control of France over the affairs of the whole continent; it was a main object of that treaty to combine all the European states in one hostile confederacy against this country; the navies of Denmark, Portugal, Turkey, and of every other state possessed of ships of war, were soon to have been brought to bear upon our commerce, our distant possessions, and upon our home territories. To deprive the confederacy of the means of striking at the vital interests of this country was clearly the first duty of government. Hence the expeditions to Copenhagen and Constantinople. The small navy of our oldest ally, Portugal, was fortunately beyond the reach of our enemy, but he had succeeded in persuading Turkey to decline our overtures for a renewal of the ancient alliance, and had persuaded or compelled all the powers of Europe, Sweden alone excepted, to withdraw their representatives from London, and to join in various degrees of hostility against us. The determined efforts of France to close all the markets of Europe against British commodities had been met by retaliatory measures on our side against the trade of every port that was closed against us. This exercise of an obvious maritime right necessarily operated to the detriment of neutrals. The United States resented it, and declined to ratify a treaty concluded in 1806, with the view to avoid such embroilments as that now existing.

One consolation remained amid this budget of evils: trade at home and abroad had been prosperous in the past year. The debate on the address turned chiefly on the expedition to Copenhagen, which was stigmatised by several members of Opposition with the harshest epithets applicable to a sudden act of war upon a friendly state. The seizure was, however, amply warranted on grounds already stated in a foregoing page. In a subsequent debate, after the papers bearing on the transaction had been presented to parliament, Canning showed that his Whig predecessor, Lord Howick, had warned the Danish government that in the event of its territory falling anywise under French control, its navy at all hazards would not be permitted to fall into Bonaparte's possession. The bearing of Denmark meanwhile had continued unfriendly towards England and friendly towards France. She had resented our blockade of the Elbe, and the Weser, but offered no word of remonstrance when Bonaparte closed the same avenues of trade. Bonaparte's armies were swarming over the territory adjacent to Denmark, and every circumstance pointed to the certainty that the Danish fleet would be at his disposal at an early date unless we forestalled him.

The budget for the year offers little matter for remark. The total expenditure was set down at 48,700,000*l.* The loan for the year was at the reduced figure of 8,000,000*l.*, the burden of which was to be met by new taxes, estimated to yield 325,000*l.* To hasten the reduction of the national debt, annuities on one or two lives were offered to the holders of government stock on conditions which the chancellor of the exchequer anticipated would draw many purchasers. This expectation proved illusory.

The military and naval services were fixed at a high level. A new clause in the Mutiny Bill for the year restored the old provision of enlistment for life, leaving, however, an option of enlistment for the shorter terms provided in Windham's bill. A new local militia was provided of sixty thousand men, to be chosen by ballot. Members of volunteer corps were permitted to transfer themselves into this force, which received payment during the twenty-eight days of drill in the year.

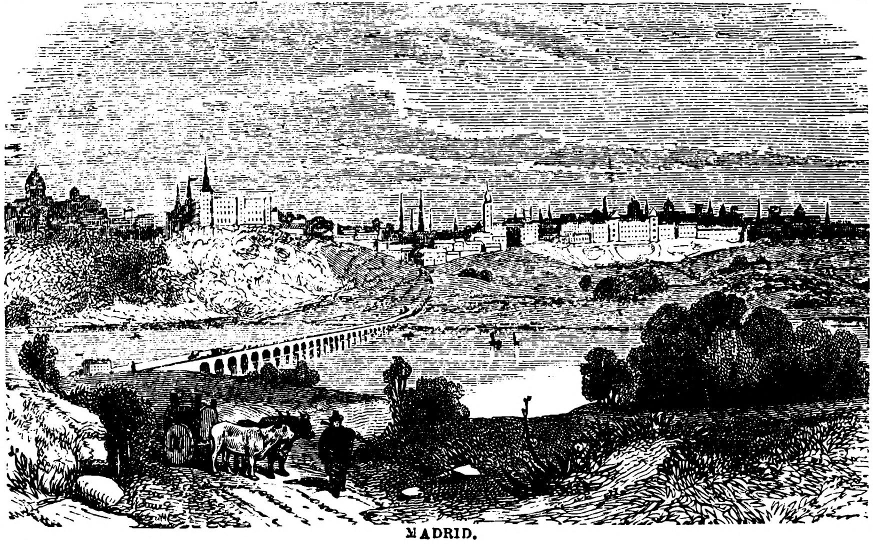
A renewed attempt to prevent the grant of offices in reversion, or for joint lives, met with sturdy opposition in the Lords. Scions of the aristocracy of that day looked to lucrative posts and sinecures at the public expense as the customary and rightful provision of their class. The public service, till very recently, included the names of not a few of these burdensome annuitants, who were nominated by patent, while yet in their tenderest years, to fill positions given to them, or secured in their behalf, by their patrician fathers, in utter disregard of the question of their future fitness. Such flagrant jobbery then passed as matter of course.

Romilly succeeded this year in passing the first instalment of his series of measures for softening the rigour of English criminal law. Offenders of the class known as pickpockets were liable, under the old law, to the punishment of death. This penalty was commonly evaded through the natural reluctance of the thief's victim to prosecute. The law, as now altered, substituted imprisonment for any term not exceeding three years in lieu of capital punishment, in the case of the milder form of robbery, or theft unaccompanied by violence, technically called private stealing. Ministers secured large majorities throughout the session. It is, however, to be noted that no great distinctive party measure came under discussion, if we except a debate towards the close of May on the Roman Catholic petition on Irish grievances, asking equal privileges with their Protestant fellow-subjects. Though Canning, until his entry into the existing cabinet, had uniformly adhered to Pitt's liberal views on this question, he now did his utmost to evade any discussion of the subject, in consideration, as he urged, of the unsettled state of Ireland. His defence of what was called Perceval's intolerance and of Castlereagh's injustice, brought down upon him the lash of merciless sarcasm on the part of a political opponent. A series of letters, signed "Peter Plymley," among other stinging attacks on the policy of the cabinet in general, and of Canning in particular, abounded in forcible argument in favour of Catholic emancipation, and the removal of all other groundwork of Irish disaffection. The following passages from one of these vigorous tirades gives a clear notion of the state of advanced opinion among liberal politicians of the time on that question which for twenty succeeding years was destined to rank among foremost topics in home politics. "Depend upon it, whole nations have always some reason for their hatred. Before you refer the turbulence of the Irish to incurable defects in their character, tell me if you have treated them as friends and equals. Have you protected their commerce? Have you respected their religion? Have you been as anxious for their freedom as your own? Nothing of all this. What then? Why you have confiscated the territorial surface of the country twice over; you have deprived four-fifths of them of all civil privileges. * * * Does the state of the world never remind us that we have four millions of subjects whose injuries we ought to atone for, and whose affections we ought to conciliate? Does the state of the world never remind us to lay aside infernal bigotry, and to arm every man who acknowledges a God and can grasp his sword? Did it never occur to this administration that they might virtuously get hold of a force ten times greater than the force of the Danish fleet? * * * See what the men whom you have supplanted would have done: they would have rendered the invasion of Ireland impossible, by restoring to the Catholics their long-lost rights. They would have acted in such a manner that the French would neither have wished for invasion, nor dared to attempt it. They would have increased the permanent strength of the country, while they preserved its reputation unsullied. Nothing of this kind your friends have done, because they are solemnly pledged to do nothing of this kind: because to tolerate all religions, and to equalize civil rights to all sects, is to oppose some of the worst passions of our nature; to plunder and to oppress is to gratify them all. They wanted the huzzas of mobs, and they have for ever blasted the fame of England to obtain them. * * * Lord Hawkesbury says nothing is to be granted to the Catholics from fear. What! not even justice? Why not? There are four millions of disaffected people within twenty miles of our own coast; I fairly confess that the dread which I have of their physical power is with me a very strong motive for listening to their claims. To talk of not acting from fear is mere parliamentary cant. From what motive but fear, I should like to know, have all the improvements in our constitution proceeded? I question if any justice has ever been done to large masses of mankind from any other motive. * * * The only way to make the mass of mankind see the beauty of justice, is by showing to them plainly the consequences of injustice. If a body of French troops land in Ireland, the whole population of that country will rise against you to a man. * * * So far does it appear to me from being impolitic and unstatesmanlike to concede anything to such a danger, that if the Catholics, in addition to their present just demands, were to petition for the perpetual removal of the said Lord Hawkesbury from his majesty's councils, I think, whatever might be its effect on the destinies of Europe, and however it might retard our own individual destruction, that the prayer of the petitioners should be instantly complied with. Canning's crocodile tears should not move me. The hoops of the maids of honour should not hide him. I would tear him from the banisters of the back stairs, and plunge him in the fishy fumes of the dirtiest of all his cinque ports." Canning himself entertained essentially the same political leanings thus forcibly expressed by his antagonist. He waited, however, for better times, ever purposing to the end of his life, twenty years later, to make amends for past obstructive and temporizing policy under this head. The only other topic of more than temporary concern discussed this session was one on which all parties were of one mind. The eyes and the hearts of the nation at large, as well as the first thoughts of politicians in both Houses, might be said to be drawn off from home affairs and riveted on transactions of absorbing interest in a new field of hostilities. Spain and Portugal were in hopeful insurrection against the French, and asking help from England. On the 15th of June, Sheridan, in pursuance of notice of motion previously given, interrogated ministers as to whether they purposed turning to account this happy opportunity of striking an effectual blow at the oppressor of nations. His speech was addressed to a sympathetic auditory. The House was moved to enthusiasm under the stirring appeal, which urged a prompt and vigorous co-operation with the patriots. "Hitherto," said the eloquent orator, "Bonaparte has run a most victorious race. Hitherto he has had to contend against princes without dignity, and ministers without wisdom. He has fought against countries in which the people have been indifferent to his success. He has yet to learn what it is to fight against a country in which the people are animated with one spirit to resist him." Canning said enough, without disclosing details, to show how deeply the cabinet were interested in the patriotic movement, and how earnestly their thoughts were addressed to the means of affording every practicable aid for the support of the cause of national independence, now so prosperously commenced in the Peninsula. Hostility on our part against Spain ceased from that moment, or rather it had already come to an end. On this head Canning added: "In endeavouring to afford this aid, it will never occur to us to consider that a state of war exists between Spain and Great Britain."

The session closed on the 4th of July, with a royal speech foreshadowing the employment of an auxiliary army among other means of aiding the Spanish cause.

Meanwhile deputies and envoys from the several provincial juntas were arriving in quick succession to solicit aid from the British government. All the numerous Spanish prisoners in England were set at liberty, duly equipped, and forwarded to the seat of war. Muskets, pikes, ammunition, and every requisite store that our arsenals could supply, were sent off in immense quantities. A remittance of 300,000*l.* was forwarded in June, for distribution among the provincial authorities, to help in equipping forces for the contest, with the promise of naval and military succours and further pecuniary assistance to follow.

Before tracing the further course of events in the new theatre of war in which our armies were about to play a conspicuous part, it remains to explain how the Spaniards, lately the steadfast allies of the French, had suddenly become their most determined foes. At the period when the joint forces of the two nations seized Portugal (Nov. 1807) Napoleon had gained an entire ascendancy over Spanish councils. The weak government at Madrid, and especially the degenerate royal family, gave a ready assent to his every wish. Under pretence that emergencies might arise demanding speedy reinforcement of his army in Portugal, he secured permission to pass more regiments from France into Spain. At first the frontier fortresses near the Pyrenees were assigned as stations for these French troops. Their numbers were rapidly augmented, and excuses were always forthcoming for the occupation of additional posts along the whole line of road between Portugal and the north of France. Godoy, the prime minister, the minion of the licentious queen, and in effect the ruler of Spain, promoted to the utmost every wish of Napoleon, who had engaged to establish him in possession of the southern section of Portugal, with the rank of a ruling prince. Meanwhile the king of Spain, Charles IV., and his son Ferdinand, the heir to the crown, were at variance, and their quarrels furnished the French emperor the opportunity for which he had been long waiting as an excuse for active interference in the government of the country. Ferdinand hated Godoy, with good reason; and in order to undermine his influence, and strengthen his own position against his father, sought the protection of the French emperor. In October, while the invasion of Portugal was being organised between the governments at Paris and Madrid, Ferdinand wrote to Napoleon, lamenting the sinister influence exercised over his parents by the prime minister, and requesting the interference of the emperor, whom he styled the "hero whom Providence had raised up for the safety of Europe and the support of thrones." The prince's submissive appeal concluded with soliciting the honour of a marriage alliance with the imperial family of Bonaparte. The secret of this application soon reached the ears of Godoy, who communicated it to the king, with additions and embellishments that gave it the colour of a plot to supplant his majesty in the possession of the throne. The enraged father arrested and imprisoned the heir apparent,



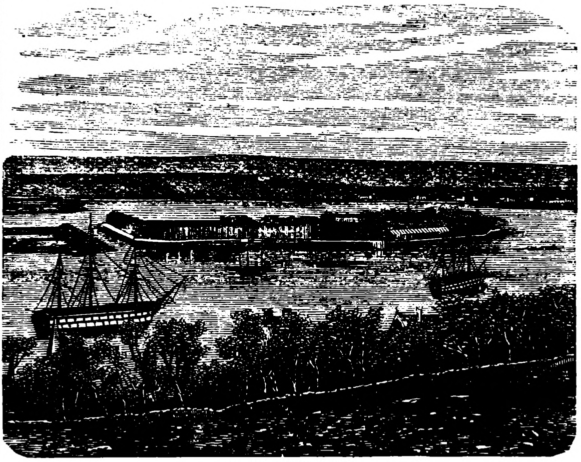
MADRID.

who forthwith appealed to the French emperor for protection. At Napoleon's powerful intercession the prince was liberated, but no good understanding was ever after restored in the wretched family of the Spanish Bourbons. Popular sympathy ran in favour of the prince through all these dissensions, not so much on the score of his merits, of which he possessed but a slender endowment, but because he was the enemy of the hated Godoy, the promoter of French ascendancy in the country, and the object of the queen's unseemly partiality. More French troops were now poured into Spain, under the double pretext that the English were contemplating hostile movements at Gibraltar, Cadiz, Lisbon, and other points open to their attacks, and that public tranquillity was threatened by discords in the royal family. One army of twelve thousand crossed the southern passes of the Pyrenees, and, without a word of warning, established themselves at Barcelona. Other larger armies, to the number of one hundred thousand in all, took up their quarters at Vittoria, Valladolid, Salamanca, and in cantonments nearer and nearer the capital. The king himself now grew alarmed, and under Godoy's promptings began to entertain the thought of flight, after the example of the royal family of Portugal. Mexico and the other extensive dependencies of his crown offered the prospect of repose from the distractions that had overtaken in succession almost all the kingdoms of Europe. Preparations were actually commenced with the view to this second royal emigration, but the project became known and gave rise to fierce explosions of popular wrath. There were insurrectionary movements at Aranjuaz and Madrid, in which the troops joined with the people. The cry arose for vengeance on Godoy, the submissive tool of French ambition, and the traitorous adviser of desertion of the throne. The obnoxious favourite's palace was sacked, and he barely escaped with his life. Charles IV. and his queen, who were in extreme ill odour with the people on Godoy's account, lost their self-possession in the excitement of this outbreak. They believed that a revolution, like that which had ruined the French Bourbons, was now about to thrust them from the throne. To allay the storm which he had no hope of quelling, the king suddenly abdicated. Great was the public joy when a proclamation informed the people that Charles IV., weary of the fatigues of the throne, and bowed down by age and infirmities, resigned his crown to his son Ferdinand. The new king was hailed with liveliest expressions of popular rejoicing; but the goodwill of the Spaniards was destined to avail him little; not, at least, until after he had endured long years of captivity, and his country had been ravaged through its length and breadth by a desolating war. Thiers, the historian of the consulate and the empire, sees more to applaud than to denounce in the iniquitous seizure of the Spanish crown. His narrow and perverted patriotism finds excuses for every crime that helped to build up French dominion in foreign states. The same obliquity of mental vision makes him, in his latest years, the persistent enemy of free trade. He never tires of denouncing that tariff under which British manufactured goods find readier access into France than in days of delusive protectionist restrictions. He would close the sources of prosperity for every land but France. He would have Italy and Germany disunited and weak. So only that France may be predominant, he would have his countrymen believe that they can never indulge a worthier aspiration or pursue a loftier national policy than to abate the prosperity and dim the splendour of neighbouring states. He thus sets forth and extenuates the motives which stirred Napoleon to afflict a nation of staunch allies and friends with all the horrors of a desolating war, merely that he might force upon it a Bonaparte dynasty in the room of its native princes:—"It behoved him to adopt some resolution in regard to Spain. * * * Swayed incessantly ever since the continent was pacified by the systematic idea of placing Bonapartes on all thrones instead of Bourbons; drawn towards this object by family feeling and also by his reforming genius, which was averse to leaving at his side degenerate royalties, either useless or prejudicial to the common cause, Napoleon was agitated by the most diverse ideas with regard to Spain. * * * The course, towards which he appeared to be urged in an irresistible manner, consisted in dethroning the Bourbons, in the definitive approximation of France and Spain by the establishment of one and the same dynasty in both countries; * * * in renewing, in short, the policy of Louis XIV., which involved nothing too great for a man who had surpassed all known greatness. Not only had this policy of Louis XIV. nothing too great for Napoleon, but it was, it must be acknowledged, the natural policy of France. To unite in one and the same spirit, in one and the same interest, the whole of the West, that is to say, France and the two peninsulas, Italian and Spanish, to oppose their continental power to the coalition of the courts of the north, their maritime power to the pretensions of England, was assuredly the true, the legitimate ambition, which one could have wished for Napoleon, that which would have been justified by the rules of sound policy, had it not succeeded." The same prejudiced historian, whose system of political orthodoxy consists in making all human interests subservient to French glory and aggrandisement, goes on to lament that the cherished enterprise only failed of success because Napoleon's prodigal use of his forces in objects "out of the real interests of France" left him inadequate means for the accomplishment of his scheme of welding all the so-called Latin races into one compact empire. "He was, in fact, obliged at that very moment," adds his apologist, "to keep three hundred thousand men between the Oder and the Vistula, to ensure the submission of Germany and the alliance of Russia, and one hundred and twenty thousand in Italy, to deter Austria from all idea of recrossing the Alps. If he required one or two hundred thousand more men to coerce Spain, to prevent the entrance of the English, who were likely to find a convenient and firm footing there; if he must keep these different armies in Germany, in Italy, in Spain, it would be a mass of eight or nine hundred thousand men that became necessary, and there must thence result an extension of cares, of effort, of command, to which, in the end, France, and even his genius, would prove unequal."

It never once occurs to Thiers that "the submission of Germany," which could only be secured by the presence of three hundred thousand foreign bayonets, is by no means essential to the well-being of France; but he makes the frank admission that no ground existed for quarelling with Spain. Her sovereign had been the humblest of Napoleon's prefects, ever ready to devote his fleets, his troops, his treasure, and his seaports to the service of his powerful neighbour. No semblance of a grievance could be raked up against either the king or his subjects, who had stood by France through years of war with absolute devotedness. This consideration, however, is brought under review by the French historian, not with the purpose of reprobating Napoleon's monstrous ingratitude, but only to notice that in revolting a nation's moral sentiments, he ran the risk of arousing such a stubborn resistance as would be beyond his power to quell. Should his usurpation fail, the consequent damage to his cause would extend far beyond the limits of Spain. But at this time he seemed to labour under a fatuous confidence in his ability to make and unmake kings at pleasure, and to mould the will of nations to his own. Meanwhile the commotions in Spain, ending in the abdication of Charles IV., the downfall of Godoy, and the accession of Ferdinand to the throne, furnished the French emperor with the long-sought plea for active interference. He instructed Murat to occupy the Spanish capital. That ambitious general was brother-in-law to Bonaparte, and had been encouraged to look for advancement to the rank of king, like other members of the imperial family. After several disappointments he flattered himself that the throne of Spain, then in a tottering and unstable state, was the destined reward of his great military services. He established himself in Madrid on the 23rd of March, at the head of a picked army of thirty thousand men, still leaving in his rear about seventy thousand more troops of all arms at St. Sebastian, Burgos, and a line of posts stretching from Madrid to Bayonne. On the next day the new king made his entry into the capital, amid the liveliest demonstrations of joy on the part of his subjects, but under the ominous refusal of the French to acknowledge his sovereignty. Napoleon's agents easily induced the ex-king to give out that his recent abdication had been forced from him, under terror of the revolution that had given his undutiful son possession of the throne. Charles appealed to the French emperor to reinstate him. Murat urged Ferdinand to submit his cause to the same arbitration; and wrote at the same time to Napoleon, suggesting that the time was favourable for treating the throne as vacant. Ferdinand readily accepted the proposed arbitration, and Napoleon invited both father and son to meet him at Bayonne. Ferdinand's friends suspected a snare, and earnestly pressed him not to quit his own territory in order to discuss the question of his title to reign. He was scarcely a free agent in this matter, so strongly were French councils backed by the presence of overwhelming military force. He went to Bayonne, there to find himself in the clutches of the imperial kidnapper. The old king and queen went by another route to the same rendezvous, and Godoy was conveyed thither under a strong escort to screen him from the fury of the populace. The task of dealing with the ex-king and queen was not difficult. Their return to power, in face of the aversion entertained for them by the entire nation, was out of the question. It only remained that they should earn the reward of a splendid asylum in France by yielding to their imperial protector the disposal of the succession to the throne. So embittered were they against Ferdinand, that they lent themselves heartily to Napoleon's scheme. They joined with him in every form of pressure to wring from their son the resignation of his rights. Charges of treachery and treason were dinned in his ear, mingled with many threats of the fatal consequences that must ensue unless he yielded his claims to reign back into the hands of his father. Worse than all other terrors held over his devoted head, was the threat of calling in question the legitimacy of his birth. Meanwhile, his faithful subjects were growing wrathful over the treachery of their late allies. On the last day of April it became known in Madrid that the young king was a prisoner in the hands of Napoleon. On the 2nd of May there was an insurrection in the capital, in which some hundreds of French soldiers, and a still greater number of the citizens, perished. News of this outbreak, and of its suppression, reached Bayonne on the 5th. Napoleon decided to have no more delay. He called the young king to his presence the same afternoon, and laid to his account the bloody insurrection in Madrid; adding fresh menaces that if he had not resigned the crown to his father before the close of that day, he should be treated as a rebellious son, the author or accomplisher of a conspiracy which had ended in depriving the legitimate king of his crown. The old king and queen were seated beside the emperor at this trying ordeal. Previous revilings and threats were mild in comparison with the torrent of invective and ominous hints of what must follow if Ferdinand still refused to abdicate. He gave way to this pressure; and next day Napoleon bestowed the crown on his own brother Joseph, in exchange for the inferior kingdom of Naples, which was handed over to Murat, the impatient aspirant for a share in the regal dignities of the Bonaparte family. The letter to Joseph stated: "King Charles, by a treaty which I have just concluded with him, has ceded to me all his rights to the crown of Spain. * * * This crown I have destined for you. * * * It is the crown which will place you at Madrid, three days' journey from France, and which entirely defends one of its frontiers." Another letter of the same date enjoined Murat to make himself master of Madrid; to enforce his authority there with the greatest rigour; to inform the various Spanish officials and local authorities of the abdication of Ferdinand as well as his father; and to put all suitable pressure on the several councils, central and provincial, to compel them to ask for Joseph Bonaparte as king of Spain. Some submissive nobles accepted the change with a show of contentment, only to discover that in seeking to evade the peril of offending the omnipotent French emperor, they were rushing into a greater danger, that of facing the indignation of their exasperated fellow countrymen. For in all directions the people rose against their perfidious allies. Every town, almost every village, became a centre of hostility against the treacherous intruders. The patriot bands included every social grade; noble and peasant, priest and artisan, were alike animated by the same impulse of vengeance against the French. The native troops everywhere sided with the national movement. Even the regiments on distant service, under Napoleon's banners, contrived for the most part to reach the scene of conflict before the close of the summer, and took part in the war of independence. Junot managed to disarm and imprison several thousand of the Spanish troops serving with him in Portugal; but a yet greater number escaped, not without some fighting, in which they inflicted as much loss as they suffered at the hands of their late allies. Another large detachment, quartered in Hanover, Prussia, and Denmark, also succeeded in escaping in English shipping sent to convey them home to Spain. The rash confidence of the patriot bands carried them too soon into conflict with Napoleon's seasoned and disciplined troops, so that in the first few weeks of the rising the French carried all before them in pitched battles. But the fervour and energy of a proud and brave nation were not to be subdued by a few failures. Disaster spurred them on to new and strenuous efforts. For a time the tide of fortune turned so entirely against the French, that the whole Peninsula, overrun by them in the previous half year, was evacuated, except in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, by the end of August. Acts of almost incredible savagery were committed on each side. The Spaniards cut off foraging parties, stragglers, couriers, and even the wounded and sick; and the French retaliated by wholesale massacres, without distinction of age or sex.

Two considerable French armies, Dupont's in Andalusia, and Junot's in Portugal, numbering upwards of forty thousand men between them, were obliged to capitulate, and in all other directions retreat and concentration on their own frontiers became the order of the day. Of the one hundred and thirty thousand men who in the previous nine months had crossed the Pyrenees, to give new masters to two ancient kingdoms, scarcely half were left at the close of the summer in condition to face their embittered and exultant foes. From that date onward, although many brilliant victories were yet in store for Napoleon, the prestige of his arms was rudely shaken, and the spell of his marvellous run of luck effectually broken. The conquered nations, in the depth of their humiliation, began to stir with hopeful impulses that moved them each in turn to bear their part in demolishing the colossal structure of French dominion over the continent.

England's large share in these transactions now calls for more particular mention. At the first outbreak of the insurrection, the Spaniards and Portuguese sent envoys, as already stated, to ask the help of England. The junta of Seville entered into communication with the governor of Gibraltar and the British naval officers then cruising off the coast, informing them that Spain was now at war with France, and desirous of entering into alliance with England. These tidings were greeted, as we have seen, with liveliest expressions of satisfaction. No better opening could have offered for stemming the tide of French usurpation. The seas girdling Spain and Portugal were already almost as much our own as the English Channel. Our swarming cruisers could at all times co-operate with a force ashore, transfer it from point to point, and convey it home in case of disaster. Canning and Castlereagh promptly turned the opportunity to good account. Muskets, ammunition, and cash, were liberally contributed at the outset, with promises of other help to follow, almost before the state of war between the two nations was formally cancelled. The British naval and military commanders within easy reach of Spain scarcely waited for orders from home before offering hearty assistance to the patriotic cause. Sir John Moore, then up the Baltic with eleven thousand troops, looking out for a chance of helping the Swedes against the French and Russians, received orders to carry his force to the new and more promising field of war. Another force of nine thousand men, then assembled at Cork, and destined for service against the Spanish possessions in America, was placed under command of Sir Arthur Wellesley and ordered to the new theatre of hostilities, to help instead of to despoil the foes now changed to friends. Another body of five thousand troops, under General Spencer, was drafted from Sicily to Spain. An equal number, under Generals Anstruther and Acland, proceeded from England to the same destination. These several divisions made a total of thirty thousand. The choice of a commander-in-chief seems to have puzzled ministers amazingly. The ample instructions given to Wellesley as to his future political conduct in the Peninsula, leave no room to doubt that it was first intended that he should hold the supreme command. Castlereagh's letter to him, dated 30th June, 1808, prescribed the part he was to take in disputes that might arise between the two insurgent nations which he was to assist in throwing off the French yoke; directed him to use his good offices in arranging differences between the colonies and the mother country; informed him of the conditions on which the government would approve a nego-


CORK HARBOUR.

tiation between France and our new allies; and stated that the king was pleased to confide to him "the fullest discretion to act according to circumstances for the benefit of the service." Yet a few days later he was told officially that the supreme command was entrusted to Sir Henry Dalrymple, governor of Gibraltar, and that Sir Harry Burrard was to fill the place of second in command. Besides these elderly generals, both of whom were comparatively unknown, and unused to the command of armies, and whose only title to high command seems to have consisted in their seniority, Wellesley was to have yet another senior, in the person of Sir John Moore. There were other signs of indecision and conflicting influences at work in settling the arrangements for the coming campaign that boded ill for its success. Meanwhile Wellesley sailed for the new theatre of war, and it fell to him to have the exclusive direction of first operations. He reached Corunna with the troops from Cork on the 20th of July, a few days subsequent to the utter defeat of a large Spanish army at the battle of Rio Seco, in the Asturias. The local authorities were eager for every other form of help except that of which they stood most in need. Despite the disastrous rout just sustained by their native forces in the neighbouring province, they civilly declined the aid of troops, but pressed for gold, arms, and every form of military equipment. Wellesley helped them on their own terms and sailed away for the coast of Portugal, where he first received the mortifying intelligence of Dalrymple's appointment and the other arrangements that reduced him to the position of fourth in command. Writing home with reference to this announcement, he tells the duke of Richmond: "I hope I shall have beat Junot before any of them shall arrive, and then they may do as they please with me." This wish was so far realized, two weeks later, as to leave little room to doubt that he might soon have shipped the shattered and vanquished French army and its chief away to England, as prisoners of war. At that critical moment, however, the unlucky arrival of his superiors in the divided command thwarted his purposes and led to a conclusion many degrees below the high mark at which he aimed. The place chosen for landing his troops was the mouth of the river Mondego, about seventy miles north of Lisbon. Spencer's corps of five thousand men, after long hovering about Cadiz in expectation of employment in that quarter, arrived at the same destination before Sir Arthur's larger corps was entirely landed, and thus brought the total to about fourteen thousand, including four hundred cavalry. The Portuguese showed none of the reluctance to accept the help of British forces which had been exhibited by the mistrustful Spanish authorities at Corunna and Cadiz. They had recently endured the extremity of outrage and oppression at the hands of the French. With the view of crushing their spirit before the English could come to their aid, Junot and his lieutenants punished their insurrections with a savage ferocity. Kellerman, in one of his furious proclamations, boasted of wholesale devastation and butchery already inflicted on one offending town, and held out the terrible example as a warning against patriotic risings elsewhere. "Beja has revolted: Beja no longer exists," said this atrocious terrorist. "Its guilty inhabitants have been cut off with the edge of the sword, and its houses delivered up to pillage and the flames." Another general, equally ruthless, after overcoming the feeble resistance of some native troops that made a show of defending Evora, sacked and burnt the town, killing old and young of either sex to the number of nine hundred. Even churches and conventual establishments afforded no sanctuary; priests and nuns suffered indiscriminately among the mass of victims. But the day of reckoning was at hand. When the Spanish troops deserted Junot there remained only twenty-six thousand men to divide among them the duty of keeping all Portugal in subjection. The French armies in Spain had work enough on their hands at this conjuncture. Help from that quarter was out of the question, while succours by sea were still less to be expected, for swarms of British cruisers effectually barred all access to the shore. The surrender, in July, of a French army of eighteen thousand men, after the battle of Baleya, in Andalusia, and of their ships of war, long cooped up in Cadiz harbour, sent a thrill of exultation from the Pyrenees to the Atlantic. Juntas sprang up in Portugal, like those in Spain. The bishop of Oporto, who was at the head of the junta there, applied to the British government for help in money, arms, and men. Each of these forms of aid was freely rendered to the despoiled and impoverished nation. The native forces were small in number, and on other grounds not of much account, as had been amply proved by the insignificant part they played in contests with the French. Freire, then general-in-chief, proposed to join his force to the British army, but only on condition that the auxiliaries should furnish supplies for the native troops, instead of drawing subsistence themselves from the people they came to help. This proposal was declined, except for a small brigade of sixteen hundred and a few troops of cavalry. Junot, meanwhile, was making his arrangements for the discomfiture of the English. He sent Laborde with four thousand foot and six hundred horse to hang on their line of march and await the junction of other divisions, already concentrating for an attack near the capital. Wellesley's advanced divisions came in contact with Laborde's forces at Rolica, on the 17th of August. The French had the advantage of position, but were inferior in numbers. The fighting was at close quarters, and afforded, on a small scale, a good earnest of the tough work in store when larger armies of the two nations should meet to contend for mastery. Laborde drew off his beaten forces with consummate skill just as they were becoming hemmed in by the larger number of British. Writing next day respecting this first encounter with the foe, the English commander says: "The action was a most desperate one between the troops engaged. I never saw such fighting as in the pass, by the 29th and 9th, or in the three attacks made by the French in the mountains. These were in their best style." Each side lost about six hundred men in killed and wounded. News now came to hand that reinforcements were off the shore. These were Acland's and Anstruther's brigades just arrived from Ramsgate and Harwich. Wellesley bent his line of march yet further coastwise to ensure an unmolested disembarkation. His reinforcements joined him on the 19th and 20th at Vimiero, a village near the coast, and raised his total to seventeen thousand, of whom sixteen hundred were Portuguese.

Junot had twenty-six thousand troops altogether, but after providing for the security of Lisbon and furnishing garrisons for several fortresses and other important stategic positions, there were only fourteen thousand disposable for service in the field. These were now rapidly concentrated at Torres Vedras, a commanding position nine miles nearer Lisbon than the heights of Vimiero, where the English were posted. The evil fruits of that ministerial scheme which provided too many heads to direct operations now came into play. Sir John Moore's army of eleven thousand had arrived off the coast. Burrard, too, had come to the spot where the preceding divisions had just landed. Wellesley proposed a scheme of operations which would have taken his and Moore's forces, by different routes, to a point of junction between Lisbon and Junot's army at Torres Vedras. Burrard forbade any movement against the enemy until both English armies should be concentrated at Vimiero. Junot knew that the odds against him were rapidly augmenting. He decided to attack with his fourteen thousand before Wellesley's seventeen thousand received the additions then hovering off shore within sight of both camps. He had a large advantage in his numerous and most efficient cavalry, and he fully participated in the prevalent notion of the time, that slow though solid English troops, few of whom had ever been in action, would cut a sorry figure in front of nimble and well-seasoned French battalions, accustomed to victory. Quitting Torres Vedras in the night of the 20th, he arrived in front of the English position on the ridges adjacent to the village of Vimiero at about 9 A.M. on the 21st. The conflict began an hour later, and lasted till noon. There were two main French attacks, one on the British centre, the other on its left. Deep ravines, broken and rocky ground, water-courses, and patches of wood, prevented either side from seeing much of the other until within very close quarters. All the French divisions, including the reserves, were brought into action, in successive attacks and charges, but they nowhere gained ground. Barely half the British divisions were actually engaged, but these sufficed to roll back, in confused masses, the broken and shattered columns of their over-confident assailants. Every onset was firmly met and vigorously repulsed. Laborde, who had handled his troops with marked ability at Rolica, headed the most memorable of this day's attacks. He led a column which mounted the face of a hill strongly occupied by the British centre. Masses of his men arrived at the summit, despite a destructive fire of artillery which shattered their ranks. Before they had time to form, the 50th British regiment saluted them with a well-directed fire of musketry at close quarters, and then charged home with the bayonet in front and flank, hurling their thinned ranks precipitately back. Some pieces of field artillery, captured from the French in the course of their attack on the British left, were retaken, but only to be held for a few minutes. The regiment that first took, and then lost them, made another irresistible bayonet charge and recovered their prize. Foiled in all their onslaughts, the French gave way; but, covered by their cavalry, which were as four to one against the same arm on the side of their opponents, they made an orderly retreat. Their escape, however, was not due to Junot's generalship or the prowess of his defeated army, but to the fact that, at the critical moment when the fight was won, and the victorious army had actually commenced a pursuit of the retiring foe, Wellesley ceased to exercise the chief command. Burrard arrived on the field while the action was in progress. He abstained from interference during the conflict, but when the enemy were withdrawing he superseded Wellesley, and, despite the urgent remonstrances of the latter, issued orders that there should be no pursuit. This, too, in the face of the fact that half the British divisions, posted in positions which were not assailed, or reserved for contingencies that never arose, were ready and eager for the service. Moore's army was about to land, and Burrard was resolved not to move forward until the two forces were amalgamated. This excessive caution of a timid old general gained for Junot the advantage of an unmolested retreat. Several hundred prisoners, including a general, remained in the hands of the victors; the dead and wounded French exceeded two thousand; on the side of the English the loss was hardly one-third so heavy. In a letter written next day, and subsequently published in his supplementary despatches, Wellesley expresses the conviction that if Burrard had not come on the scene Junot's army would have been utterly dispersed or captured. He adds, with mingled indignation and contempt: "Indeed, since the arrival of the great generals, we appear to have been palsied, and everything has gone wrong." On the following day Burrard was superseded by the arrival of Dalrymple, the supreme chief in the great medley of cross purposes.

He was yet deliberating between the conflicting views of Wellesley and Burrard, though with an evident leaning to the cautious policy of the latter, when his painful doubts were suddenly dissipated by the arrival of a flag of truce from the enemy. Junot offered to yield possession of all the fortresses held by his troops, and to evacuate the country, if permitted to withdraw on honourable conditions. An armistice was concluded forthwith, followed promptly by the celebrated convention of Cintra, under which Dalrymple engaged, on the part of his government, to convey the French by sea to their own shores, not as prisoners of war, but with liberty to take part immediately in any field of hostilities. There were sundry minor conditions, securing, *inter alia*, to the French the retention of all property justly obtained, whether public or private; and to such Portuguese as had sided with the invaders, exemption from political persecution. Junot endeavoured also to have the Russian fleet, which had been cooped up in the Tagus about a year, guaranteed from capture. The decision of this point on the part of England rested with Admiral Cotton, who peremptorily declined to accept it. Ultimately he entered into a separate arrangement with Siniavin, the Russian admiral, under which the ships were handed over to England, as a deposit, to be restored when peace should be concluded between the two nations. The Russian officers and crews (more than five thousand in all) were conveyed home at the cost of the British. The convention was most distasteful to Wellesley. He, however, from the time he was thwarted in movements that would have enabled him to refuse the French any capitulation except on condition of laying down their arms, came to the conclusion that it was well to give them every facility for clearing out as soon as might be. By the middle of September the fortresses in and near Lisbon were handed over to the English, and within a few weeks everything French had vanished from Portugal. British shipping carried to French ports a total of twenty five thousand seven hundred and forty men, and sixteen hundred and fifty-five horses; together with the artillery and all the other belongings of Junot's army. In Portugal, as in England afterwards, the first news of the convention raised a storm of indignation. The exasperation of the people in Lisbon and Oporto found vent in turbulence, anarchy, and crime. French stragglers fell victims to the hate of the mob, and it required every exertion of firmness, combined with forbearance on the part of both the British and French military authorities, to avert bloodshed on a larger scale. The fussy bishop of Oporto, who aspired to become the head of a provisional government, and Freire, the general who took his troops out of harm's way at the crisis when British and French were about to come into collision, became very conspicuous by their wrathful clamours against auxiliaries who had presumed to act as principals. They denounced the British as the abettors and protectors of the enemy, and insisted that the convention had no force because their consent had never been given or asked. In reply to these pretentious remonstrances from men who had been helpless in the hour of trial, Dalrymple stated that the convention was purely military, and as such concerned only the actual belligerents. He added that the British, in receiving the fortresses from the foe whom they had beaten in the field, had no separate or secret interest to serve, but were acting loyally up to the purpose that drew them into the country—to overthrow French dominion there, and to restore the independence of the nation. Under advice of the British government, a council of regency was promptly set afoot in Lisbon. The people quickly ceased to show distrust of allies who had liberated them from a foreign yoke. The Spanish troops, upwards of four thousand in number, held in durance on board the hulks at Lisbon, gained their liberty under one of the provisions of the convention. These were now clothed and equipped and carried to Barcelona at the expense of England.

Loud was the outcry in England against letting off the French on such easy terms, after so prosperous a commencement of operations against them. The commanders compromised by this arrangement were promptly ordered home to answer for their conduct. Dalrymple, Burrard, Wellesley, and others, were examined before a court of inquiry which sat at Chelsea. The investigation occupied several months. In the end the armistice and convention were officially disapproved on the part of government, and thenceforward the names of the two generals who let Junot off on his own terms dropped out of notice. It has been said, but on doubtful authority, that Napoleon, too, had his discontents with the convention. The saying attributed to him on this point runs to the effect: "I was going to send Junot before a council of war, when fortunately the English tried their generals, and thus saved me the pain of punishing an old friend." The story is, however, inconsistent with the notorious fact that Junot retained his command without any suspension. He spent but a few weeks in France before he again crossed the Pyrenees, at the head of his old regiments. He shared the pursuit, at the close of the year, of a British army composed in part of the same regiments with which he had contended unsuccessfully in Portugal.

There was some talk of peace in the autumn. The proposal came in the form of a joint letter from the French and Russian emperors to the king of England. Napoleon had just completed his arrangements for detaching two hundred thousand of his choicest troops from Italy, the Rhine, Denmark, Poland, and Prussia, for the reconquest of the Peninsula. The imperial guard, the veterans who had fought at Jena, Austerlitz, and Friedland, with a host of cavalry inured to war, all troops of confirmed courage and hardihood, were now on ceaseless march through France to the Pyrenees and beyond. The places of these select soldiers were forthwith filled up by two fresh conscriptions, yielding one hundred and sixty thousand more of the youth of France and the subject states, to be immolated on the shrine of a boundless ambition. But while making these formidable preparations for further conflict, Napoleon had substantial reasons for preferring peace with England, if it could be had without any great sacrifices on his own side. Austria was assuming a menacing attitude; Prussia was a source of misgiving; Portugal was already wrested from his grasp; his hold on Spain required to be reasserted by a large augmentation of his strength in that quarter. There was risk of a strain somewhere that might prove irreparably disastrous in one or more of the outlying portions of his colossal empire. A few weeks before his fresh overtures for peace, he addressed one of his customary appeals to the courage and military pride of his troops, marked by a tone anything but peaceful or conciliatory towards England. "Soldiers," said this vaunting address, "after triumphing on the banks of the Vistula and the Danube, you have passed with rapid steps through Germany. This day, without a moment of repose, I command you to traverse France. Soldiers, I have need of you! The hideous presence of the leopard contaminates the peninsula of Spain and Portugal. In terror he must fly before you. Let us bear our triumphal eagles to the pillars of Hercules; there also we have injuries to avenge. Soldiers! you have passed the renown of modern armies, but have you yet equalled the glory of those Romans who in one and the same campaign were victorious upon the Rhine and the Euphrates, in Illyria and upon the Tagus! A long peace, a lasting prosperity, shall be the reward of your labours; but a real Frenchman will not, ought not to rest, until the seas are free and open to all." The "leopard" to be chased by these renowned warriors is one among many droll instances of Bonaparte's misconceptions in reference to "perfidious Albion." It was his favourite metaphor for the English banner, in which he confounded the respectable British lion with a less reputable beast, the leopard. The destruction of his navy at Trafalgar was to be atoned for by conquests that would substitute the eagles of France for the flag of England on the bastions of Gibraltar. Immediately after this resonant blast of the war trumpet, and while all Europe is stirred by the tramp of his enormous marauding hosts on their southward march, Bonaparte hastens northward to Erfurth, there to hold high conference with his good ally, the emperor of Russia, and to draw yet closer the bonds of amity established at Tilsit with his brother despot. Among the first fruits of their sweet counsel was the letter to the king of England, bearing both the imperial signatures. This letter began with reciting that the circumstances of Europe had brought the two emperors together. Their first thought was to yield to the wishes and the wants of every people, and to seek "in a speedy pacification" (so said these fraternal apostles of good-will and harmony among the nations) "the most efficacious remedy for the miseries which oppressed all states." Then followed the admission that Bonaparte's persistent endeavour to strangle England's prosperity by shutting the continent against her commerce had recoiled upon all who favoured, or promoted, or submitted to his scheme. "If many changes had taken place in Europe, if many states had been overthrown, the cause was to be found in the state of agitation and misery in which the stagnation of maritime commerce had placed the greatest nations. Still greater changes might yet take place, and all of them contrary to the policy of the English nation. Peace, then, was the interest of the people of the continent, as it was of the people of Great Britain." But with all this yearning for peace there was no offer to make any sacrifice to obtain it. The two self-appointed arbiters of the fate of Europe had settled in advance that Spain must submit to her new master, and that the existing territorial arrangement of the other states must be maintained. This foregone conclusion effectually barred the way for negociation, which never passed beyond the stage of a statement, on the side of England, that the rights and interests of her allies must be respected in any treaty of peace to which she might consent to become a party. This was met by a decided negative on the part of the two emperors, who refused to treat on any terms that would disturb present possessions, however acquired. Thus again was dissipated the fleeting prospect of peace.

Napoleon could scarcely have been sincere in this overture, for he must have felt very certain that England, after wresting Portugal from his grasp, would continue her efforts for the liberation of Spain also. He returned from Germany, and on the 24th of October announced to his senate: "In a few days I go to put myself at the head of my armies, and, with the aid of God, to crown the king of Spain in Madrid, to plant my eagles on the towers of Lisbon." At that moment an English army under Sir John Moore was moving from Lisbon into the heart of Spain. A few weeks later a second army under Sir David Baird was landed at Corunna, under instructions to effect a junction from the interior with Moore, the new commander-in-chief of all the British forces in the Peninsula. In the middle of November Moore was halting at Salamanca, awaiting the arrival of Baird with his ten thousand men from Corunna, and of Sir John Hope, who was coming from Portugal with the artillery, by a longer route than Moore had traversed. His total, when all reached the rendezvous, was twenty-five thousand. But the French were now pouring nearly tenfold that number of fresh troops across the Pyrenees, to join the seventy thousand already holding the country between that mountain barrier and the Ebro. Meanwhile the Spanish armies, of which much had been heard, and which were constantly putting forward claims for more and more arms, ammunition, clothing, and money from England, were all far below their vaunted numbers, and were otherwise too feeble to stem with effect the devastating torrent of the new invasion. By this time Moore had learned that to trust in Spanish promises was to depend on a broken reed. News reached him daily of some fresh disaster to the armies with which he was sent to co-operate. The victory of Baylen, which in the summer had seemed to herald the revival of Spain's ancient glories, seemed now to have worked more hurt than benefit to the patriotic cause. Napier, the graphic historian of the Peninsular war, has an apt passage on this point. He says: "The battle of Baylen opened, as it were, a new crater for Spanish pride, and vanity, and arrogance. The glory of past ages seemed to be renewed. Every man conceived himself a second Cid, and perceived, in the surrender of Dupont, not only the deliverance of Spain, but the immediate conquest of France. 'We are much obliged to our good friends the English,' was a common phrase among them, when conversing with the officers of Sir John Moore's army; 'we thank them for their good-will, and we shall escort them through France to Calais; the journey will be pleasanter than a long voyage; we will not give them the trouble of fighting the French, but shall be pleased at having them as spectators of our victories.'" Had the defeat and surrender of the eighteen thousand French at Baylen, and the other tokens of a failing cause which followed as the immediate consequences of that reverse, such as abandoning the siege of Zaragoza, and retiring from every quarter of Spain except the slopes of the Pyrenees; had these indications of weakness been entirely unreal, and mere cunning stratagems of war, devised to lull the Spaniards into a fatal and false security, the cause of the invaders would have gained a full recompense for such self-imposed reverses if they had thereby secured such a state of helplessness as Spain presented three months after the prosperous issue of her first convulsive struggle for national independence. With the retreat of the intrusive king from the capital, on the 3rd of August, the leaders of the insurrection seemed to think the war had come to an end, and that triumph and rejoicing alone ought to occupy the thoughts of all good Spaniards. And when this idle dream was roughly dissipated, want of unity left the nation an easy prey to a fresh attack. Each junta had its quarrels with all the others; the generals shared in these squabbles, and had besides incessant disputes among themselves. Jealousies, animosities, arrogance, and self-seeking, characterized, almost without exception, all the men who figured as leaders in the national movement. The moral and physical forces of the nation and its whole political framework seemed paralyzed and out of gear. Genius, whether in war or politics, was dead or dormant throughout the land. By dint of incessant persuasion, the agents of the British government induced the local juntas to choose representatives from their number to serve as members of a central council. When, however, this imperfect central authority was set on foot, the crisis of adversity came with a crash which overturned it, and brought again into mischievous action the perverse local juntas. In the previous six months Spain had received in gifts from England two hundred thousand muskets, ammunition, stores, clothing and equipments in proportion, and sixteen millions of dollars in cash. Before the end of November large portions of those arms, stores, and money had been snapped up as spoil of war by the deluge of French troops. Blake, Romana, Castanos, Cuesta, and Palafox, with shattered fragments of their feeble armies, were all put to flight. Madrid submitted early in December. It only remained for the victors on the one hand to encounter the English army, which had in point of fact arrived too late on the theatre of war; and on the other to lay siege to the few places of strength in the south of the country, in which the defeated and broken native forces found shelter. The Spanish losses in killed and wounded had been enormous; those of the French insignificant. Now that the campaign was well nigh over, there were serving under Napoleon's standard in Spain more than three hundred thousand fighting men, with artillery and cavalry numbering sixty thousand horses. One-tenth of this enormous host could have traversed the country from end to end in the face of any native force, even at the outset of the campaign; for the Spaniards, undisciplined, insubordinate, disorganized, and commanded by generals acting independently of each other, quarrelsome, ignorant, inflated with a ridiculous pride that spurned advice or control, were at a pitiable disadvantage in conflict with the choicest troops of France. Napoleon was fully alive to the fact that the task of subduing Spain was not one requiring the employment of the colossal forces he chose to employ on the service. But his aim was to strike terror and compel submission by the rapidity and completeness of his conquest; to overwhelm, as with a devastating avalanche, the puny obstacles opposed to his prodigious power. The effect of a rapid and easy subjugation of the Peninsula would extend far beyond the limits of that country. All Germany was astir with aspirations for national freedom. This effervescence might be subdued by the example of a speedy and effectual quenching of the similar flame in the kingdoms beyond the Pyrenees. And if the Germans and Austrians must again be quieted by the presence of their conqueror at the head of his legions, it behoved him, on that ground also, to finish the Spanish campaign quickly and thoroughly. Hence the employment of means out of proportion, at first sight, to the work to be done. When Madrid submitted, there remained on the one hand four or five towns to be seized in the south of Spain, and the British army to be disposed of in the north central part of the kingdom. Some French historians state that Napoleon longed to see the English advance yet further into the interior, that he might with the greater certainty surround and capture them. But for their presence in the country between Salamanca and Burgos, he would now have headed a strong column for the reconquest of Portugal. They were operating against Soult's corps when it fell to him to make a decision. At this moment Moore had determined to fall back on the coast. The march to Lisbon was four hundred miles, that to Corunna three hundred. He preferred the shorter for obvious reasons, and made his arrangements accordingly. He had failed in all his efforts to concert a plan of campaign with the Spanish generals. Their cause was lost for the present, and they were all fugitives in the mountains and forests, or under cover of the few strong places that had hitherto held the enemy at bay. Nothing remained for Moore but to consult the safety of his own force, which was now in a position of peril from its proximity to several larger bodies of the enemy, who would soon have hemmed him round and severed his line of communications. Soult, on Napoleon's suggestion, sought to draw him into the toils of several converging corps. On the 24th of December he began his retrograde movement towards Corunna. Some skirmishes occurred between his cavalry outposts and bands of the enemy who were scouring the country in all directions, levying contributions on the inhabitants. Fighting on a larger scale was in store for him. Napoleon himself was soon following on his heels at a rapid pace, and Soult and other generals joined in the pursuit on another line of road. On the 27th the emperor wrote to his brother Joseph: "If the English have not already retreated they are lost; if they retire, they will be pursued so vigorously to their ships, that half of them will never re-embark." There was much to warrant this prediction. He urged the pursuit with such headlong haste, that in ten days he had traversed two hundred miles of mountainous country in the depth of winter, through passes choked with snow, taking under his own immediate command fifty thousand men and one hundred and fifty pieces of field artillery. An enormous train of carts, laden with fifteen days' provisions, supplied food for this army. Several times his advanced force of cavalry came in collision with the British rear guard, but never got the best in any encounter. The most memorable of these minor fights occurred on the 29th of December, at the fords of the Esla. On this occasion the 10th Hussars, led by Lord Paget, charged six hundred horsemen of the imperial guard, killed or wounded two hundred, captured their commander, General Lefebre, and sent the rest flying headlong through the river. On the last day of the year the British rear guard cleared out of Astorga. On the 1st of January, 1809, the main French army, under command of Napoleon, took possession of that town. The detached corps under Soult arrived on the same day, and raised the total French force to seventy thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry, and two hundred pieces of artillery. French historians indulge the belief that Napoleon would certainly have captured or destroyed the English army had he been able to continue in person the pursuit which he headed as far as Astorga. At that remote town couriers brought him news which urgently demanded his presence in France and Germany. The Austrians were preparing for war, hoping to retrieve the disastrous issue of Austerlitz, now that half the French emperor's troops were dispersed over the western extremity of Europe. Leaving Soult and Ney with sixty thousand men to follow Moore, Napoleon hastened to Paris. The British divided a few miles from Astorga, in order to lessen the pressure on the commissariat. Between three and four thousand, forming the light brigades, took the road to Oreuse and Vigo, and about nineteen thousand continued on the route to Corunna. They made good their retreat, though not without considerable losses, due chiefly to that relaxation of discipline which seems to be inseparable from long-continued hardships and privations. Thousands of the men were at this time barefoot and insufficiently clad, after three months of forced marches in a mountainous country and in the worst part of the year. Often all the troops were chilled and drenched by deluges of rain, and exhausted by long marches. Their rations were not unfrequently meagre and insufficient, and at times no fuel could be got to cook their food in the dreary, desolate, and snow-covered country. Their waggons, containing the stores and baggage, were often deserted by the terrified drivers; the mules and horses were worn out with heavy work. Stores, baggage, and other needful encumbrances had to be destroyed in proportion as the draught animals failed. At one point on the march, where the military chest seemed in peril of falling into the hands of the enemy, its contents, in dollars, to the value of 25,000*l.*, were rolled down the face of a mountain, where they were quickly gathered by the peasants and the French troops. Harassed by fatigues and borne down by privations, the men at times grew indifferent to their fate, reckless and insubordinate. In such a mood they were not proof against temptation, when occasion offered, to sate their craving for more liberal diet. They broke into farm-yards and wine stores, and seized whatever provision or beverage was to be had. Too often they indulged in excesses that left them helpless against a vigilant foe, ever close at their heels. Their demoralization increased with their miseries, and as these were at their climax in the last few stages of the retreat, so also the losses by capture within sixty miles of Corunna were threefold more numerous than in all the preceding journeys from the vicinity of Madrid and Burgos. Moore made a stand at several places where the country offered strong defensive positions for checking the advance of a superior force. But Soult, with all his enterprise, was too cautious to risk battle against a desperate foe, strongly posted. Moore barred the way against him for three days by taking post on a hill-side and among vineyards intersected with stone walls outside the little town of Lugo. Some outpost fighting occurred here, in which the French lost between three and four hundred. They desisted, and awaited the arrival of their lagging divisions. Moore's forces being now well rested, and having taught their enemy caution, decamped in the night, leaving their watch-fires burning, and strong patrols to keep up the show of a full encampment. Three more marches brought them in sight of Corunna, but the bay that should have been crowded with shipping was vacant. On the 14th, however, the expected transports arrived. The sick and wounded, the dismounted cavalry, the best of the horses, the bulk of the artillery, and the most valuable stores, were hurriedly embarked. The greater portion of the horses were shot, for the several reasons that the ground where the enemy must be met was too broken for cavalry evolutions; the embarkation would be a long operation, involving more than a mere risk of molestation; and it was desirable not to let them, in any case, fall into the hands of the foe. The troops available for action, about fourteen thousand in number, held the outskirts of the town and two villages beyond. On the afternoon of the 16th they were assailed by twenty thousand French, who made simultaneous attacks along the whole British line. The French had the advantage in artillery, both in number of guns and weight of metal. This, however, availed them little from the time the infantry on both sides were brought into action at close quarters in the space between the opposing lines. The severest struggle occurred at the little village of Elvina, which in the first instance was held by British pickets, then by a strong column of French infantry, and finally by the 50th and 42nd British regiments, after a long and stubborn hand-to-hand fight among the houses and enclosures. As the short wintry afternoon waned, the French gave way in confusion along their whole line, leaving between two and three thousand dead and wounded on the ground, mingled with less than half as many British. Towards the close of the battle, Sir John Moore met his death-stroke. A cannon ball struck him from his horse, shattering his left shoulder and breast. Life ebbed fast away, but not before the gallant soldier was solaced by the glad news that the victory was won. Sir David Baird being wounded and disabled, the command devolved on General Hope. To follow up the victory against greatly superior and fast increasing numbers was out of the question. Had the French not attacked, the British were all to have embarked that night. This intention was now carried into effect, but it was not till the 18th that all the laden transports cleared out of harbour. Moore was buried in the citadel within a few hours of his death. The incidents of that touching funeral, as graphically set forth in a poem of the time, are familiar to all of English lineage. Soult, with a generosity as conspicuous as his military genius, raised a monument on the field of battle to the memory of his able opponent. The total loss of the British, in the whole campaign, including killed, wounded, stragglers, and other prisoners, was only four thousand and thirty-three, out of about sixfold that number originally included in the expedition. The failure of this enterprise must not be imputed to the fault of the general. His greatest contemporaries in the military art paid high tribute to his merits as exhibited in this campaign. Soult has put on record that "Moore took every advantage that the country afforded to oppose an active and vigorous resistance, and he finished by dying in a combat that must do credit to his memory." Wellington saw only one error in the campaign,—that the retreat should have been provided for in all its stages from the outset. He adds to this opinion the important qualification that it was formed after a long experience of the peculiarities of Spanish war. Napoleon, at St. Helena, said Moore's talents and firmness alone had saved the English army from destruction. One of Moore's latest despatches to government contains the following just exposition of the causes of his failure. "The British were sent to aid the Spanish armies, but they are not equal alone to encounter the French, who have at least eighty thousand men, and we have nothing to expect from the Spaniards, who are not to be trusted. They are apathetic, lethargic, quick to promise, backward to act, improvident, insensible to the shame of flying before the enemy; they refuse all assistance. The Spanish armies have shown no resolution, the people no enthusiasm nor daring spirit; and that which has not been shown hitherto, I know not why it should be expected to be displayed hereafter." This plain speaking failed at first to carry conviction to the government, and was looked upon as the gloomy and despondent retrospect natural to an unprosperous commander. But ample confirmation soon showed the justice of the verdict. The earliest debate in the session of 1809 turned on military transactions in the Peninsula. Ministers defeated a motion of censure founded on that topic, although they had but the lamest excuse to offer in extenuation of their utter ignorance of the real state of affairs in Spain. "Why," said Canning, "should government be ashamed to say that they wanted that knowledge of the interior of Spain which they found no one possessed. With every other part of the continent we had more intercourse; of the situation of Spain we had everything to learn." There were protests in parliament and croakings in the press against further waste of life and treasure in contests by land with a military power which it was deemed absurd to hope to match. But there was also a resolute feeling abroad in the nation that went with ministers and their parliamentary majority in the decision to do something more for both the peninsular nations at the first opportunity. Nor was it long before an occasion presented itself. Much of the session passed in discussions of small concern to later times, though of an interest so absorbing in their day that home and foreign politics alike shared a common eclipse in presence of the more enticing topic. The duke of York, second son of the king, had shown his unfitness for high military command in an abortive if not a disgraceful campaign in Belgium and Holland. That was now an affair of many years gone by, and was scarcely remembered to his disadvantage. His control of the army administration, in his high official position at the Horse Guards as commander-in-chief, had hitherto been creditable and meritorious in a marked degree. Suddenly his reputation was assailed on charges affecting alike his public and private character. Colonel Wardle startled the House towards the close of January by a motion for inquiry into the duke's conduct in regard to promotions, exchanges, and appointments, to commissions in the army. It was shown that he had permitted Mrs. Clarke, his mistress, the runaway wife of an artizan, to interfere in military promotions; that he had given commissions on her recommendation; and that she had received money for securing such appointments or promotions. The evidence was taken at the bar of the House, Mrs. Clarke being among the witnesses examined. There was little room for doubt that the duke had allowed her to interfere in appointments and promotions; that he knew she received money for her recommendations; and that the establishment he had set up for her was supported, in part at least, by funds thus improperly earned. The immorality of the duke's life was already notorious. Such a failing was, however, not rare in those days in members of the royal family, or in aristocratic circles, and was not very severely reprobated in society at large. But the commander-in-chief's integrity in the discharge of his high public trust was a point on which less indulgent notions were in vogue. On this head there was no inclination to excuse any departure from strict impartiality. Ministers were anxious to screen the duke, but this was beyond their power. In the seven weeks during which the investigation occupied the undivided attention of the House, they defeated several motions charging the duke with complicity in the nefarious traffic, and urging his removal from the Horse Guards. But the resolution declaring that no foundation existed for the imputation of personal corruption or connivance at corruption was opposed by so powerful a minority (one hundred and ninety-six votes) that the duke's continuance in office in the face of such an expression of public opinion was out of the question. He resigned, and Wardle for a brief interval enjoyed an enviable popularity, until an upholsterer obtained a verdict against him for a large debt incurred in furnishing a house for the same frail creature whose supreme influence at the Horse Guards the colonel had denounced. In the course of the searching investigation into the charges affecting the duke, disclosures came out showing that corrupt practices were rife in respect to appointments in many departments of the public service, and under the East India Company. Some writers and cadets, then actually in India, were forthwith dismissed on the discovery that they had obtained their appointments by corrupt practices. Lord Castlereagh was charged with having placed a valuable Indian appointment at Lord Clancarty's disposal, to be bartered for a seat in parliament in favour of a ministerial nominee. An early consequence of the exposure of such abuses was the passing a bill making it penal to ask or receive money for appointments in the army, church, or state. While parliament was in this reforming mood, more than one member ventured to moot the question of purity of parliamentary elections. They accused the treasury of corrupt practices in securing parliamentary seats for candidates who were pledged to support the measures of ministers. Mr. Perceval and Lord Castlereagh had recently called upon a member of this stamp to resign his seat when they became aware that he was about to give an adverse vote on one of the motions affecting the duke of York. This case was cited in support of the motion. Thereupon Canning, disdaining to offer any defence of a practice which up to that time had been regarded by every administration as part of the settled routine of parliamentary government, opposed the motion on the sole ground that it was declared by its promoters to be the first step towards parliamentary reform; against such encroachments he warned the House to make a determined stand. This appeal was almost superfluous; the partizans of reform in that House numbered less than a hundred. Later in the session Sir Francis Burdett attempted to revive the subject. His motion went no further than to pledge the House to take into consideration, at an early period next session, the state of the national representation. This drew from Perceval the declaration that the cabinet saw no reason whatever to enter on the subject of parliamentary reform at all. Events on the banks of the Seine, now of twenty years' standing, still darkened the prospect of political reform in England. Canning and Perceval acted strenuously up to Pitt's programme of refusing to listen to any proposals for change; and the aged monarch, now verging on the utter prostration of his mental powers, was irrevocably attached to the policy of the party that now wielded power in his name. The session closed on the 21st of June with a speech breathing hope for Spain, whose cause had now gained a fresh start by the declaration of war between Austria and France.

When Sir John Moore quitted Portugal, he left about ten thousand British troops in the various fortresses of that country under command of Cradock. The Portuguese council of regency applied to the British government for a general to command the native levies. General Beresford was nominated for that duty, and gained forthwith the rank of marshal and commander-in-chief of the Portuguese army. This was a high-sounding title for the commander of some twenty thousand loutish militiamen, in the worst possible state as respects arms, clothing, discipline, quality of officers, and every other consideration that enters into the composition of a reliable military force. It was a work of time to cure such a catalogue of evils, but under Beresford's command the troops did eventually attain to a state of high efficiency. But they were not yet numerous enough, even with the aid of the ten thousand British who held Lisbon and several important frontier fortresses, for the defence of Portugal against that surging tide of French reconquest which had enveloped Spain with startling rapidity. The battle of Corunna saved Moore's army from a disgraceful capitulation, and restored its prestige after the damaging effects of a retreat. But the battle only kept the French at bay till the English had quitted the harbour. The town then fell into Soult's possession. Vigo, Ferrol, and a large tract of neighbouring country, submitted within the following month. Another month sufficed to add the northern half of Portugal, in which were no English troops, to Soult's easy conquests. His troops took Oporto by assault on the 29th of March. Some of their stragglers having been barbarously mutilated by the Portuguese, the French exacted a terrible revenge. Savary, one of their own generals of that period, a man accustomed to scenes of horror, and nowise disposed to give his countrymen a bad name, furnishes the following awful summary of one day's work in Oporto: "It was in vain that Soult strove with all his power to stay the slaughter. The frightful scene of rape, pillage and murder, continued for many hours. What with those who fell in battle, those who were drowned, and those sacrificed to revenge, ten thousand Portuguese are said to have died that day." Revolts in his rear obliged Soult to detach portions of his army to hold the country northward of Oporto. There was no body of troops that could have resisted his entire subjugation of the whole country, and that with as much facility as had marked the previous conquest by Marshal Junot. But the British government, after some hesitation, during which they contemplated an entire evacuation of Portugal, had again taken heart, and resolved to send Sir Arthur Wellesley in supreme command of another expedition. He arrived at Lisbon on the 22nd of April. Some regiments quickly followed him. On the 28th, he began his northward march of two hundred miles to Oporto, at the head of a mixed British and Portuguese force of sixteen thousand men. A fortnight sufficed for the march, in the course of which the French were driven precipitately from Coimbra and other places. Soult had ten thousand troops in Oporto. The broad and deep Douro rolled between him and Wellesley. He had cut the bridges and carried off the boats, and therefore felt tolerably secure of a leisurely retreat if no better fortune awaited him. The work cut out for the British seemed sufficiently arduous; but they were now led by a general who saw at a glance how to overcome obstacles that were not absolutely insurmountable. Surveying the city and its neighbourhood from a commanding elevation on the southern bank, Sir Arthur formed a plan of crossing and attacking if only he could get hold of boats and barges. The goodwill of the working population came to his aid. Through the night volunteer boatmen busied themselves in the stealthy transfer of various means of transport from the French to the British side of the river. Next day the French were startled by the sudden and unexpected apparition of the whole British army, safely landed, and in full march on the city on three distinct lines of attack. They had already commenced to evacuate the town, when the British encountered their retiring columns. Some sharp fighting ensued, in which the French were everywhere worsted. They hastened the retreat, leaving behind their sick and wounded, several hundred prisoners, most of their artillery, and much baggage. The British loss in action was about a score killed and a hundred wounded; that of the French was fivefold more numerous. Wellesley's first care was the safety of his prisoners, including seven hundred sick in the hospitals. Such was the exasperation of the Portuguese against the French, that there was serious risk of these helpless men being immolated in retribution of the savagery under which the citizens had perished in thousands on the capture of Oporto six weeks earlier. Wellesley issued a proclamation declaring that by the laws of war, the captured French were under his protection, and that he was resolved to defend them. He called on the inhabitants to assist in the discharge of this duty and forwarded a message to Soult, asking that French surgeons should be sent forthwith to tend their sick and wounded, service for which his own staff was insufficient. Then he pressed the pursuit with such vigour that Soult's army suffered heavy losses in men and animals, and had to abandon cannon, ammunition, stores, baggage, military chest, everything. The story is a repetition of the British retreat on Corunna, but with additional miseries. The rapacity and cruelty of the French troops provoked in this their hour of trial a terrible retribution from the Portuguese peasantry. The whole line of retreat was marked by evidences of mutual exasperation and ferocity. Every soldier who fell exhausted by the way, or strayed from the columns, was murdered, and the route of the troops could be seen far ahead by the smoke of the dwellings they had set on fire. Soult's unencumbered army retreated at a pace that the English found it difficult to keep up with. The pursuit ceased on the sixth day from its commencement, but not until the French were beyond the bounds of Portugal. Their loss by the sword, sickness, assassination and capture amounted to six thousand out of the twenty-five thousand five hundred who had entered Portugal eleven weeks earlier. Within a few weeks of crossing into Spain, Soult effected a junction with Ney's and Mortier's divisions in Gallicia, Asturias, and Leon. His total force was thus raised to sixty thousand men; but as those provinces were again in vigorous insurrection, he had work enough on hand for the present. Wellesley entered Spain in the beginning of July, after waiting about six weeks on the frontier, watching the course of events, and endeavouring to arrange with the Spanish General Cuesta a scheme of combined operations against other French armies in the provinces bordering on the south of Portugal. His line of march was in the direction of Madrid. The Spaniards, thirty-eight thousand in number, under Cuesta, joined him at Oropesa. His own army numbered only nineteen thousand. They were now approaching a French army of thirty thousand under Marshal Victor, at Talavera. The French fell back after some skirmishing on the 22nd, between the outposts, and effected a junction, first with the division under Sebastiani, and then with additional forces under King Joseph, thus bringing their total up to fifty thousand tried veterans. Wellesley's greatest difficulty consisted in settling any plan of combined operations with the proud old Spanish commander, whom he found more and more impracticable every day. But Cuesta's insufferable self-sufficiency was partially cured by a reverse that befel him. Victor fell back six miles on the road towards Madrid, where he was joined by twenty thousand other troops. Sir Arthur had now advanced to the limit he had laid down some days before, when he made the painful discovery that none of the wants of his army would be alleviated by the Spanish government, or generals, or people. Meanwhile Soult's army, now increased to seventy thousand, was advancing from Leon, by way of Salamanca, to fall on the rear of the British army. Cuesta chose this inopportune occasion to urge an advance against the fifty thousand French who blocked the road to Madrid. Sir Arthur positively refused, and insisted upon taking up a position in which to await an attack of the enemy. Thereupon Cuesta, in the fulness of his overweening conceit, led his army alone against the French, and with the result which his previous experience should have taught him to expect. His troops were thrown into confusion, and put to rout at the first collision. He lost four thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the rest were only saved from utter dispersion or capture by a British division which interposed and checked the pursuit. Humbled by this disaster, Cuesta permitted Wellesley to have his own way in the arrangements for the decisive battle that remained to be fought. The British general had already selected his field of battle outside Talavera. The allied armies retired to that place, where they were quickly followed by the French. The Spaniards were so advantageously posted that they could hardly be assailed until the British were first vanquished. The attack began on the 27th, when the fighting was limited to one section of the British line. The French had the best of it at the outset, but the British rallied and hurled backed the assailants. A body of the enemy's cavalry penetrated to one part of the Spanish position, where it produced such a prodigious panic that ten thousand of the wretched poltroons in the guise of soldiers took to their heels and fled far to the rear, carrying the news that all was lost. Cuesta's cavalry pursued the fugitives, and brought back half of them during the night. The conflict between French and British continued long after dark. At length the well-known hurrahs of the British rose above the din of war. The enemy had yielded at all points, leaving the ground strewn with a thousand of their dead and wounded, mingled with eight hundred of the fallen British. In the grey twilight of early dawn on the 28th the French renewed their attack, and a furious fight ensued, resulting in their repulse at all points. The firing ceased on both sides from nine o'clock on that sultry July morning until two in the afternoon. In the interval unarmed soldiers from both sides slaked their thirst in a brook that meandered between the hostile lines, and exchanged salutations and the courtesies becoming chivalrous foes. At about an hour after midday, the roll of the drum summoned the French troops to their standards. Then again they advanced in dark masses, heralded by a storm of ball and bullets from eighty pieces of artillery. An answering storm of death-dealing shot from the British line fell thick and fast on the dense columns of the French, inflicting fearful carnage. All parts of the British line sustained in succession the furious assaults of the foe. But the most determined and repeated assaults were directed against the British centre, which occupied a steep hill, the key to the whole position. In the excitement of a successful repulse of the most formidable of the attempts in this direction, the battalion of guards, with rash ardour, quitted their line to follow close on the broken and shattered columns of the enemy. This movement carried them close to a mass of French reserves, infantry and cavalry, with which the repulsed columns formed a junction. Then the guards in their turn were beaten back in disorder, and closely followed by the exultant enemy. Wellesley's keen glance had noted the rash advance, and anticipated its consequences, for he was so posted as to command a full view of the masses of French against which the guards must soon come in collision. At the critical moment, he ordered down from an adjoining hill, the 48th regiment, which nobly arrested the advance of the pursuing columns, plied them with destructive musketry, and closed upon them for a bayonet charge. The guards now rallied, under cover of this opportune succour. Artillery lent its timely aid to check and break the dark, dense columns of the French, who now finally lost heart, wavered, turned, and fled to the position from whence they had descended to the attack. The battle of Talavera ranks among the most stubborn contests in modern war. Wellesley said of it shortly afterwards: "We had certainly a most fierce contest at Talavera, and the victory which we gained has at least added to the military reputation of the country, and has convinced the French that their title to be called the first military nation in Europe will be disputed, not unsuccessfully." Jomini, one of the French generals then commanding in Spain, and a high authority as a military historian and critic, says of Talavera: "This battle recovered the glory of the successors of Marlborough, which for a century had declined. It was felt that the English infantry could contend with the best in Europe." The losses on both sides were very heavy, amounting in killed and wounded to fully a fourth of the number that bore the actual brunt of battle. On the side of the British, the total casualties in both days' fighting amounted to five thousand five hundred, the corresponding total of French loss was more than seven thousand. Each side had two generals killed. The Spaniards returned their loss at one thousand two hundred; but this was believed to be a monstrous exaggeration, under which they vainly strove to cover their shameful inactivity and cowardly avoidance of close fighting. In reality, Wellesley's nineteen thousand, of whom only sixteen thousand were British, had beaten King Joseph's thirty thousand French veterans who were over and over again hurled exclusively against the British line of battle. There was no pursuit, for the British were reduced to fourteen thousand sabres and bayonets, and the Spaniards, with all their inflated notions, were modest enough to refrain from the task, though they had taken next to no share in the battle. Next day, three fresh regiments reached the English camp. These were the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th, who, while on the march to join their comrades, were met by the runaway Spanish troops with the alarming news that the allies were defeated, Sir Arthur Wellesley was killed, and the French were only a few miles distant, in hot pursuit. General Crawford, who led these three regiments, resolved not to halt till he reached the field of battle. The men nobly seconded that decision. In twenty-six hours they traversed sixty-two miles in the hottest part of the year, leaving only a few stragglers behind, although each soldier was weighted with from fifty to sixty pounds in his knapsack. The worthy fellows found their victorious comrades starving, so wretched was the working of the commissariat, so selfish and indifferent the Spaniards to the distress of their only friends in the day of trial. The authorities and the inhabitants alike seemed to have adopted a settled purpose to extract all that was to be got from the English, but to give nothing in return. They exacted extravagant prices for any service rendered to the army that came to fight their battles, and it was difficult to draw food supplies from them on any terms, until the needs of their own inefficient armies were first satisfied. The junta now began to urge the English general to make a further advance towards Madrid. His reply, addressed to Mr. Freere, who yet remained in Spain, as the representative of the British government, contained the most stern and stinging rebuke ever administered to pretentious incapables. Writing from Talavera, he tells Mr. Freere, "I wish that Don Martin de Garay, or the gentlemen of the junta before they blame me for not doing more, or impute to me beforehand the probable consequences of the blunders or the indiscretions of others, would either come or send here somebody to satisfy the wants of our half-starved army, which, although they have been engaged for two days, and have defeated twice their numbers in the service of Spain, have not bread to eat. It is positively the fact that for the last seven days the English army have not received one-third of their provisions; that at this moment there are near four thousand wounded soldiers dying in the hospitals in this town from want of common assistance and necessaries, which any other country in the world would have given even to its enemies; and that I can get no assistance of any description from this country. I cannot prevail on them even to bury the dead carcases in the neighbourhood, the stench of which will destroy themselves as well as us."

The famished soldiers never forgot the cruel inhospitality of the Spaniards at Talavera. "From that period," says Napier, "to the end of the war their contempt and dislike of the Spaniards was never effaced; and long afterwards, Badajoz and St. Sebastian suffered for the churlish behaviour of the people of Talavera." Wellesley's starved and reduced force was now in imminent peril. Victor's army kept its old position, a few miles in his front, while Soult and Ney, with more than fifty thousand men, were closing on his rear. When he became aware of the full extent of his danger it was too late to fall back by the nearest road into Portugal. The only route by which he could hope to avoid being enveloped by the enemy lay southward of the Tagus, and it was highly probable that even on that line Soult would interpose his overwhelming numbers. It was not possible to carry away all the sick and wounded; fifteen hundred were left in the hospitals of Talavera. Wellesley's generous care for the French sick at Oporto gave him a claim on the humanity of the enemy of which Victor proved duly mindful. Beresford's Portuguese troops, fourteen thousand in number, and a brigade of British crossed the frontier, and hung upon Soult's flank, obliging him to hesitate in his proposed operations against Wellesley's main army. Victor was similarly kept in check by a Spanish army in the vicinity of Toledo, and the Lusitanian legion, under Sir Robert Wilson, that hovered about the neighbourhood of Madrid. Then came strict orders from the French emperor, charging King Joseph and the half a score of marshals who headed his forces, to abstain from further offensive movements until the close of the campaign in Austria should permit of his sending large reinforcements into Spain. These various influences co-operated to screen Wellesley's army from that close pursuit by greatly superior numbers which was actually begun, and then suddenly relaxed, in the early days of August.

Sir Arthur's brother, Lord Wellesley, formerly governor-general of India, had now arrived at Seville, accredited to the national junta as envoy in the place of Mr. Freere. This change was beneficial, for Mr. Freere had gained the evil reputation of a blundering busybody, who misled and thwarted the British generals, instead of smoothing down the difficulties which were perpetually springing up in their intercourse with the local and central authorities. The new envoy was an infinitely better diplomatist than his predecessor in all transactions with the junta, and never meddled with his brother's military plans. From this time forward it was a settled principle with the British commander-in chief to place no dependence whatever upon Spanish co-operation. In the words of Napier "To the end of the struggle he warred indeed for Spain and in Spain . . . . That country became indeed a field on which the French and English armies contended for the destinies of Europe; but the defeats or victories, the promises or the performances of the Spaniards scarcely influenced the movements." The justification of continuing the contest at all in a country, whose armies and governors were the derision of the world, is supplied in the single circumstance that Spain was the vulnerable side of Napoleon's wide-spread military empire. On that side was seen the chink in his armour, through which a fatal thrust might yet be dealt at the very vitals of his seemingly invincible strength. It was reserved for Wellesley to deal that fatal thrust, and he never permitted obstructions or difficulties to shake his confidence in final success. When he announced his decision to retire for the present into Portugal, great was the consternation of the impracticable central junta at Seville. Abuse and coaxing, revilings, and bountiful promises were showered down in quick succession upon him; all the arts of persuasion were exhausted to induce him to stay in Estramadura, but without avail. For the present he could do no good among the Spaniards, whereas in Portugal there was the certainty that he could hold his own until reinforcements from England should arrive, and enable him to enter again on offensive operations, as the course of events might dictate. Finding him immovable as regards the withdrawal of the British army, the junta next endeavoured to gain his consent for the employment of Beresford's fourteen thousand Portuguese in the heart of Spain. These troops were fast rising into efficiency. They had lately performed good service in hampering Soult's pursuit of the Anglo-Spanish army, but, like the British, they had been nearly famished while among the Spaniards. In reply to a pressing request that he would state when the Portuguese army would be allowed to act with the Spaniards in Spanish territory, Sir Arthur bluntly stated that the desired help would be withheld until the Spaniards were in a condition to turn it to proper account, and then only on the further condition that means were provided for the subsistence of the auxiliary force, so that it might not be again compelled to retire for want of food. In Portugal meanwhile the British general was intent on the preparation of those impregnable lines of defence which afterwards enabled him to hold at bay the greatest armies that the enemy could launch against him. The rugged heights and defiles of Torres Vedras soon bristled with batteries and casements, entrenchments and breastworks, which in conjunction with a British fleet in the Tagus placed Lisbon in absolute security. The troops were then placed in salubrious quarters, chiefly at Abrantes and Viseu, when abundant supplies consoled them for their late privations. They reposed from the toils of war till the following May, the general turning the interval to good account in organizing his deplorably inefficient commissariat and ambulance departments. Henceforth we drop the name of Sir Arthur Wellesley, for the government had now conferred upon him a peerage, which commemorated his splendid victory, in the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera. The thanks of parliament, in recognition of the merits and services of the army and its general, were in due course awarded.

There were many collisions in other parts of Spain between the native forces and the French in which the British bore no part. In most of these the Spaniards fully exemplified the character given of them by an old writer, that "they are lions in their fortresses, and women in the field." The siege of Gerona and the two sieges of Zaragoza exhibit the lion-hearted side of the Spanish character. The heroic defenders of those cities, whether soldiers, citizens, monks, or peasants, fought with pertinacious courage, endured the extremity of hardship and suffered incredible losses, before yielding to the multiplied resources of military science and the most determined efforts of large French armies. Every house in those devoted cities became a fortress, every church and convent a citadel, garrisoned by men who fought to the last extremity. Then there were roving bands of intrepid soldiers, following the lead of chiefs who held no military rank, and obeyed no rule but their own patriotic impulses, who carried on a harassing system of guerilla conflict with such stray French as could be anywhere pounced upon. But in almost every contest in which the regular armies of Spain rashly ventured to measure their strength against the French in the open country, the pusillanimous side of the national character excited alike the pity and the contempt of friends and foes. But in despite of constant defeat, swiftness of foot in their mountainous and wooded country gave one never-failing resource to their discomfited troops, who again gathered in masses with amazing rapidity after every dispersion. The Austrian war gave them some respite, inasmuch as it drew away legions of their enemies to another scene of action. The rising in Spain prompted the new effort on the part of Austria to shake off the shackles of the oppressor of nations. Indignation and hope were rife through Germany and Prussia, but the rulers there were timid, irresolute, unpatriotic, and below the level of the great occasion when the spirit of all ranks of their subjects gave assurance of success to a concerted uprising. In the course of the summer a hopeful insurrection broke out in Westphalia, Saxony, and Hanover, while the issue of the war between France and Austria was still hanging in suspense. This movement was headed by the dispossessed duke of Brunswick and the heroic Colonel Schill, a Prussian. But the degenerate German kinglings, consulting only their individual interests, sided with the French, and quelled the patriotic rising. A remnant of the insurgent force, the Black Brunswickers, escaped with their chief to England. A greater number perished, selling their lives dearly against fearful odds. Schill died fighting at the head of his resolute band of patriots, faithful to his motto—"Better a terrible end than endless terror." The ever loyal Tyrolese rushed to arms against the enemies of Austria at the first outbreak of hostilities. Their country had been annexed to Bavaria at the close of the previous war. They now fought for the restoration of Austrian rule. Under the leadership of Andrew Hofer, innkeeper, and dealer in corn and wine, they destroyed or expelled large bodies of Bavarian and French troops. But their valour, their exertions, and their sufferings were spent in behalf of an ungrateful master. The Austrian emperor, worsted in the great battle of Wagram in the vicinity of Vienna, accepted a peace from Napoleon, that included among its disgraceful concessions the abandonment of the brave and loyal Tyrolese to their foreign masters, and the acceptance of the "continental system" of non-intercourse, commercial or diplomatic, with England. Thereupon followed a fresh invasion of the Tyrol by fifty thousand French and Bavarians. Might gained in the end another triumph over right; the herdsmen and peasants of the barrier province of Austria were again reduced to submission; and Hofer, treacherously betrayed into the clutches of the French, was executed as a rebel, under sentence of a French court-martial at Mantua. Besides the terms of peace that stripped Austria of her alpine bulwark, and ranked her with the herd of degraded states that purchased Napoleon's favour by joining in his spiteful league against England, she surrendered to France all her possessions on the Adriatic, with immense territories in the interior, extending from the Rhine to the frontiers of Russia.

In addition to military operations in Spain and Portugal the British government attempted other diversions in favour of Austria. The regiments that held Sicily for the expelled royal family of Naples were conveyed to various places along the Italian shore, where, if they made no permanent lodgment, they drew off considerable French forces from Upper Italy, and to that extent relieved the Austrians there. Some petty fortifications here and there were dismantled, and the garrisons sent away prisoners to England. As a set-off against these small successes, the island of Capri, held by some Corsican and Maltese troops in English pay, with no other English than a few officers and eight artillerymen, fell under a sudden assault by a strong force of French in the absence of the English ships of war. The mongrel garrison could not be got to fight; the French gained cheap possession of the islet, and Murat, then ruling as king of Naples, struck medals commemorating the achievement, as an important victory over a strong English army! Besides troubling the Italian coast the British in Sicily made a raid on the Ionian Islands, dispossessing the French of them all in the course of this and the following year. But these expeditions against the remote outposts of Bonaparte's overgrown dominion were of no magnitude in comparison with the one great effort in another quarter to draw off a substantial section of the military force employed against Austria. On the 28th of July, the day on which a British army on the sunny slopes of Talavera was reviving the memories of Blenheim and Ramillies, another army, compounded of the same tough stuff, and twice as numerous as that in Spain, was sailing from the Downs to confront the French on a widely different field of their usurpations. Scores of war vessels and hundreds of transports were freighted with this great armament and its belongings. The people from great distances had gathered about the Kentish cliffs and beaches to witness the departure. Miles of sea were thickly studded with every description of craft, from the towering three-decker down to smacks and pleasure boats. The choicest summer weather heightened the splendour of the exhilarating spectacle. The choice of commanders was not a happy one. The earl of Chatham, notorious for his sluggishness, was placed at the head of the military force, which comprised nearly forty thousand men of all arms. Sir Richard Strachan, an unenterprising old admiral, commanded the fleet, which was of greater strength in ships and men than ever sailed under the most renowned naval commander of any nation. This fleet included thirty-five ships of the line, twenty-three frigates, and one hundred and sixty miscellaneous smaller craft, such as sloops, gun-brigs, bomb-vessels, and gun-boats. The commission of these two commanders entrusted them with the task of capturing or destroying the enemy's ships, building or afloat, in the river Scheldt, from its mouth up to Antwerp. They were also charged to destroy the docks and arsenals at Flushing and Antwerp, together with the military defence of the whole line of navigation. Two days after quitting the Downs, half the troops were safely landed in that Dutch island of evil fame, Walcheren. The town of Middleburg fell into their hands without any fighting. The French betook themselves to the shelter of their fortifications at Flushing. A few days later Sir John Hope's division seized South Beveland, another of the Dutch maritime provinces, which from time immemorial have been bones of contention between the scarcely-baffled waters and the amphibious men with whom the encroaching surf wages perpetual war. Sundry small forts were quickly reduced, but the enemy's shipping was nowhere visible, having escaped on the first alarm of hostile visitation into more sheltered recesses in the Upper Scheldt. Then Flushing underwent investment in regular form, its defences were shattered by a furious bombardment, its dwellings all unroofed, and its garrison of six thousand Frenchmen captured. The French turned to good account the time consumed in these preliminaries. Booms, and chains, and sunken vessels, were put in requisition to obstruct the narrower passages of the higher parts of the river; batteries were planted at every bend; troops were hurried from the more distant parts of Belgium and Holland, for the defence of the new arsenal, docks, and fortifications, which Napoleon had recently established at Antwerp, the destined centre of a great naval station. The dykes at Walcheren were cut, and a foe more terrible than the choicest soldiers of France took the field against the British army in that region of bogs, stagnant waters, spongy marshes, and malaria. From the middle of August onwards to the end of the autumn the surface of Walcheren exhales through the night a dense mist, of a bluish tint and offensive smell, and so chill and penetrating that no clothing affords sufficient protection from its ravages on the human frame. Those who planned the expedition omitted all precautions against the invisible foe lurking in the noisome exhalations that mantled the camping grounds of the soldiers. Before the close of August Lord Chatham reported to government: "The effect of the climate at this unhealthy period of the year is felt most seriously, and the number of the sick is already little short of three thousand." The notion of attacking Antwerp was now given up, and the main army, with four thousand sick, went home to England, leaving, however, fifteen thousand to hold possession of Flushing and the fever-stricken Walcheren. Napoleon, then holding court in the palace of the conquered and humiliated emperor of Austria, learned with supreme satisfaction the huge blunder of the British government in this ignorantly calculated attempt to strike a great blow at his dominion in the Netherlands. Writing in the autumn to his war minister at Paris, he says: "Before six weeks, of the fifteen thousand English who are on the island of Walcheren, not fifteen hundred will be left. The rest will be in the hospitals." And in an earlier communication he rejoices to see that the English have packed themselves in the morasses of Zealand, where he held it only necessary to keep them in check, and leave them to battle with the pestilential vapours of the swamps in which they were cooped up. The event fully answered the expectations of this prophet of evil. Thousands of men died, and of the enfeebled remnant, few were they who got over the terrible shock to the whole framework of their physical constitution inflicted by the virulent marsh fever.

Walcheren was not abandoned until towards the end of December. The fortifications and a newly constructed basin at Flushing were first demolished. The expedition has no parallel in the previous history of the nation for enormous loss of life and a useless squandering of treasure. Very few men fell in fight, yet nearly half the army perished through the inexcusable blundering of ministers. Had the forty thousand troops been added to Lord Wellington's army in Spain, King Joseph and his marshals would have had a trying time of it that autumn. The treasure wasted on this ill-fated armament was little less than twenty millions sterling. Incredible as it seems, the fact is well established that Lord Castlereagh, who in his capacity of war minister planned this disastrous enterprise, took no counsel with the medical department of the army in respect to the diseases likely to be encountered in the swamps of Holland. His unfitness for the post he filled had been matter of frequent discussion among members of the cabinet, while the grand Armada project was still only hatching. In the Easter recess Canning threatened to resign if Castlereagh were not removed from the war department. He made the same intimation to the king, but was persuaded from time to time to hold on, under some sort of pledge that a change would be made. When evil news came thick and fast from the shores of Holland, Canning's previous warnings got whispered abroad. The country, meanwhile, was in a ferment of dissatisfaction; the incapacity of ministers was loudly proclaimed. The rupture within the ranks of the administration could no longer be smothered up. Canning and Castlereagh threw up their posts in September, and their quarrel led to a duel at Wimbledon, in which the former received a slight wound. Then came the resignation of the duke of Portland, the nominal head of the government, who was nearly past the age for work; he died a few weeks later. Perceval now became premier, and filled the two offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. Proposals were made to Lords Grey and Grenville, the heads of the Whig party, to fill places in a remodelled cabinet, but they declined the offer. The marquis of Wellesley was then called home from Spain to become secretary for foreign affairs; Lord Liverpool exchanged from the home department to the ministry of war; the place he vacated was filled by Mr. Ryder; and Lord Palmerston, as under secretary for war, now entered on the dawn of his prolonged career as a statesman.

As a diversion to the gloom cast over the country by the disastrous Walcheren expedition, ministers hit upon the happy thought of a national celebration in honour of the aged king. The 25th of October was the first day of the fiftieth year of his reign. It was decided to celebrate the rare event of a fiftieth anniversary by keeping the day as a "jubilee," or day of national rejoicing. The old monarch's unabated popularity was strongly exhibited in loyal demonstrations, thanksgivings, feasts, illuminations, bell ringing, and bonfires throughout the kingdom.

Peace was concluded early in the year with Turkey. The germs of a coming war with the United States became more and more perceptible as the year wore on. Interruptions of American trade, under the British blockade of places under French dominion, led to a formal breach in diplomatic intercourse between the cabinets of Washington and London.

The naval transactions of the year 1809 may be summed up in a very few words. They were almost entirely limited to watching the enemy in his ports, and preventing the transit by sea of supplies or reinforcements. The French had ceased to be venturesome, but they were always on the alert for chances when stress of weather relieved them for a time of the presence of blockading ships. The brave old Admiral Collingwood's last services afloat were marked by successes gained over some stray French ships of war that were endeavouring to turn a chance of this sort to account. A gale had driven the British away from Toulon. A convoy of twenty store-ships, under escort of five war vessels, took advantage of the respite and sailed for Barcelona. Some of Collingwood's ships intercepted the Toulon squadron and gave chase. Two French ships of the line ran ashore and were burnt by their own crews. Most of the transports followed the example, but five of them fell as prizes into the hands of the pursuers. Collingwood's sailors often served ashore against the French at Barcelona and other places on the Catalan coast. The good and wise and brave old naval commander closed his professional career on this station. He died on his way home, early in March of the following year. Even the creeks and harbours of France, though strongly defended by heavily armed batteries, were not entirely safe from intrusive visits of British cruisers. Early in the year Admiral Gambier, who commanded a blockading fleet in the Basque roads, proposed to government an attempt to destroy the French squadron of ten ships of the line and five other vessels which were moored in the narrow channel that divided the isle of Aix from the town of Rochelle. Lord Cochrane (afterwards earl of Dundonald) was selected to conduct the operations. On the night of the 11th of April he got his fire-ships into close quarters with the enemy, among whom the destructive explosions created such a panic, that every ship slipped its cable and drifted away with the tide into the mouth of the river Charente. Four large ships were destroyed in the night, and Cochrane proposed next morning to make a fresh attack on seven others that were aground. Gambier thought the attempt too hazardous. Out of this difference of opinion sprang a life-long dissension between the two officers. Gambier demanded a court-martial, which sat in 1810; he was fully absolved from the imputations cast upon him by his junior of want of zeal and courage. Cochrane fell into disfavour with government, and his future services were on that account lost to his country. But public opinion held him to be an ill-used man, for his fearless and enterprising spirit, exhibited in many a daring deed, had often suggested the thought that the mantle of Nelson had fallen upon him.

France lost this year another batch of her colonial denendencies. In the West Indies, Cayenne, Martinique, and the French portion of St. Domingo; in Africa, Goree and Senegal fell into our possession, though not without some hard fighting. These acquisitions were none of them very desirable in themselves, but they served to remind the world that the sovereignty of the seas still rested with the state against which all Napoleon's gigantic power had been for years exerted in vain. In the fulness of his pride he had lately ventured to affront the whole Catholic world. He thrust the pope out of Rome, and annexed that ancient capital, with the rest of the papal territory, to the French empire, arrogantly claiming the right to depose and take possession by virtue of his imperial office as successor to Charlemagne, who first bestowed temporal sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction on the head of the Catholic Church. This usurpation might have been in part excused, on the ground that it gave the pontiff's subjects a better system of civil government, but no such justification was attempted. The subverter of thrones, and the founder of a new empire, took his stand on the high ground of prerogative alone, like any ultra-absolute czar or sultan. Indeed it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a parallel in the history of any other autocrat to the high and mighty assertion of a right to revoke gifts and grants bestowed by a predecessor ten centuries earlier. Such unscrupulous treatment of the sovereign pontiff stirred up a feeling of bitter resentment against the arrogant usurper. The act was on this account as impolitic as it was unjust, for it undermined a main prop of his throne.

While the Catholic world was kindling with indignation and venting its suppressed rage in ominous utterances and protests against the degradation of the pope, the despoiler of nations was maturing another form of aggrandizement for himself and his family. He aspired to give to his yet unborn heir the prestige of ancient and illustrious lineage, in the confidence that the ties of blood relationship with the royal families of the continent would smooth the path of the son who should succeed to a vast hereditary empire. This ambitious scheme required that the plebeian Corsican adventurer should find a bride in one of the royal families of Europe. He was already married; but the Empress Josephine, the faithful wife who had condescended to accept him when his outlook in life was poor indeed, was childless. For that sole fault he now divorced her. He had made advances for the hand of a Russian princess, but his imperial ally, the Czar Alexander, offered no encouragement. The Austrian court, however, in its fallen fortunes, accepted a marriage alliance with the victor who had thrice dragged its honour in the dust. Maria Louisa, of the Hapsburg dynasty, became empress of the French in March, 1810. In the following year she gave birth to a son. The infant, while yet in his cradle, was elevated to the titular dignity of king of Rome. His father, Napoleon, purposed that he should be the future Cæsar of a wider dominion than ever acknowledged the sway of Augustus. Such was the grand programme sketched out, and in part developed, by the proud master of continental Europe. In four more years the lofty fabric of empire had toppled into ruins, "melted into air, into thin air," the "insubstantial pageant faded," and left "not a rack behind."

In England, the year 1810 opened with a stirring parliamentary skirmish on the shortcomings and blunders of ministers in the conduct of the war. The speech from the throne, delivered by commission, made the most of the capture of Flushing, but said nothing of the price paid for that small achievement. The opposition, however, were in no humour to gloss over the Walcheren losses and disgrace. They handled the theme with merciless severity, insisting on inquiry into the causes of failure, and the punishment of its authors. Mr. Ponsonby, in supporting an amendment to the address, inquired with bitter irony whether the general selected to command the greatest military expedition that had ever left the British shores was a tried commander, wise from experience and illustrious from the splendour of many victories. On the contrary, he added, the flower of the British army had in an evil hour been committed to the guidance of that ill-omened officer of whose professional qualifications nothing more was known than that the partiality of Pitt, his younger brother, had placed him at the head of the admiralty, a trust from which he had to be removed for his notorious unfitness. The most powerful of ministers dared not allow the functions of the state to sleep beneath that inert sluggishness which had gained for his elder brother the nickname of the *late* Lord Chatham. Whitbread expressed his indignation in damaging comments on the incapacity of the cabinet, asserting that such was their ignorance, imbecility, and bigotry, that if Bonaparte had chosen them for their posts he could not have selected men more suitable to his ends, or more pernicious to the interests of their fellow-subjects. Ministers defeated by considerable majorities the amendment to the address, but they failed to stifle inquiry. Despite their utmost efforts to the contrary, a motion was carried in the Commons, by a majority of nine, deciding that the House should resolve itself into a committee to investigate the policy and conduct of the late expedition to the Scheldt. The inquiry consumed a large part of the session. Lord Chatham, to avoid the consequences of an address to the king for his removal, retired from his office of master-general of the ordnance. But such was the strength of ministerial and court influence, that the promoters of the inquiry were beaten in the attempt to pass condemnatory resolutions; and ministers carried, by small majorities, resolutions approving the policy of the expedition, and absolving them from blame in respect to the keeping possession of Walcheren. A noisy agitation out of doors, and a troublesome question of privilege on the part of the House, grew out of this inquiry. It was obviously undesirable in the interest of the nation that all the weak points of its army administration should be blazoned forth to the world in a time of war. On this ground the House decided, almost unanimously, to conduct the inquiry with closed doors. In parliamentary phrase, the House resolved to enforce its standing order for the exclusion of strangers. A small minority opposed this reasonable course. Sir Francis Burdett denounced it in an intemperate speech, for which he was smartly rebuked by the premier. Afterwards the decision of the House became the topic of discussion in a London debating club, called the British Forum. The manager and chief speaker in this amateur senate (an obscure individual named Gale Jones) gained sudden notoriety as a political martyr in a small way. Each branch of the legislature was in those days squeamishly sensitive on questions of privilege. The rash Mr. Gale Jones, unmindful of this fact, put forth handbills, announcing that after a full discussion, the British Forum had "unanimously decided that the enforcement of the standing order, shutting out strangers from the gallery of the House of Commons, ought to be censured as an insidious and ill-timed attack upon the liberty of the press, as tending to aggravate the discontents of the people, and to render their representatives objects of jealous suspicion." The same handbills gave notice of a further discussion of the subject, and especially of the part taken by Mr. Yorke and Mr. Windham, the two members who had figured most prominently in this matter when before the House. Mr. Yorke took a speedy revenge on the orator of the Forum. He brought under notice of the House the unbridled censures contained in the handbills on its conduct and character. The sergeant-at-arms was thereupon ordered to bring the culprit to the bar, where he confessed himself the author of the offensive comments, and made humble apology for his fault. The House pronounced him guilty of libel, and committed him to Newgate for high breach of privilege. Burdett, on a subsequent night, called in question the right of the House to imprison, and moved that Gale Jones be discharged. His proposal was negatived by a very large majority. On this he published his speech, together with a letter to his constituents, the electors of Westminster, in which he bestowed abundant abuse on the House of Commons, asserting that its assumed right of sentencing to imprisonment was at variance with common law and Magna Charta. The House angrily resented this attack. The offending member was declared guilty of a gross and scandalous libel, and it was resolved that he be committed to the Tower, under warrant of the Speaker. The new champion of popular liberties announced his determination to set the warrant at defiance. He shut himself up in his house in Piccadilly, barred his doors and windows, and declared that he would yield only to overpowering force. A mob gathered round his residence, cheered him with noisy plaudits, and compelled all who passed by to take off their hats, and join in the shout, "Burdett for ever!" Then followed the smashing of windows and various riotous demonstrations at the residences of principal members of the administration and others who had borne a leading part in opposition to the Radical baronet. The military were called out, and after patiently enduring much hooting and pelting, were ordered to clear the streets. Many of Burdett's political and private friends visited him, and urged quiet submission, but to no purpose. He invoked the aid of the sheriffs of Middlesex to protect him from what he called the lawless violence and oppression about to be exerted against him under the Speaker's warrant. These functionaries, Wood and Atkins, both fervid Radicals, entered into communication with the Speaker and the home secretary, asking instructions how to act. In reply they were told to do their duty, which no doubt they would see was to give every assistance in their power towards the enforcement of the warrant. They, however, were more disposed, in a doubtful case, to add to the perplexities of a Tory administration, than to aid in tiding over the difficulty. They passed a festive night with the beleaguered baronet, and encouraged his resistance. Next morning, the 9th of April, the siege ended in an assault on the citadel. A body of police broke open the house and seized the defiant member; a strong military escort conveyed him by a circuitous route to the Tower. As the soldiers were returning westward they encountered rough usage from the mob, and in forcing their way through they killed two of the rioters. All London was in a state of the utmost excitement. An open-air meeting of the electors of Westminster was held just outside the House, to protest against the imprisonment of their member, and to pass an impassioned remonstrance, which they called a petition to parliament, for his release. But parliament stood on its right, and Burdett remained a prisoner till the close of the session. Subsequently he brought actions in the Court of King's Bench for redress against the Speaker who issued the warrant for his arrest, the sergeant-at-arms for putting it in force, and the governor of the Tower for illegal imprisonment. "The House," says Sir Erskine May, "would have been justified by precedent and ancient usage in resisting the prosecution of these actions, as a contempt of its authority; but instead of standing upon its privilege it directed its officers to plead, and the attorney-general to defend them. The authority of the House was fully vindicated by the court, but Sir Francis prosecuted an appeal to the exchequer chamber and to the House of Lords. The judgment of the court below being affirmed, all conflict between law and privilege was averted. The authority of the House had indeed been questioned; but the courts declared it to have been exercised in conformity with the law." Thus the attempt to overturn this branch of parliamentary privilege only resulted in confirming it by the sanction of the highest courts of judicature. The other business of the session offers little matter of interest to later times. Romilly renewed his efforts to soften the rigour of the criminal law, especially in regard to the application of capital punishment to crimes differing greatly in degree. He believed that not more than one out of six or seven who received sentence under the sanguinary law as it then stood actually suffered punishment up to the limits of such sentences; but he contended that it was rather a blemish than a merit in the system that so much was left to the variable discretion of the judge. Perceval protested against the use of the term "sanguinary" as descriptive of the English penal code, on the ground that the practice, often too merciful, was part and parcel of the system. Romilly obtained leave, however, to bring in a bill to amend the Act of William III., relating to private stealing in shops, warehouses, &c., to the amount of five shillings; also two other bills of the same description, to repeal Acts of the time of Anne and George II., which dealt out death penalties for stealing in dwelling-houses, or on navigable rivers and canals, to the value of forty shillings. These bills failed to pass this year, but they paved the way for those large reforms in the criminal law of which account will be taken in subsequent pages. A bill passed both Houses, but not without opposition, giving a pension of 2000*l.* a-year to Lord Wellington and his two next heirs, in consideration of the victory of Talavera. Among the money votes were two large foreign subsidies—400,000*l.* for Sicily, and 980,000*l.* for Portugal. The supplies for the year were 52,185,000*l.*, of which a loan furnished 8,000,000*l.* The chancellor of the exchequer gave a flourishing account of the foreign trade of the country, notwithstanding Napoleon's incessant warfare against it. He added that the effect of the British order in council had been to reduce the customs' receipts in France from two and a half millions sterling to one fifth of that total. Parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation came in for their customary yearly debate in both Houses, but only to be once more shelved as inopportune. The question of the slave trade, still carried on by other nations openly, and in clandestine forms by some British subjects, also furnished matter for discussion. The session ended on the 21st of June.

In the course of this year some very considerable successes rewarded our naval and military forces. Santa Maura was added to the list of Ionian Islands snatched from Napoleon's grasp. The Dutch settlements of Amboyna and Banda, in the Spice Islands, and the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius, French possessions in the Indian Ocean, surrendered to our arms. These latter had long given shelter to privateers that preyed upon our commerce in the eastern seas. In the capture of Mauritius our forces also gained possession of five large frigates and some smaller vessels of war, together with immense accumulations of stores and merchandize, and thirty trading ships, among which were several British vessels that had been snapped up by French cruisers. In the West Indies, Guadaloupe, St. Eustace, and St. Martin were also taken, and nothing more remained in that quarter to be conquered. Early in July, Murat, the new king of Naples, made strenuous efforts to cross into Sicily. Skirmishes by land and water took place between his forces and the British, who were still holding Sicily for the old royal family. Many of his gunboats and larger vessels were taken or destroyed, but he contrived at last to carry three thousand five hundred men across the narrow strait of Messina. These were assailed by the British before others could come to their support; nine hundred were captured, and the rest beat a hasty retreat to their flotilla, and made good their landing on the Calabrian side of the strait. Anhalt, a small island in the Baltic, was successfully held by a few hundreds of our troops against the attacks of three thousand Danes, who perseveringly attempted to dislodge them.

The termination of the Austrian war enabled the French emperor to send a hundred thousand additional troops into Spain. These victorious veterans, in conjunction with twice as many of their comrades already in the country, carried before them all solid resistance, and rapidly extended King Joseph's sway through the provinces that had hitherto defied his power. Soult's army overran Andalusia early in the year. Seville, hitherto the seat of the central junta, submitted in February without striking a blow, and the French king held his court there for a time. Cadiz must have shared the fate of Seville a few weeks later, but that its alarmed authorities at length called in the aid of British troops. Regiments were promptly sent thither from Gibraltar and Portugal. General Graham commanded the British and Portuguese, about seven thousand in number, and twice as many Spaniards co-operated in the defence. The Spanish authorities had often been urged, but to no purpose, to turn their ships of war to account in combined service with our squadron, then occupied on their account. They now placed them unreservedly at the disposal of the British admiral on the Cadiz station. It was time their inflated self-sufficiency should cease, for they had lost battle after battle, fortress after fortress, town after town, until no place of strength or importance remained uncaptured except Cadiz, before which a besieging army of twenty thousand men, under Marshal Victor, now lay encamped. Napoleon purposed to superintend in person the reconquest of the Peninsula, but his recent marriage with the Austrian princess detained him for the present at Paris. He, however, had determined to clear the British out of Portugal, and until he could come himself to the seat of war, he sent Massena, his best general, to perform that task. Wellington fully expected to be attacked by superior numbers. He had matured his plans for maintaining the contest by other methods than winning a succession of decisive battles. He clearly foresaw that the time for these would come, but it could only be when fresh complications should arise to bring a change in the relative strength of the opposing forces. The clouds of another war were gathering in the north; sooner or later the French must have other and sturdier foes to deal with than their neighbours across the Pyrenees. For the present the British general was content, if the fortune of war offered no better prospect, to hold his own within that impregnable line of defence where his forethought and genius had made ample provision for bidding defiance to the utmost military force that the French could bring to bear upon his small but effective army. When summer came, Spain had no longer any large regular army in the field; but, in reliance on English help, the people at large entertained no thought of submission. The remnants of each beaten and scattered army gathered in the mountains and forests, under daring guerilla chiefs, and became more formidable in small bodies than they had ever proved before when massed in armies and controlled by their own regular commanders. The guerilla bands increased in number and daring in proportion as the make-believe regular armies were hurtled out of existence. They attacked convoys and hung on the lines of communication, dashing suddenly upon detached bodies of the enemy, and hampering his operations everywhere. Encouraged by several considerable successes in this desultory form of warfare, Lord Liverpool conceived the notion of sending a few regiments of British troops to a port on the northern coast, and to make it the base of operations in that quarter, with the view of drawing together some of the bands of irregular native forces, and utilizing them for co-operation in some effectual stroke against the French in the adjacent provinces. But when the proposal was referred to Wellington, he set his face unhesitatingly against it. His previous experience had impressed him with an utter distrust of Spanish commanders and the provincial authorities who would have to be consulted. "The first thing," he objected, "which they would require, would be money; then arms, ammunition, clothing, provisions, horses, forage, and everything which the expedition ought to demand from them; and, after all, this extraordinary and perverse people would scarcely allow its commander to have a voice in the plan of operations to be followed, when the whole were ready to undertake any, if indeed they ever should be ready." He wanted other help from ministers than suggestions for amending his plan of military operations. Through the earlier months of the year they entertained serious doubts and misgivings of the practicability of continuing the contest in the Peninsula, and talked of withdrawing the army from Portugal before the arrival of the overpowering numbers of French, then known to be on the line of march for that destination. But Wellington infused into their faltering hearts some portion of his own unwavering confidence in final success. He persuaded them that if the resources of Great Britain were fairly applied to the contest, the French would yet repent the invasion of Spain, and find it difficult, if not impossible, to obtain possession of Portugal. He asked reinforcements sufficient to keep up the British army to not less than thirty thousand effective men for service in the field, and for such an increase in the subsidy to Portugal as would cover the entire cost of maintaining thirty thousand native troops, for the most part commanded by British officers. Ministers assented to both proposals, but delays occurred in forwarding the promised succour from England. Meanwhile the French were approaching the north-eastern frontier of Portugal, where the greater part of Wellington's army had passed the last six months in an extended line of healthy cantonments. A smaller army under General Hill was posted at Abrantes, on the frontier nearest the capital. Portuguese regiments were brigaded with the British divisions. They had been well drilled and disciplined by Beresford and his staff of English. Hopes were now entertained that they would prove valuable troops. This expectation was soon put to the test in rough service, and proved to be well-founded. Massena, with seventy thousand men, designated the army of Portugal, to indicate its special work, was gradually nearing the British lines. Wellington had fifty-six thousand British and Portuguese extended along the frontier, waiting and watching. If he concentrated his force to oppose the threatened invasion from the north-east, the south would be open to the advance of Soult's army, quartered in Estramadura and Andalusia. He left twenty-two thousand in the south to cover Lisbon, and with the other thirty-four thousand remained in Massena's line of march from the north.

In the months of May and June fifty thousand French besieged Cuidad Rodrigo, the nearest Spanish town to the British encampments, distant less than thirty miles from Wellington's head-quarters, and scarcely half-a-dozen miles from his advanced posts, under General Crawford. The garrison of six thousand men, aided by the citizens, made a stout resistance. They held out till the 10th of July, and only capitulated when the assault was about to be delivered through a wide breach in the old masonry of the ramparts. Wellington was assailed by loud clamours on the part of the Spaniards for permitting the place to fall without striking a single blow for its relief, and by derisive taunts on the part of the French general, Massena, who in his proclamations spoke of the selfish policy of the English system, of the timid general, insensible to military honour, who permitted his ally's town to fall without risking a stroke to save it, or to redeem his own plighted word.

In England also there was a cry that the fall of Rodrigo compromised the honour of the general-in-chief, and brought discredit on the nation. For it was known that our troops at the seat of war were eager to fight, that the hard-pressed garrison had implored their help, that General Romana, with a Spanish army of ten or twelve thousand men, had proposed to co-operate with the British, that the Portuguese were anxious to keep the war beyond their own frontier, and that the siege was proceeding in close neighbourhood to the cantonments of the British army. This enterprise, to which both friends and foes were alike desirous that Wellington should commit himself, was in simple truth little less hare-brained than some of the freaks of knight-errantry recorded in Quixote. If successful, it would have released a beleagured garrison of six thousand undisciplined troops, of little use in the field, though patient under the privations and hardships of a siege. But such a success could only have been purchased by a sanguinary pitched battle, in which it is idle to suppose the French must have been beaten. At the best, the loss on the side of the British would in all likelihood have exceeded the number of Spanish troops to be rescued. The error at Rodrigo was entirely on the side of the French. Massena could afford to despise a small Spanish garrison, left in the rear of his immense army, and might have pressed across the border into Portugal early in the spring. The time lost in the siege was of the utmost consequence to Wellington. Each day brought an increase to the defensive strength of the country he had undertaken to hold. The harvests were gathered before the storm of war swept across it. Most of the male population of fighting age was drafted into the militia. The regular native army was fast growing in efficiency, and getting accustomed to evolutions on a large scale. The means of transport were multiplied, and depôts established or replenished. Above all, silently but surely, each day added to the strength of the long line of entrenchments, redoubts, escarpments on mountain sides, barricades in defiles, and all the forms of fortification which military science could bring to bear in that angle of the Peninsula where Wellington had turned a chain of mountains into one impregnable citadel. One or two victories over the French could not have settled the large issues at stake ; a single disastrous defeat of the British army then in the field would have ended the contest. Wellington's policy, therefore, was to avoid a battle in the open, but by menacing demonstrations and a war of outposts, to detain the French on the frontier, and to check their advance into Portugal as long as possible. His advanced division, under Crawford, had abundance of skirmishing within six miles of Rodrigo while the siege was still in progress. After the siege, when the French made a forward movement, the brunt of the first serious fighting fell to this division. At the passage of the river Coa, Crawford was closely beset by superior numbers. He repulsed the enemy, losing some three hundred in killed and wounded, but inflicting on the French a loss of over a thousand. He then fell back on the main army, and Massena entered Portugal, where he commenced operations by investing Almeida. That fortress had a garrison of four thousand Portuguese, under command of an English officer, Colonel Cox. An explosion in the magazines, a few days after the enemy's batteries began to play upon the place, reduced the town to ruins, and caused a large destruction of life. Cox was still bent on holding out, but not so his officers. Almeida fell into the hands of the French, and large numbers of the garrison deserted the patriotic cause and took service with the enemy. Wellington now retired before the stronger forces of Massena, but to check that commander's overweening confidence, and keep up the high spirits of his own army, he decided to offer battle before taking to the cover of his lines. He halted accordingly on the ridge of Busaco, in the face of the advancing foe, and Massena accepted the challenge the more readily as the emperor had lately chided his delay in falling upon the English.

On the 19th of September Napoleon issued instructions from St. Cloud, bidding his minister of war send off on the morrow a letter to the marshal, who was to be told: "It is my wish that he attack and destroy the English." In another letter, written in the same month, he reminds Massena: "Lord Wellington has only eighteen thousand men; Hill has only six thousand ; it would be ridiculous to suppose that twenty-five thousand English can balance sixty thousand French, if the latter do not trifle, but fall boldly on, after having well observed where the blow may be given. * * * It is certain the utmost force the English can muster, including the troops at Cadiz, will be twenty-eight thousand men." In this estimate the emperor was not far wrong as to the numbers of the British army, but he committed a blunder in reckoning the Portuguese troops as of next to no account, for they were no longer the inefficient soldiers that had offered no solid resistance to Junot's invasion three years before. In the coming battle, as in some minor outpost fighting in the previous three months, the Portuguese, led by English officers, fought with a stubborn courage that drew from Wellington the highly flattering testimony: "They are worthy of contending in the same ranks with the British troops." Wellington's total force at Busaco reached fifty thousand men, of whom half were British. Not a fourth part of his mixed host had ever been under fire. The army which attacked them, on the 27th of September, was composed of sixty-three thousand of the best troops in Europe, led by Napoleon's most trusty marshal, whose long train of brilliant successes had gained for him the name of the "favourite child of victory." The battle began at earliest dawn, in two principal attacks on the British line, one led by Ney, the other by Reynier. The dense columns of nimble Frenchmen rushed with wonderful impetuosity up the rugged heights, undeterred by a continuous and terrible fire of artillery and musketry. Reynier's division gained the crest of the hill forming the left of the allied position, where for a few minutes they overthrew everything that opposed their dashing onset. A Portuguese regiment was broken and scattered, leaving a gap through which the French passed, and then rapidly formed for another attack. But the 88th and part of the 45th Regiments were promptly launched against one section of them in a tremendous bayonet charge, that sent them reeling and rolling in utter disarray down the steep slope, their track marked from the crest of the height to the bottom of the descent by the dead and wounded. Other French battalions which had won their way to the crest had meanwhile gained the cover of a line of rocks, where they commenced arrangements for descending behind the rear of a British division. But Colonel Cameron, at the head of the 9th Regiment, succeeded in ousting them from their lodgment after much hard and close fighting, and sent them at a headlong pace down their own side of the mountain. Victory was now assured in this part of the field. Ney's line of attack brought him into still more rugged, broken, and precipitous ground than fell to Reynier. Crawford's division, known through the army by the complimentary title of "the fighting division," received the first assault in this quarter, and so effectually repelled the shock as to leave little work for any other regiments. The French columns advanced rapidly up the steep, their order never disturbed and their speed never slackened, though their close ranks were plied incessantly with grape and the fire of a cloud of skirmishers that lined the whole face of the steep hill. Near the crest lay two regiments of British, concealed in a hollow. A shout, as of victory, told these troops the French were within a few yards of the summit. Then rang, clear and shrill, the single word for which the men were all eagerly listening. This was Crawford's order to charge. "The next moment," as vividly narrated by Napier, "a horrid shout startled the French column, and eighteen hundred British bayonets were sparkling over the brow of the hill. The head of their column was violently thrown back upon the rear, both flanks were overlapped at the same moment by the English wings, three terrible discharges at five yards' distance shattered the wavering mass, and a long trail of arms and bleeding carcases marked the line of flight." There was some fighting in other parts of the extended line, but everywhere the French were foiled with heavy loss. Crawford's artillery, posted on elevated ledges of rock, ploughed wide gaps in the enemy's reserves, who were screened from view by the cover of a pine wood. Some desultory firing between skirmishing parties continued for an hour after the French masses had retired from the ground. The French loss in killed and wounded exceeded five thousand. Of their generals, one was killed, another captured, and two were wounded. The victors lost only thirteen hundred in killed and wounded. The position chosen for offering battle was in fact so formidable, that Massena, without any disparagement to his credit as a master of the art of war, might have recoiled from accepting the challenge. But he was goaded on by the emperor's urgent instructions to crush the English; he had a large numerical superiority of force; he had committed himself to a march on Lisbon by confident proclamations addressed to the Portuguese; he had gained a character through Europe for daring; to turn back, to change pursuit into retreat, was to him an unendurable thought; he was, moreover, anxious for a battle before the British could reach the cover of those defensive works in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, of which rumour had faintly sent some echo into the French camps. Wellington had sagaciously calculated beforehand the weight of most of these influences on the mind of the French marshal. When some of his staff expressed their fears that the enemy would never assail the British army in the strong position where it was posted, he expressed his strong assurance that Massena would not be scared by the sight of a strong position, adding: "but if he does attack, I shall beat him." After his defeat, a council of war in the French camp advised Massena to return to Spain. He scouted this unpalatable advice and moved off next day by a circuitous route towards Coimbra, masking his object by an ostentatious advance of skirmishers in the valley below the British position, intended to convey the impression that the battle was about to be renewed. Wellington saw through the subterfuge and lost no time in quitting his own position; not, however, to pursue the enemy, but to gain the Lisbon road by a shorter route, and thwart Massena's design of intercepting his retreat. The allies retired somewhat precipitately, denuding the country of corn, cattle, or other sustenance that would else have fallen into the hands of their pursuers. Multitudes of the inhabitants whose property was thus carried off accompanied the allied army to the shelter of the Lines of Torres Vedras. No other pitched battle marked the course of the campaign, but there was incessant outpost skirmishing. Trant's militia followed in the wake of the French, and captured five thousand of their sick and wounded, the guard in charge of them, and stragglers, besides large quantities of stores. On the 10th of October, the allied army, together with a motley throng of the country people who retained bitter recollections of previous French invasions, entered the cover of those celebrated Lines, twenty miles in advance of Lisbon, behind which that city, the anchorage in the Tagus, the transports, magazines, munitions of war, a good length of coast, and an area of five hundred square miles of most enjoyable hilly country, were all safely secured from the utmost force the enemy could bring to bear. The outer, or first line, reached from Alhandra on the Tagus, to the mouth of the river Zizandre, a length of twenty-nine miles. The second line, twenty-four miles long, followed a zig-zag course, varying from six to ten miles in rear of the first. A third line, covering an intrenched camp, surrounded a much smaller area, in the vicinity of the roadstead, and was intended to secure an unmolested embarkation in case of the other defences being carried by the enemy. The first or outer line of defence was the least solid, consisting of what might be regarded as a mere range of advanced works, fitted to check the first approaches of the enemy, but not to resist a determined onset by large numbers. The innermost, or third line, was a prudent precautionary addition, a resource against possible disaster, but hardly likely to be needed. The second was the solid, if not impregnable system of military works, on which the British general confidently relied to beat back all the heaviest shocks of war that the utmost resources of the French marshals could ever launch against him. All the lines of works made an aggregate of more than fifty miles; they included upwards of a hundred distinct forts or redoubts, which were mounted with six hundred pieces of cannon. The marines and sailors from our fleet manned the inner line of defence, both ashore and afloat. Portuguese militia regiments and a body of six thousand Spaniards held most of the forts in the other two ranges of works. The British and the most efficient of the Portuguese regulars remained disposable for fighting in the open, or to repel any attack on which the French might venture. Massena had no conception of the strength of the barrier raised for the defence of Lisbon until he came upon it. He tested it in several quarters, but each time only to make fresh discoveries of the terrible hazards to be encountered in forcing a way through. The recollection of Busaco had taught him extreme caution, otherwise he might have carried the outer line, if he had ventured on a determined attack with his formidable numbers. He spent more than a month chafing up and down the frowning front, warily feeling his way. Then he suddenly turned his back in utter dismay of the obstacles arresting an advance that was to have swept his foes into the sea. He retired to Santarem, and there remained inactive till the following spring, his troops half famished under privations of food, fuel, and clothing. Wellington wisely persevered in his own cautious system, operating on the flanks and rear of the enemy with his light troops, inflicting heavy distresses and mischiefs, but shunning a general action. Unfriendly critics, both at home and in the Peninsula, were unsparing of their censures on what they called Wellington's lack of spirit and enterprise, because he refrained from attacking and expelling the French. Any great reverse to the British army at that time was likely to bring in its train more than usually disastrous consequences. No other regular force fit to contend in the field against the French remained throughout the Peninsula. In England, the government was already weakened and discredited, and the opposition, who were averse to continuing the contest, seemed likely to come into power. The fate of Europe hung upon the issue of such a decisive battle as Wellington was then urged to fight. Had he beaten Massena his own losses must have so weakened his hold on the country, that it might become a question whether he could maintain even his defensive position. In a despatch dated the 1st of December, 1810, he tells Lord Liverpool, the war minister: "The enemy can be relieved from the difficulties of their situation only by the occurrence of some misfortune to the allied army; and I should forward their views by placing the fate of the campaign on the result of a general action, on ground chosen by them instead of on that selected by me." The historian Thiers, writing from a French point of view, long after the event, thoroughly confirms Wellington's sagacious estimate of the large issues at stake in the operations under his charge at this juncture. He says: "The English, once expelled from Portugal, all would tend in Europe to a general peace. On the other hand, their hold on that country being consolidated, and Massena compelled to retreat, the fortune of the Empire would begin to recede before the fortune of Great Britain, and to fall in the midst of an approaching crisis of disaster."

Shortly after his marriage with the Austrian princess, in the spring of this year, Napoleon took his young bride on a tour through Belgium and Holland. He was at this time exasperated against his brother Louis, king of Holland, whose concern for the interests of his subjects prevailed over his dread of the emperor. Louis winked at a smuggling trade that had sprung up with the English, and passing beyond mere tacit encouragement of commerce, he refused to submit any longer to the obligation enforced upon the kinglings of Westphalia, Saxony, Bavaria, Naples, Wurtemberg, and the other states, which had accepted as the first law of their existence that "everything must be subservient to the interests of France." He boldly declared that he would have nothing to do with a sham sovereignty, under which he was called upon to impoverish his subjects, and ruthlessly sacrifice their interests to the tyrannical requirements of the continental system. The angry emperor punished this mutinous outbreak by sending an army into Holland, which was forthwith formally annexed as an integral part of the empire. Resistance was not to be thought of, so Louis relinquished his nominal kingship without a struggle. In order the more effectually to shut every inlet for British commerce, Napoleon introduced the full organization of French departments into Holland and all the coast territory eastward as far as Denmark, including among his new French provinces Oldenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Lubeck, and the intervening country. Denmark was entirely at the service of France, and Sweden had accepted Bernadotte, one of his marshals, as its sovereign. Austria was the submissive ally of Napoleon;

Prussia and the rest of the German states had ceased to show any will or policy except in abject subserviency to the conqueror. At the close of the year 1810, Napoleon's will was law to all continental Europe, with the exceptions of Russia and Turkey, both still friendly in outward seeming, and of those few places in Spain and Portugal where the presence of British forces still sustained the patriotic cause. He drew conscripts to fight his battles from populations numbering in all more than fourscore millions, and speaking among them more than a dozen languages. He was now in the zenith of his greatness, the master of more nations than were ever before subject to the control of a single ruler since the days of the most potent of the Cæsars. Yet the elements of ruin were rife in all parts of that seemingly solid fabric of widespread dominion. Every country of Europe, whether annexed to and amalgamated with France, or governed in subserviency to the will of the French emperor, though with some of the outward semblances of independence, was groaning under the burdens of an overgrown military system and suffering under the distresses created by the stoppage of foreign trade. The Berlin and Milan decrees; the seizure and destruction of everything that told of traffic with the hated English; the enforced stagnation of many productive industries, manufacturing and agricultural; and, above all, the incessant drain of population to supply fresh legions for the service of the military dictator, pressed more heavily on the vital interests of other nations than on the prosperity of England, against which solely they were levelled. Populations that yearned but feebly, if at all, after free government, chafed under losses that touched the pocket. Alexander of Russia began to entertain uneasy misgivings of what might follow from the discontents among his territorial aristocracy, whose rent-rolls suffered heavily under a policy which closed the markets of the world against the produce of their estates. He had looked complacently on the humiliations inflicted on Austria and Prussia, but he exhibited anger and alarm at the seizure of all the German ports and coasts, and the formal incorporation of them into provinces of the French empire. He now countenanced some infringements of the suicidal commercial system which he had adopted to please Bonaparte. The first symptom that his good will towards the French emperor was a thing of the past, brought down upon him angry remonstrances from Paris. Then followed mutual complaints and accusations, re-echoing with increasing frequency between the Neva and the Seine, and giving presage of rougher strife to follow. In other quarters, too, ominous sparks from time to time betokened that serious conflagrations were ready to burst forth without much fanning.

THE REGENCY—1810-20.

In England the close of the year 1810 was signalized by the commencement of that grievous and pitiable malady which unfitted the king for the further discharge of his duties, whether public or private. At the end of the fiftieth year of his reign—a year which at its opening was cheered by the heartiest expressions of the good will of his subjects—the aged monarch finally lost the use of his mental faculties, and this sad deprivation was soon afterwards aggravated by the utter failure of his sight. His mind, enfeebled by age, and tried by the many perturbations of adverse events, gave way at length under a severe domestic bereavement. His youngest daughter, the Princess Amelia, had long been in a declining state of health, and he had been constant in his attention to the invalid. Towards the end of October, when her end was visibly approaching, the king came as usual to her bedside, and extended his hand to her, for the interchange of the accustomed caresses. The sufferer took the hand in her own, and, without uttering a word, placed a mourning ring on her father's finger. The king found that the significant memento contained a lock of his dying daughter's hair, and bore the inscription, "Remember me, when I am gone." His intellect gave way under the shock communicated by that mournful token, never again to recover its balance. On the 25th of October, a notification appeared, telling that his majesty was again afflicted under a visitation of his old disorder. The last prorogation of parliament extended only to the 1st of November. A further prorogation was on the eve of being declared, but the royal signature to the commission had not been added. It was now impossible that the king could be a party to the extended prorogation. Both Houses met therefore on the 1st of November, the day to which parliament stood prorogued. The remainder of the year and the first days of 1811 were devoted to the settlement of the conditions of a regency. In that interval there were several adjournments, to allow time for the physicians to examine the king and report on the chances of his recovery. It soon became apparent that little or no hope remained of any considerable amendment in either the mental or physical blindness of the royal patient. Thereupon the old discussions on the regency bill of 1788 were revived, but with little of the brilliancy and power called forth in the earlier debates on this interesting constitutional question. There was no longer the expectation among the Whigs of those great political changes which their party, two and twenty years before, had anticipated as the first-fruits of the accession of the prince of Wales to the office of regent. Even Sheridan, the fiery champion on the earlier occasion of such an unrestricted regency as would have given his patron, the prince, full regal authority during the incapacity of the king, showed little or no ardour now. He and the other thick and thin assertors of the rights and merits of the prince were now cautious and lukewarm, for they entertained none of the old hopes that had stirred the enthusiasm of Fox and his phalanx of adherents in their unwise opposition to Pitt's limitations on the powers of the regent. The rising sun had of course his throng of ardent worshippers, several of whom made a sufficiently foolish display of their devotion to his cause, but on the whole it was felt that the proper course was to follow the precedent of 1788. The premier accordingly, on the 20th of December, submitted precisely the same resolutions that his predecessor had laid down and carried, despite the opposition of Fox and his followers. The first proposition, declaring the incapacity of the king to perform the duties of his office, was unanimously affirmed. The second, asserting the right and duty of parliament to make provision for filling the vacant office, was also carried, but not with entire unanimity. Sir Francis Burdett, still smarting under reminiscences of his lodging in the Tower, objected to those words in the resolution which described parliament under the customary phrase, "the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of the United Kingdom, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm." Such an opportunity of denouncing the corrupt agencies that operated rampantly in the composition of the lower House was too tempting for the Radical reformer to let slip unimproved. But he found no supporters in his unseasonable protests. The third resolution proposed that a bill should be passed for the appointment of a regent. But a bill would require the royal assent, which, under existing circumstances, the regal office being in abeyance, it was proposed should be given in some mode to be determined by parliament. Ministers asked the sanction of parliament to a sort of fictitious use of the king's name. They proposed that the chancellor should be empowered to apply the king's seal to an Act, which on that ground was to be considered as sanctioned by the king. This expedient, which at the time was called in disparagement "the phantom," because it brought into play an imaginary, instead of a real royal assent, opened up an intricate, if not insoluble, constitutional question. The second resolution declared the right of the Lords and Commons to fill up the vacant office, and yet, after acknowledging the vacancy, and asserting the power of parliament to fill it, the two Houses were now asked to admit that a bill passed by them, even in that emergency, would not be valid without the royal assent, which could not be given. Romilly dwelt strongly on the inconsistency, contending that the will of the Lords and Commons could in no case be construed into the king's will, and that parliament had no power under the constitution to make any law during a vacancy of the throne. As well (said he) might a set of men in common life make a contract for an insane person, and then appoint an individual as his solicitor to affix his seal and signature to the deed. The personal presence of the king, or in his absence, a commission signed by him, was essential to every Act of legislation, and if parliament could dispense with this in one case it might in others, such as the declaring war and concluding peace. In each such case parliament would be assuming the regal office in order to give valid assent to its own act. The only other course was to proceed by address; that is, for the two Houses, as representing all the estates of the realm, except royalty, to ask the heir apparent to take upon himself the office of regent. This course, however, had been rejected by parliament in 1788, after ample debate, and the king had subsequently given his full assent to the decision then taken. The practical objection to procedure by address outweighed the theoretical difficulty of conferring a parliamentary title to the regency at a time when the king was incapable of giving his personal assent to the bill. If the prince could take upon himself the office of regent before the passing of an Act to define his powers as such, he could, afterwards, as executive head of the state, exercise the royal veto on any regency bill that might be passed through parliament to restrict his powers. Perceval deserves credit for the decision with which he at length cut through the tangled web of fine-spun argument, by the declaration that he would no longer hesitate to do what the interest of the nation required; that he would take upon himself the responsibility of proceeding by bill, despite the difficulty in respect to the royal assent. Majorities in both Houses supported his view, which indeed was in exact keeping with the precedent laid down by Pitt in 1788. The seven royal dukes took part with the minority, the party of the "prince's friends," who were for giving the regent the full powers of king. The bill unquestionably conveyed an indirect reflection on the personal attributes of the prince, inasmuch as it fettered and restricted his right of creating peerages, and granting pensions and offices during the first year of his regency. Further, it conferred on the queen, with the assistance of a council, extensive powers over the king's person and the royal household, which seemed more naturally to appertain to the regent. The prince was strongly averse to any limitations on the full kingly prerogative. He, however, eventually consented, under protest, to the restrictions laid upon him in the bill. While it was passing, he held frequent communication with Lords Grey and Grenville, the chiefs of the Whig party. It was generally supposed that great political changes would follow his accession to the dignity of regent. But symptoms of reviving mental power in the king checked the prince's inclination to dismiss the Tory ministry. When the two Houses in their capacity of a convention parliament, that is, as estates of the realm assembled under peculiar circumstances, had disposed of all the main provisions of the regency bill, and the prince and queen had expressed their concurrence therein, the great seal was affixed to a commission for opening parliament, on the 15th of January, under the regent. The bill then came again before both Houses in their constitutional character, and passed its final stage on the 5th of February. On the following day the prince regent took the oaths of office before the privy council, assembled at Carlton House. His father, though under the restraints which his malady required, was not yet entirely devoid of influence. He indirectly exerted a real power for several months longer. In one of his lucid intervals, early in February, he expressed much distress at the thought that the prince contemplated bringing the Whigs into office. On this the prince formally notified by letter to the premier his fixed resolution to abstain from any act which might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of the king's recovery. The letter added, "this consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval."

The principal restrictions imposed by the regency bill were to cease in February 1812, providing parliament should be then assembled, and should have been not less than six weeks in session. One clause of the enactment declared that the regency would come to an end in case of the king's restoration to health. The prospect of recovery finally vanished after the lapse of a few more months. In that time a change had passed over the regent. He lost his old partiality for the Whigs, and gave his full confidence to the Perceval ministry. His indolent habits disinclined him to change, and some of the changes to which his old political friends stood committed were not such as would have been acceptable to himself or the public. In the cause of civil and religious liberty, for instance, in which the opposition were much in advance of the notions current among a great majority of their countrymen, the prince was certainly not very earnest, though he was above the narrow views of his father. Again, on the question of continuing the contest against Bonaparte, the Whigs entertained a perplexing diversity of opinion, while their opponents were tolerably unanimous, and carried with them the support of the nation at large, together with the entire concurrence of the regent, who had not given up the hope of ruling Hanover, and seeing the other states of Europe recovered from French domination. One of the earliest public acts of the regent was a self-imposed restriction, which must have proved a real penance to a prince of his luxurious habits and expensive predilections. The ministry proposed to apply to parliament for a large addition to the income of the prince, to enable him to maintain the rank of regent with becoming dignity and splendour. He magnanimously declined to add to the burdens of the people by any expansion of his establishment or any augmentation of his state. Well would it have been for his repute among his contemporaries, and with posterity, if he had steadily adhered to this unlooked-for moderation. There was widespread distress among the operative and commercial classes of his subjects when he adopted this resolution, but the increasing difficulties of subsequent years failed to deter him from excessive expenditure and enormous waste on mere idle display and sensual gratification. In the second month of the regency the attention of government was seriously taxed by the pressure of severe commercial distress. Each issue of the "Gazette" exhibited frightful lists of bankruptcies. The American embargo on British trade, added to the greatly increased difficulty of access to continental customers since Bonaparte's conversion of Holland and the Hanse towns into departments of France, were the main causes of these extensive failures. An Act was passed in March empowering commissioners to use six millions of public money in making advances to such merchants as could give good security for repayment. But there was little use in bolstering up mercantile credit while little or no trade could be carried on, either with European states, or the exasperated Americans who were retaliating the injury inflicted by British orders in council. The commercial depression was greatly aggravated by a false alarm raised in parliament and the country to the effect that the paper currency was rapidly falling below its nominal value. In the previous year Mr. Horner had procured the appointment of a committee of inquiry into the state of the currency, the trade in bullion, and the effect of the increase of bank-notes on the price of commodities. In the month of May the report of that committee gave rise to several animated debates. The burden of the report was a strong condemnation of the use of paper as a circulating medium. It urged that from an early date gold should be the only legal tender for all payments beyond a specified amount. This conclusion took no account of the fact that the stock of gold remaining in the country was very small, and that there was no prospect of an increase while the war continued; for there was a continuous and heavy exportation of coin for the payment of our naval and military forces on foreign stations, and for subsidies to those allies whose battles we were fighting. There were other causes, beyond the reach of British legislation, that accounted for the rise in the price of bullion as measured by a paper currency. The gold-producing regions, the Spanish settlements in South America, were in a condition of revolt and anarchy, and had almost ceased to furnish their customary supplies at the very time when the impoverished nations of Europe, in apprehension of fresh revolutions, had lost all confidence in the paper issues of their own governments, and clung tenaciously to coin, which they hoarded and concealed for security against the rapacious exactions of the French. The English guinea was a favourite coin among all the populations round the Mediterranean, where it could be exchanged for silver to the value of twenty-five or twenty-six shillings. The quantity of gold in England was enormously diminished under the operation of these causes. But paper had not fallen though gold had gone up in price. The credit of British bank-notes remained untainted; the one-pound note still purchased twenty shillings' worth of goods, while the guinea, under the influence of the general increase in the price of gold, had risen in value from twenty to twenty-five per cent. It was of vital importance to England at this crisis that the credit of its paper currency should be preserved intact. To revert to cash payments was simply impracticable, for specie had to a large extent quitted the country, and could only be recalled by the restoration of trade, now seriously paralyzed. In the face of these objections the bullionists failed to convince parliament of the expediency of a return to specie payments at an earlier date than six months after the conclusion of the war, as settled by the Suspension Act of 1797. Horner's resolutions in disparagement of the bank-note currency were accordingly thrown out by large majorities, and Mr. Vansittart, secretary of the treasury, assisted by Mr. Rose, brought forward and carried counter resolutions, declaring that bank-notes were not depreciated; that a return to cash payments, earlier than the date already fixed by law, was inexpedient and dangerous; that the high price of gold, and the unfavourable condition of the exchanges between this country and continental states, were due solely to the interruption of commercial and political relations. The bullionists, defeated in parliament, now attempted to bring their theories to a practical issue in another direction. Farmers held their land under agreements which required them to pay rent in good and lawful coin of the realm. Such agreements were in practice limited by the Cash Payments Suspension Act. But several great landowners now resolved to test the question of their title to claim their rents in gold. They accordingly gave notice to their tenants that bank-notes would no longer be accepted at par, in payment of rents; they insisted on payment in guineas, or else in bank-notes sufficient to purchase as many guineas as were due under the terms of their contracts. This demand was equivalent to increasing the rentals by twenty-five or thirty per cent.; for the note was as valuable as ever, while guineas, from their scarcity, were not procurable except at their greatly enhanced exchangeable rates. Had landlords succeeded in establishing the claim thus advanced, the paper currency must have undergone a sudden and enormous depreciation, for the run upon gold must have sent up its price, until bank-notes would have been discredited down to the depths of despair. While ministers were at their wits' ends for a remedy, the eccentric earl of Stanhope, who had made himself unpleasantly conspicuous in the earlier stages of the French revolution by his strenuous championship of the new political principles in vogue at Paris, rendered good service to the country by his bill to compel landlords to accept notes at par in payment of rent. It also stayed legal proceedings under any warrant against a tenant upon tender of his rent in notes. After some hesitation on the first reading, ministers gave their full support to the measure. Lord Eldon, the chancellor, furnished copious illustrations of the hardships that would be inflicted on various classes under the operation of the claim set up by landowners. "I am peculiarly situated," said his lordship, "with respect to this question, having the official care of twenty-five millions of the property of his majesty's subjects, and without the means of enforcing the payment of any part of that sum except in bank-notes. . . . The Restriction Act of 1797 interfered so far with individual contracts, as to say that a debtor should not be arrested if he tendered his debt in bank-notes; the justice of that enactment has never been disputed, and is it now to be said that a tenant shall have his goods or stock seized because he cannot pay in gold, which is not to be procured?" The bill passed by majorities of three to one in the Lords, and four to one in the Commons. Its effect was merely to establish what had hitherto been accepted in actual practice, an equality before the law in respect to tenants and other classes of debtors, and to that extent it quashed the obligation in leases or other contracts by which tenants were bound to pay in cash.

Financial disquietudes in England were balm to the soul of Bonaparte. He accepted as authentic those doleful statements in which our bullionists indulged, that their country was on the brink of ruin, and was unable to continue any longer the costly war without risk of national bankruptcy, irretrievable exhaustion, and hopeless impoverishment. These evil-omened forecasts carried conviction to the mind of the French emperor, that it merely remained for him to follow up, with increasing stringency, his scheme of closing all approaches against British commerce with the Continent, in order to insure an early and absolute triumph over the only enemy he had failed to subdue. Under this persuasion, he steeled his heart against the solicitations addressed to him from all the mercantile cities on the shores of the North Sea and the Mediterranean, praying for a relaxation of those restrictions on trade which had brought large populations into deep distress. He further decided to coerce the Russians and Swedes into sharing with him the league against commercial intercourse with England. The march on Moscow was the fatal issue of this determination. His continental system was prolific of evil, but its worst effects fell on his own head; while the nation that spiteful system was designed to ruin came out more prosperous than ever from the contest.

The budget of the year embraced a total supply of upwards of 56,000,000*l.* Of this sum a loan furnished 12,000,000*l.*, and additions were made to the war taxes on timber and foreign linen. A proposal to tax American cotton wool called forth some spirited opposition to the principle of laying a burden on the raw material. The naval and military services absorbed 46,558,000*l.*; the subsidies to Portugal and Sicily amounted to 2,500,000*l.*

The question of Roman Catholic disabilities supplied matter for an animated debate, but no perceptible advance towards a settlement came out of the discussion. The bishop of Norwich gave his hearty support to the prayer of the petition for an equality of civil privileges, irrespective of creeds. Romilly brought in several bills, as in previous years, for mitigating the rigours of the criminal law. One of these, abolishing the death penalty which attached to the stealing of linen or cotton from outbuildings and drying-grounds, passed through all its stages; three other bills of the same description were opposed by the law lords with uncompromising hostility, and were finally rejected in the Upper House.

The duke of York, displaced two years before from the post of commander-in-chief, on account of the scandalous disclosures of improper influence exerted by Mrs. Clarke in the disposal of military patronage, regained his old position a few months after the accession of his eldest brother to the dignity of regent. His return was acceptable to the army, and especially to the rank and file of the service; for his vigilant concern for the comforts and privileges of the troops had gained for him the flattering title of the "soldier's friend." He now concerned himself with the education of soldiers' children, and besides starting regimental schools, established a lasting claim to their gratitude by founding the well-known schools at Chelsea, with which his name is permanently linked. Some comment passed in the House of Commons on the indecorum of reinstating his royal highness. A motion of censure was proposed on the regent's responsible advisers who had recommended the appointment, but it was negatived by a large majority. There was a decided reaction in favour of the duke, whose administrative abilities were widely acknowledged, while his frailties were leniently measured according to the not too-exacting standard of the time. The session closed in July, a few days subsequent to a report rendered to both Houses by the queen's council, stating that the king's condition was such as to afford little or no prospect that he would ever be able to resume the duties of royalty.

Much agitation prevailed in Ireland throughout the second half of the year, arising out of the rejection by parliament of the petition from the Catholics. At a meeting in Dublin, on the 9th of July, resolutions were passed for the formation of a great national convention, to consist of all Catholic peers, their eldest sons, baronets, dignitaries of the Catholic Church, and ten delegates from each county, to be charged with the duty of taking such action as should seem expedient for the repeal of the penal laws and securing equality of civil rights for every form of religious communion. This threatening organization called forth an energetic counter-movement on the part of the Irish executive. The lord-lieutenant issued a proclamation declaring that the penalties laid down in the Convention Act would be forthwith brought to bear on all who should engage in the proposed election of deputies, managers, or delegates to the Catholic committee. In the following month some of the elected delegates were arrested, but this failed to deter the promoters of the scheme. In the autumn they convened three hundred delegates in the Circus at Dublin, under a secret arrangement which baulked the authorities of the opportunity to prevent the meeting. The assemblage included a large body of sympathizing friends of the movement, and so well had the committee organized its routine of business, that a quarter of an hour sufficed for bringing before the meeting the draught of a fresh petition to parliament, and passing the resolution for its adoption. The meeting had well-nigh dispersed before the authorities appeared on the scene of action, ready to enforce the law which forbade such conventions. A few weeks later came on the trial of Dr. Sheridan, one of the arrested delegates; but government failed to secure a conviction. The acquittal was hailed with the most exuberant expressions of delight all over Dublin. Then followed the arrest of Lords Fingal and Netteville, who presided at other meetings held in defiance of government, at which resolutions were passed for a petition to the regent, praying for a redress of grievances, and denouncing the tyranny and illegality of the Irish executive.

Disaffection of another sort manifested itself in some of the manufacturing districts of England in the course of this year. In the depression of manufacturing industry, consequent on the closing of many foreign markets, the operatives suffered much distress. At such a period, any invention which diminishes the demand for human labour is naturally regarded with extreme disfavour by the workmen whose livelihood is threatened by the innovation. The stocking-weavers of Nottingham and neighbouring districts attributed the depression of their trade to the newly-invented frame, and waged war against it, committing themselves to outrages and riotous proceedings that called for continuous vigilance on the part of the authorities, and the occasional employment of the military.

Our troops in Portugal and Spain had plenty of hard fighting in the course of this year. So well did they acquit themselves that Napoleon's best marshals and choicest veterans found more than their match, when they encountered British troops on equal terms as regards numbers and local advantages. Yet there were serious thoughts at home early in the year of abandoning the struggle, recalling the army, and resigning the Peninsula to the grasp of the French. Shortly after the inauguration of the prince of Wales as regent, the secretary of war told Lord Wellington: "It is the unanimous opinion of every member of the government, and of every person acquainted with the finances and resources of the country, that it is absolutely impossible to continue our exertions in the Peninsula for any considerable length of time." Wellington met these faint-hearted misgivings by reminding the ministry that if the army were withdrawn, and Napoleon relieved of the stress and strain of extensive military operations in the Peninsula, he would assuredly concentrate all his enormous resources on his old and deeply-cherished scheme of landing an army on our own shore. In that case our people would learn by bitter experience that war brings in its train infinitely worse evils than burdensome taxation. "Then indeed," said the prescient commander, "would commence an expensive contest; then would his majesty's subjects discover what are the miseries of war, of which, by the blessing of God, they have hitherto had no knowledge; and the cultivation, the beauty, and prosperity of the country, and the virtue and happiness of its inhabitants, would be destroyed, whatever might be the result of the military operations: God forbid that I should be a witness, much less an actor in the scene." The failing confidence of his own government in their ability to continue the costly war in the Peninsula, only wanted some slight confirmation or encouragement from Wellington in order to ensure a speedy abandonment of the struggle. But he never wavered in a confident anticipation of success proportionate to the means placed at his disposal. His brother, the Marquis Wellesley, was the only member of the administration who cordially shared his convictions on this head; the rest of the cabinet, even when they agreed with the marquis on the necessity of extended operations, by means of larger armies, yet accepted the plea of impracticability, on which Perceval starved the war all along, until his death. To Wellington's difficulties and embarrassments, springing from the stinted and grudging support of his own government, were added the worry of incessant strife with the thankless authorities with whom he had to deal in both Portugal and Spain. As respects the latter country, it had become a fixed principle with Wellington to place no sort of reliance on any promises of Spanish co-operation, whether in regard to battling with the enemy or the furnishing of commissariat supplies for his own forces. He held it to be an essential condition of any future campaign beyond the limits of Portugal, that his own army should be self-dependent in all matters, and unfettered by conditions of native co-operation. In the case of Portugal, he was less distrustful of the people, and entertained high expectations of the fighting qualities of the troops, under the handling of his own generals and with a large infusion of British officers.

But the council of regency in that country, utterly forgetful that it owed its own existence to the presence and protection of the British army, thwarted and annoyed Wellington by every means at its command. Souza and the bishop of Oporto, leading members of the council, seemed to have no other policy than to create difficulties and raise obstacles in his way. In one of his communications to the meddlesome bishop and his coadjutors, he unreservedly reproached them for their foolish, unpatriotic, and deceitful conduct, telling them bluntly that they were unfaithful to their country and their prince. He reminded them that the king of England and the prince regent of Portugal had entrusted him with the conduct of the military operations, and he would not suffer any interference. He knew what to do, "and would not alter his plans to suit the senseless suggestions of the regency. Let the latter look to their own duties. Let them provide food for the army and the people, and keep the capital tranquil." The plain-speaking remonstrance added that it was not possible for the British general to act with Principal Souza, and that the country would be lost if that person remained in power. But the most energetic remonstrances were unavailing, or at the best only partially efficacious, in conflict with the soaring self-sufficiency of rulers who appeared to think they were not so much receiving as conferring a benefit in permitting the English to fight their battles and furnish them with huge subsidies in money, besides supplying food, clothing, and pay to a large proportion of the native troops. The active operations of war must have afforded a real relief to the British general, whose life was harassed, when no fighting was going forward, by the ceaseless cross purposes of ignorant, meddlesome, and presumptuous members of the Portuguese provisional government. Such a season of agreeable change commenced in the month of March. He had been, as it were, blockading Massena's army at Santarem during the winter. Early in March the half-starved French abandoned their strong position and retired northwards, pursued by the British. The line of retreat, like that of Soult's army from Oporto in 1808, was everywhere marked by wanton destruction of property and diabolical outrages on such of the wretched inhabitants as failed to get out of the way of the despoilers. The name of Massena is bitterly execrated by the Portuguese for the pitiless devastation inflicted by the troops under his command. They burned, or otherwise demolished, all the dwellings, farm-buildings, and whatever appertained to human occupation of the country. Even churches and abbeys were not spared from ruthless spoliation. An English officer engaged in the pursuit, writing while still surrounded by the wide-spread memorials of French savagery, records: "There are no enormities however great, and no wanton barbarities, that have not been committed by Massena's order on people of all classes and ages; nor have they neglected to destroy a single town or village through which they have passed."*

French writers gloss over these horrors, or extenuate them as measures of hard necessity, forced upon their countrymen in self-defence from the murderous attacks under which all their stragglers, sick and wounded, were pitilessly butchered whenever they fell into the clutches of the Portuguese peasantry. The courtesies of war continued to be interchanged between French and British, and when the French passed over the boundary between Portugal and Spain, their treatment of the country people underwent a sudden and surprising change. Napier, the impartial historian of the Peninsular war, served with the pursuing army on this occasion. He narrates, from personal observation: "Those men who for months had been living by rapine, whose retreat had been one continual course of violence and devastation, having now passed an imaginary line of frontier, became the most orderly of soldiers; not the slightest rudeness was offered to any Spaniard, and everything demanded was scrupulously paid for, although bread was sold at two shillings a pound! Massena himself also, fierce and terrible as he was in Portugal, always treated the Spaniards with gentleness and moderation." There were many sharp encounters between the two armies before this third expulsion of the French from Portugal. Massena conducted the retreat with singular ability. His second in the command, Marshal Ney, had charge of the rear-guard, to which fell most of the fighting. Napier awards to Ney the high praise that "with a happy mixture of courage, readiness, and skill, he illustrated every league of ground, by some signal combination of war." Sir Thomas Picton, who led the division of the British army that was principally engaged on numerous occasions with the rear-guard of the French, paid his adversary a similar compliment, in the statement that Ney's movements afforded a perfect lesson in that sort of warfare which is brought into play during a well-conducted retreat. Nor was the pursuit a less masterly display of the genius of the English general. Wellington had long felt firmly persuaded that the enemy must retire, and it was his aim to promote that result to the utmost, yet without hazarding a general engagement. He hastened the retreat rather by skilful than daring operations. The army he handled was equal to any undertaking. Some of the regiments had fought every battle, from the first campaign under Sir John Moore in 1807, onwards. Most of them were choice and seasoned troops, inured to all the hardships of a soldier's life, and flushed by the proud remembrance of battles in which they had borne honourable part. There was unlimited mutual confidence between the general and his troops; they, eager to fight; he, chary of expending the precious lives of first-rate soldiers, or of frittering away a costly force which could not readily be replaced. Even a great victory, if achieved at the expense of heavy loss of life, might have proved a great misfortune. Ministers at home were in no humour to send large reinforcements, and a heavy reverse would have confirmed their inclination to give up the contest in the Peninsula. Swayed by these considerations, Wellington aimed rather to facilitate and hasten Massena's retreat than to inflict on him a crushing defeat, at the hazard of seriously weakening his own force. Although constant fighting went on between the rearguard of the enemy and the advanced division of the British army, the only approach to a pitched battle was at Sabugal, where several divisions of each army were engaged. Wellington described this engagement as "one of the most glorious contests to British troops in which they were ever engaged." Two days later, on the 6th of April, the French passed the frontier as a beaten army, and fell back on the shelter of their fortresses, Ciudad Rodrigo in the first instance, and then Salamanca. They had lost fully six thousand men in the course of the retreat, and not less than thirty thousand in the seven months from the date of entering Portugal on this their third invasion. There still remained the Portuguese frontier fortress of Almeida in the keeping of a French garrison. The allied army ceased the pursuit at the frontier, blockaded Almeida, and established their cantonments over miles of country in its vicinity. Just when Massena, starved out of his winter quarters at Santarem, began to retire from Portugal, Soult, who was moving northward to co-operate with him, snatched Badajoz from the Spaniards after a very brief siege. The governor, either a coward or a traitor, surrendered on the very day when a message from Wellington bade him hold out a few days longer, as a relieving army of British and Portuguese, under Beresford, was about to raise the siege. Meanwhile Soult's movement northward from Seville to Badajoz presented to the beleagured garrison of Cadiz an opportunity for striking an effectual blow on the besiegers, under Victor. General Graham concerted with the Spanish commanders an arrangement under which troops were conveyed from Cadiz by sea, and disembarked in the rear of the French. These were joined by the British garrison from the neighbouring fort of Tarifa, and by some Spaniards from inland places. As the Spaniards numbered eight thousand, and the British only four thousand, Graham yielded the chief command, though with much misgiving, to Lapeña, a general puffed up with all the pride of his brother commanders, and endowed, as the event proved, with their usual slender share of military capacity. Victor detached from his lines a picked force of about the same number with the allies who were advancing on his rear. The collision came off on the 5th of March, which is known in history as the battle of Barrosa. All the fighting on one side fell to the British and a few Portuguese and Germans in their pay. The engagement was brief but close, and fiercely contested. It lasted only an hour and a half, but in that time the summit of the Barrosa ridge was strewn with upwards of three thousand dead and wounded, the loss of the French being nearly double that of the English. While our countrymen were mingling in this deadly strife, their allies, the Spaniards, looked idly on, or withdrew beyond reach of harm. Some of their eight hundred cavalry came up just as the action ceased, but no stroke in aid of the British was struck by a Spanish sabre that day, although the French cavalry did not exceed two hundred and fifty men. The German hussars, only one hundred and eighty in number, led by Colonel Ponsonby, charged the French squadrons in their retreat, overthrew them, and carried off some guns. After the battle, four thousand fresh Spanish troops marched out from Cadiz, to join in further operations against the defeated French. But Graham, disgusted with the dastardly behaviour of Lapeña, declined to take further orders from him. Thereupon the several corps of the allies marched through the extremity of the French line nearest the sea, and retired into Cadiz. On the following day a force of seamen and marines from the British ships, under command of Admiral Keats, landed and destroyed numerous small forts and other of the enemy's military works.

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* See "Wellington's Supplementary Despatches," vol. vii., p. 85.

Two more great battles, fought and won by British troops in the course of this campaign, were connected, like Barrosa, with siege operations. When Massena quitted Portugal, Wellington sent a large section of his forces southward, to take part with Beresford's Portuguese in the siege of Badajoz, and halted the rest in the neighbourhood of Almeida. Early in May, Massena, strongly reinforced, returned from Spain and attacked Wellington's diminished army at Fuentes d' Onoro—the Fountains of Honour—a village near Almeida. The French numbered forty thousand infantry and five thousand horse. The allies had only thirty-two thousand foot and one thousand two hundred cavalry, and the disproportion between the numbers actually engaged was still heavier in favour of the French, for the allies had not yet got together some distant divisions when the brunt of the battle fell on a section of the British army. Wellington describes the battle, in a private letter, as the most difficult he was ever engaged in, and against the greatest odds. "Very nearly three to one against us engaged; above four to one of cavalry; and, moreover, our cavalry had not a gallop in them, while some of that of the enemy were fresh and in excellent order. If Bony had been there we should have been beaten."* The loss of the allies was twelve hundred killed and wounded, and three hundred prisoners; that of the French was threefold heavier, without including the prisoners, who were not many. Massena now retired, without accomplishing the relief of Almeida, which was the main object of his attack. But the garrison of that fortress sallied forth at midnight of the 10th, broke through the pickets, forced their way through such weak portions of the blockading line as lay in their way, and contrived without heavy loss to elude pursuit and to join the main army. Massena and Ney were now recalled to France, and Marmont assumed the command of the baffled "army of Portugal," which again fell back on Salamanca.

While these operations were in progress on the north-eastern frontier, the south of Portugal was menaced with invasion by Soult's army. He advanced early in May at the head of a chosen force of French veterans against the allied army under Beresford, then engaged in the siege of Badajoz. The English general quitted his lines and took up a position in the vicinity, on a ridge four miles long, sloping down to the village and stream of Albuera. His total force amounted to thirty thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, and thirty-eight pieces of artillery. Soult had twice as many cavalry and more artillery, but only nineteen thousand foot. Yet the numerical inferiority on the side of the French was more than compensated by the quality of their troops, all inured to war, accustomed to act in concert, and commanded by one able and experienced general. Beresford's force, on the contrary, was a composite army of three nations, each more or less mistrustful of the other, and the Spanish portion dispirited by recent defeats, half-starved, and ill-equipped. Soult delivered his attack on the 16th. The serious fighting occupied scarcely four hours, but in that short time the killed and wounded on both sides numbered more than fifteen thousand, of whom eight thousand were French, five thousand British, and the other two thousand Portuguese and Spanish. A little more persistence on the part of the French must have given them the victory; for the British, on whom fell the brunt of the battle, had less than two thousand men left unhurt at the critical moment when the enemy recoiled and fled. The Portuguese fought well, but every effort to bring the Spaniards into close quarters with the enemy proved utterly abortive. "The cannon on both sides," to quote Napier's vivid narrative, "discharged showers of grape at half range; the peals of musketry were incessant, and often within pistol-shot; but the close formation of the French embarrassed their battle, and the British line would not yield them one inch of ground, not for a moment of time, to open their ranks. * * * Still the struggle continued with unabated fury. Colonel Inglis, twenty-two officers, and more than four hundred men, out of the five hundred and seventy that had mounted the hill, fell in the 57th Regiment alone, and all the other regiments were scarcely better off; not one-third were standing in any." Then came forward into this carnage-covered scene the fusileer brigade, consisting of the 7th and 23rd English regiments, whose vigorous onslaught decided the issue of the terrible contest after it had long trembled in the balance, and more than once inclined to the side of the French. No event throughout the peninsular war claims higher admiration than the heroic struggle maintained by these two regiments against vastly superior numbers of the enemy. The story is best told in the following passage of Napier's brilliant narrative: "Such a gallant line issuing from the midst of the smoke, and rapidly separating itself from the confused and broken multitude, startled the enemy's heavy masses, which were increasing and pressing onwards, as to an assured victory; they wavered, hesitated, and then, vomiting forth a storm of fire, hastily endeavoured to enlarge their front, while a fearful discharge of grape from all their artillery whistled through the British ranks. Myers was killed, Cole, the three colonels, Ellis, Blakeney, and Hawkshawe, fell wounded, and the fusileer battalions, struck by the iron tempest, reeled and staggered like sinking ships. But suddenly and sternly recovering, they closed on their terrible enemies, and then was seen with what a strength and majesty the British soldier fights. In vain did Soult, with voice and gesture, animate his Frenchmen; in vain did the hardiest veterans break from the crowded columns and sacrifice their lives to gain time for the mass to open out on such a fair field; in vain did the mass itself bear up, and fiercely striving, fire indiscriminately upon friends and foes, while the horsemen, hovering on the flank, threatened to charge the advancing line. Nothing could stop that astonishing infantry. No sudden burst of undisciplined valour, no nervous enthusiasm weakened the stability of their order. Their flashing eyes were bent up the dark columns in their front; their measured tread shook the ground; their dreadful volleys swept away the head of every formation; their deafening shouts overpowered the dissonant cries that broke from all parts of the tumultuous crowd, as slowly and with a horrid carnage it was pushed, by the incessant vigour of the attack, to the furthest edge of the height. Then the French reserves mixed with the struggling multitude, and endeavoured to sustain the fight, but the effort only increased the irremediable confusion; the mighty mass gave way, and like a loosened cliff went headlong down the steep." Beresford's faulty generalship in the battle of Albuera brought serious disparagement on his military repute. He was always to be seen mingling in the thickest of the contest, fearlessly exposing himself to all its hazards; but his forces were not well placed or ably handled. Ten thousand of his infantry were never brought into action, and the allies were always weakest in numbers at decisive points in the conflict. The victory, won in despite of the absence of a great presiding mind on the part of the general, must have been lost but for the superlative vigour and unconquerable spirit of the British regiments. There were several minor actions in the course of the summer and autumn, in one of which General Hill routed a considerable French corps, made fifteen hundred prisoners, and captured the baggage, artillery, stores, and ammunition. The whole campaign yielded a large balance of advantage to the allies, notwithstanding some further disastrous and disgraceful defeats sustained by the Spaniards in parts of the country where they rashly ventured to measure their unassisted strength against the French. In October, Blake, whose intractable self-sufficiency had given endless trouble to the English generals with whom he had been associated in some combined operations, encountered a French army with the usual result of a complete defeat. He escaped with his beaten army into Valencia, where the whole force of eighteen thousand men quickly surrendered to Suchet. Tarragona and several other fortresses in the south and east of Spain fell this year into the hands of the French, who sullied their triumph by terrible acts of vengeance against the places that had kept them longest at bay.

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* "Supplementary Despatches," vol. vi. p. 175.

A British military expedition was despatched in the summer from Madras to dispossess the Dutch of their settlements in Java. The city of Batavia surrendered without resistance, and a very little fighting sufficed to reduce the whole of the Dutch possessions in that region to English rule.

The year was not entirely barren of incidents in naval warfare, though the enemy had almost ceased to offer any chance for our sailors to emulate the glories of earlier years in this war. In the month of March a squadron of four British frigates encountered five French frigates, with six smaller vessels of war, in the Adriatic, and captured or destroyed half the force of the enemy. Another small squadron of three frigates under Captain Schomberg obtained a similar signal triumph over a stronger force of French vessels on the coast of Madagascar. Towards the close of the year the Americans gave unequivocal tokens that such naval force as they could muster would soon be fighting on the side of our enemies.

The parliamentary session of 1812 began on the 7th of January. The regent's speech, like that of the previous year, was read by commission. A gratulatory paragraph took account of the brilliant successes of the armies serving in the Peninsula, and there were regrets that the differences with America had not yet been adjusted. The condition of the king had undergone no favourable change since the passing of the Regency Bill, and the expectation of his recovery had diminished. The debates on the address furnished occasion to the leaders of opposition for their customary condemnation of the war, and there were some trenchant censures on the policy which had driven the United States into an hostile attitude towards this country. Despite these animadversions, the addresses were carried in both Houses without a division. The paragraph in the regent's speech, which told of fading prospects in respect to the king's restoration to health, formed the groundwork of an early ministerial announcement that provision must forthwith be made for a large increase in the expenditure on the royal households. On the 16th of January the House of Commons resolved themselves into a committee to settle the question connected with the maintenance of the two courts—that of the queen and that of the regent. The virtuous self-denial on the part of the prince, so loudly vaunted by his Whig adherents in the previous session, had proved fleeting or unreal. There was no concealing the fact that a serious deficiency in the civil list would have to be made good. A resolution was passed, not without some protest, authorizing an additional 70,000*l.* per annum to the queen. Another resolution paved the way for yet heavier increments to the civil list, in the vague affirmation "that it is expedient that provision be made for defraying the expenses incident to the assumption of the personal exercise of the royal authority by his royal highness the prince regent." Money bills, founded on these resolutions, vested the civil list in the regent, and laid upon him the obligation to make the stipulated increase in the queen's allowance. His old income as prince of Wales remained at his disposal, in addition to the large funds now secured to him to enable him to support the position of regent with befitting splendour. His personal contempt for the virtue of economy found expression in a speedy requisition for a separate provision of 9000*l.* per annum on behalf of each of his sisters, in addition to the yearly allowance of 4000*l.* already settled on each of those princesses. Mr. Bankes renewed his yearly onslaught on the old scandal of sinecure places, and the granting of offices in reversion. In the late recess the regent had given to one of his favourites, Colonel MacMahon, the appointment of paymaster of widows' pensions, a post which had been condemned by a parliamentary committee in 1783, and again on a recent occasion, as a mere sinecure. The only reason for not abolishing the office long before was the ingrained reverence for so-called vested rights. It was held to be hard to deprive even a sinecurist of what had been given to him and enjoyed by him. On this ground alone the previous holder of the office, a brother of the statesman Fox, was permitted to pocket for a prolonged period nearly 3000*l.* a-year out of the public purse, without doing a stroke of work. The burdensome annuitant died in the summer of 1811, and ministers connived at the new appointment, in defiance of the recorded protest of two parliamentary committees against making any fresh grant of the place on the death of its occupant. On the motion of Mr. Bankes the House refused, by 115 against 112, to vote the salary affixed to the nominal office, and thenceforward the style and dignity of paymaster of widows' pensions, together with the very heavy emoluments of that very light office, ceased to figure in the annual estimates. The disappointed sinecurist whose vested rights were thus unceremoniously quashed by the House of Commons was forthwith consoled by the gift of a new appointment, that of private secretary to his patron, the prince regent, with the substantial salary of 2000*l.* per annum. Protests fell thick and fast on ministers who had countenanced this extraordinary appointment. It was contended that the secretaries of state were the only lawful secretaries to the king or regent, and that of these the home secretary was the proper constitutional private secretary. From the days of William III. downward, there had been no such functionary as private secretary to the sovereign, until the latter years of George III., whose loss of sight necessitated, and therefore excused, a special arrangement. Ministers pleaded the great increase of public business as a full warrant for the new appointment, and the question was allowed to drop on their undertaking that the salary should be borne on the regent's privy purse. Mr. Banks succeeded in passing a bill to renew for two more years the Act, then expiring, which prohibited the granting of offices in reversion. This he followed up with a bill for the entire abolition of numerous sinecure places. But financial reformers were sadly hampered by the circumstance that some of the leaders of opposition, or their intimate connections, social and political, were participators in the enormous plunder of public revenue then openly practised by Whigs and Tories alike, under the specious cover of patent offices. It was boldly asserted that parliament had no right to interfere with appointments in the gift of the crown. Lord Grenville with all his earnest advocacy of other great reforms, vehemently opposed a motion that touched to the quick some of his family connections and himself. He had for many years pocketed enormous emoluments from the posts of auditor of the exchequer, and his uncle, the marquis of Buckingham, drew the princely revenue of 27,000*l.* per annum from another office, that of teller of the exchequer. These, and other aristocratic Whigs, added all the weight of their influence to assist the Tory ministry in neutralizing the drastic motion which was to cut down emoluments of certain offices and thus make them "more conformable in amount to the usual grants of public money for public services." Another similar bill attacked the prodigious emoluments of the registrar of the admiralty and the prize courts, which were said to reach nearly 20,000*l.* a year. The present holder of that appointment was Lord Arden, and the succession to it was secured by patent on behalf of his brother, Mr. Perceval. Their father, when first lord of the admiralty, had bestowed this good gift on them. The powerful clique of placemen and expectants contrived to get a majority against the bill, but the scandalous disclosures elicited in the discussions for which it furnished occasion were not wholly unfruitful at the time, while in the long run they proved eminently useful. Before the end of the year, Lords Camden and Buckingham, tellers of the exchequer, two brazen sinecurists, whose only duty seemed to consist in pocketing a percentage on all issues of public money, relinquished a third part of their enormous official incomes, but only during the continuance of the war. The public was relieved of the incubus of one of these heavy annuitants soon afterwards, and the survivor deemed it prudent, in 1814, to forego his claim to percentages, then estimated at 9000*l.* a year, reserving still the large fixed salary of 2700*l.*

There had been rumours of ministerial changes from the first days of the session. It was thought that the regent would not long give his countenance to ministers who had expressed their mistrust of himself in the regency bill; and that, at the latest, on the expiration of the year to which the chief restrictions extended, he would invite the Whig chiefs to form an administration. Lord Wellesley the foreign secretary, resigned in February, under strong dissatisfaction with his colleagues on several questions of public policy, particularly want of heartiness in the conduct of the war in Spain. Lord Castlereagh succeeded to the vacant post. Just at that crisis appeared the regent's remarkable letter to the duke of York, expressing somewhat hazy or neutral views on the choice of ministers. To the great surprise of his old adherents, the prince now announced that he "had no predilections to indulge; no resentments to gratify; no objects to attain but such as were common to the whole empire." The letter further expressed a wish to continue his father's ministers, together with new colleagues to be drawn from the ranks of those persons with whom the early habits of his own life had been formed. The duke was authorized to communicate the prince's sentiments to Lords Grey and Grenville, who promptly scouted the notion of serving under Perceval, as members of an administration which was committed to public measures diametrically opposed to their own convictions. In respect to Ireland, in particular, neither the regent nor the bulk of the members of the cabinet, were in the least inclined to accept such a programme of measures as the Whig leaders were pledged to bring forward. The ministry, after this abortive scheme of a coalition, were fast consolidating both their strength and popularity when the career of Spencer Perceval, the premier, came abruptly to a close. On the afternoon of the 11th of May, as he was in the act of entering the lobby of the House of Commons, one of a group of loiterers pointed a pistol at him and fired with fatal effect. The ball entered his heart, and he expired almost instantaneously. The assassin was a bankrupt Liverpool merchant, named Bellingham, who had suffered some losses in Russia on account of which he had claimed the intervention of the British ambassador at St. Petersburg. Failing to obtain the redress to which he imagined himself entitled, he had subsequently endeavoured to induce the premier to see him righted. The matter was not one in which government interference could properly be brought to bear, so no steps were taken on the applicant's behalf. Soured by his losses, the decayed merchant conceived a violent resentment against both the ambassador and the premier, and carried his revenge to the horrible extreme already narrated. He made no attempt to escape, but gloried in the deed, and only regretted that he had not slain the other object of his insane hate. On the trial, which came off within a few days, he indignantly rejected the suggestion that he was mad, and on that account not responsible for the act. So prompt were all the proceedings that he underwent the penalty due to murder exactly a week after the commission of the crime.

The tragic fate of the statesman called forth the most generous testimony to his private virtues and courteous manners, even from his least friendly political opponents. Though he had been premier only two and a half years, and had previously achieved no political eminence, except for his sturdy resistance to the claims of the Catholics; parliament voted large sums for his family, more in the light of a compassionate allowance than in requital of services rendered. An annuity of 2000*l.* was allotted to the widow, besides a sum of 50,000*l.* for the benefit of his children, and a further allowance to his eldest son of 1000*l.* a year, which was to be doubled on the lapse of the widow's pension. Several weeks passed before the final reconstruction of the cabinet. In that interval, first Canning and Wellesley, then Grey and Grenville, were invited to take seats in the existing cabinet, but they all declined to identify themselves with the exclusion of Catholics from some of the principal rights of citizens. Then there was a talk that the ministry, having failed to secure the assistance of the leaders of opposition, purposed carrying on the government without any other change than the promotion of one of their members to the premiership. This provoked an address of the Commons, which was carried against ministers by a considerable majority, praying the regent to adopt measures calculated to ensure a strong and efficient administration. Thereupon followed the resignation of the cabinet, for the address was in substance a vote of want of confidence in them. The regent turned in the first instance to Wellesley and Canning, who, however, failed to secure competent colleagues, for Lord Liverpool, and a strong section of his Tory adherents, declined to serve with them because they had notoriously been long at variance with the late premier, the accepted chief of the Tory party. Then followed negotiations with the Whig leaders, who proved equally intractable, insisting on a clean sweep of all the members of the late government, including appointments in the royal household. It soon appeared that a composite ministry could not be set on foot, for the Tories would admit no Whigs and the Whigs would tolerate no Tories in the new government. In this dead lock the regent fell back on the late ministry. Lord Liverpool was invited to take the chief place and to propose such reengagement of officers as might, in his judgment, be best adopted to carry on the government on the principles of the deceased premier. Had the Whig leaders, Grey and Grenville, been content to leave untouched the posts connected with the court, they might have exercised forthwith all the substantial functions of government, and they could have secured the alliance of the neutral or intermediate men, Wellesley, Canning, and their adherents. The attempt to "ride roughshod through Carlton House," as one of their party maladroitly phrased their demand in respect to the places about the court, drove their lukewarm patron, the regent, into the other camp, and for another long term of years the Whigs were unable to emerge from the cold shade of opposition into the cheering sunshine of power. This result was largely due to the discredit, ridicule, and contempt which they brought upon themselves by their persistent forebodings of a ruinous failure of our military operations in the Peninsula. They continued to prophesy reverses, discomfiture, disaster, impoverishment, and disgrace, as the inevitable issue of Wellington's campaigns. Further, they systematically disparaged the extent and value of those great successes which soon came in quick succession to falsify their predictions, to stultify their lugubrious forecasts, and to strengthen the hands of political opponents, under whose administration came soon the downfall and utter ruin of Bonaparte, with the liberation of Europe from French domination. This glorious close of the contest was mainly due to those many enterprises and efforts which the Whig leaders had always strenuously opposed and the Tories had as persistently upheld. There were a few new men in the reconstructed government; but its tone, principles, and character remained the same as when Perceval was premier. There was the same determined attitude of "no surrender" on all the leading points of home politics; the same refusal of any concession to the claims of Catholics and Dissenters; the same horror of democracy, with distrust of the people and opposition to every progressive measure; the same ineradicable belief that all advances towards social and political renovations were backward steps in the direction of revolution.

Mr. Vansittart, the new chancellor of the exchequer, brought forward the budget that had been prepared by the late premier. The war charges were pitched at a higher level than ever, for the ministry had now decided on placing larger means at Wellington's disposal, and negotiations were in progress with Russia and Sweden, with the view to a new coalition, out of which might come, as in previous years, the obligations of heavy subsidies. The total supplies amounted to 62,376,000*l*. The loans of the year exceeded 22,000,000*l*.; additional duties on imports were calculated to yield nearly 2,000,000*l*. The census returns, laid before parliament in the course of this session, showed a total population of eleven million nine hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and forty-four persons in the previous year, and exhibited an increase of more than fifteen per cent. in the preceding ten years, notwithstanding the ravages of war and the interruption to several of the chief industries of the nation. The increase was not a source of unmixed satisfaction, for the high price of food during many previous years raised the serious question whether population was not threatening to outgrow the means of subsistence, while the total cost of imported food was found to be increasing in a much higher ratio than the increase in the number of mouths to be fed. This inequality, however, was more than redressed through the reclamation of waste land, manifold improvements in agriculture, and the rapid growth in the foreign demand for the chief product of British industry.

The destructive riots in Nottingham and many other manufacturing towns of the northern and midland counties, where bands of men waged war against machinery, in the ignorant belief that it was the enemy of the operative class, gave rise to several severe measures of repression. A temporary act, passed rapidly through all its stages, attached the death penalty to the crime of destroying or injuring stocking or lace frames. Powers were given to the magistracy in the disturbed districts to search for arms and to provide for the prompt dispersion of tumultuous assemblages. Many of the jails were filled with delinquents, and a special commission for trying them was held in the autumn at York. Out of a larger number convicted, sixteen underwent the extreme penalty of the law, and many more were transported to penal settlements.

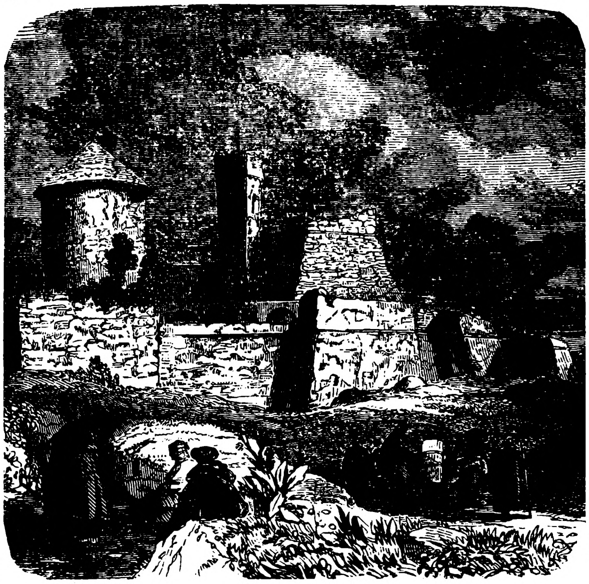
The stagnation in trade which was pressing so heavily on English operatives as to drive them into lawless courses, had its foundations in Bonaparte's Berlin and Milan decrees, and our retaliatory orders in council. Another mischief, of larger consequences than domestic insurrection on a small scale had now sprung out of the stoppage of commercial intercourse. The United States had all along submitted with exemplary patience to Bonaparte's prohibitory decrees, but they had never ceased to resent the corresponding restrictions imposed by the British orders in council on the commercial intercourse of neutral states. Even before this source of irritation came into existence the great majority of the Americans had given their hearty sympathy to the side of our enemy. They exulted over every disaster, and disparaged or passed over in silence every triumph of the British arms. The most flagrant violation of the law of nations on the part of Bonaparte was welcomed by the democrats in the States with a fervour proportioned to the harm it threatened to inflict on English interests. The federalists, best represented by such men as Washington, Franklin, and the sober legislators who formed the constitution of the new republic, opposed with some success for many years the popular inclination to take part with France in the war against England. But when those founders of the republic were removed by death, or from other causes ceased to guide the opinion of their countrymen, the party that adhered to their moderate views fell into a minority. In proportion as their rivals, the democrats, gained the ascendant the war-whoop resounded louder and louder. Jefferson and Madison were the leaders of this party. A rabid hatred of England and an ardent desire to promote her ruin, corresponding to the Fenianism of later times, was the characteristic of these politicians. Bonaparte had long been inclined to relax his continental system in favour of the Americans, in order to secure their co-operation in the league that was to have ruined England; but it was only when he committed himself to his gigantic enterprise against Russia that he finally made up his mind to purchase their alliance at the price of exempting them from the pressure of his confiscatory decrees. When it is remembered that his ruinous campaign in Russia had for its main purpose, if not for its sole aim and object, to enforce his pet scheme of cutting off the hated English from commercial intercourse with the nations of Europe, we are forced to the conclusion that it was far from his intention to maintain a permanent exception in favour of the American flag, if any benefit, direct or indirect, accrued thereby to the commerce of England. Our government had all along announced that the orders in council would be revoked as soon as France withdrew her Berlin and Milan decrees. In April the American minister notified that France had now abandoned the embargo on American commerce. A corresponding change in our own system was thereupon declared, but this was coupled with the condition that America must first revoke an order which shut British vessels of war out of her ports, although those of France were freely admitted. Our own merchants, meanwhile, were clamorous for the entire abandonment of a system which in effect interdicted the whole foreign trade of neutral nations. Mr. Brougham, the distinguished orator and statesman of later times, and the veteran author whose final contribution to the literature of his country forms the introductory chapter to this work, gained his earliest celebrity by a succession of able speeches against the orders in council. He appeared at the bar of the House of Commons on behalf of the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, against the grievance in 1808, and in 1812, when he was himself a distinguished member of the House, he made further efforts to procure the cancelling of the orders. The assertion by our government of the right of reclaiming deserters from our ships of war who had taken service under the republic formed another ground of quarrel between the two nations. The exercise of this right, long before the outbreak of hostilities, had led to collisions in which blood had been spilt, and eventually our government withdrew its claim to search the war ships of the Americans, but still adhered to the practice in respect to trading ships. In the hope of averting war the British government now consented to the absolute suspension of the orders in council, so far as the United States were concerned. But before this concession, which was announced in the "Gazette" on the 23rd of June, could be notified to the American government, the president had issued, on the 18th of the same month, a declaration of war against Great Britain. This step had in point of fact been long in contemplation, but was deferred pending the building and equipment of more ships of war and the manning of the American navy with efficient sailors. The war that now commenced never attained very large dimensions, for during the three years that it lasted, a greater conflict was raging nearer home, engrossing the energies of our government and the attention of the nation, almost to the exclusion of any thought for a smaller conflict on the other side of the Atlantic. The Americans gained much advantage at the outset from the circumstance that the British government bestowed too little attention on them. Our ships of war were dispersed over every sea, and there chanced to be only a few frigates in American waters when war broke out. Our new enemy brought against these a class of vessels much more powerful, though classed as frigates, and in a series of five or six unequal combats gained the victory over weaker opponents. Thus on the 20th of August the British frigate Guerriere, an old vessel, captured years before from the French, encountered the Constitution, originally built as a line-of-battle ship of seventy-four guns, but now rigged and rated as a frigate. In tonnage, weight of metal, number of guns and crew, the advantage on the side of the American was in the proportion of three to two. After a stubborn contest, in which the old Guerriere was disabled in masts and rigging, and reduced to a sinking state, she hauled down her colours. The prize, too severely mauled to admit of carrying into port, was burned immediately, after the transfer of the survivors of her crew to the victor's ship. Great was the exultation of the Americans over this achievement. They of course made no mention of the fact that British seamen, decoyed from the service of their own country by higher wages, formed the cream of the Constitution's crew, and not a word was said about their excess of more than two hundred men, their larger and more numerous guns, or the greater dimensions of the Constitution. Precisely similar was the case of the Macedonian, a British frigate of the same class with the Guerriere, and with a smaller and sickly crew, which was captured after a tough contest with the United States, a sister ship to the Constitution. In this instance the prize was carried into an American port, and formed the subject of unbounded exultation to the Americans. Then followed another conquest of the same character, that of the Java frigate, also captured by the Constitution. The Americans were shrewd enough to avoid for the present any fighting on equal terms, though they made one approach to a fair combat in the contest between their sloop of war the Wasp, and the Frolic, a British vessel of the same armament, but with a smaller crew. Both captor and prize were snapped up shortly after the action by the Poictiers, a British ship of seventy-four guns. On the inland waters, too, the first contests resulted favourably to the Americans, who had long been preparing for the fray, while the British government, absorbed in the great struggle, then of twenty years' duration, had taken no precautions for coping with a nation whose open hostility was scarcely expected, despite its notorious unfriendliness and incessant jealousy. Two raids on Canada in the course of this year resulted in the utter discomfiture of the invaders. Immediately after the declaration of war, General Hill, the American commander, made an inroad with two thousand five hundred men, and in a vaunting proclamation announced to the Canadians that he came to rescue them from the oppression of kingly rule and give them the blessings of freedom, as citizens of the United States. The governor of the province, Sir George Prevost, sharing the apathy of the home authorities, had made no preparations for giving the invaders a suitable reception, but General Brock, with a mixed force of only three hundred and thirty regulars, four hundred militia, and six hundred Indians, attacked them vigorously, and handled them so roughly that they were glad to escape worse hazards by yielding themselves up as prisoners of war. Later in the year a second army of three thousand men met also so severe a chastisement at the hands of Brock's smaller force, that they too surrendered, like the first body of intruders. There was some talk on both sides of stopping the contest before the close of the year. Several of the Northern States addressed earnest remonstrances to the federal government against a war which in effect arrayed the descendants of the pilgrim fathers under the banners of the common enemy of national independence and civil liberty, and that too at a time when the downtrodden nations of Europe were taking heart and seconding the efforts of England to overthrow the oppressor. In deference to such cogent arguments, Jefferson made a show of desiring an amicable adjustment of the quarrel. His demands however, even at the lowest, were simply exorbitant and utterly inadmissible. He insisted on the entire abandonment of the British claims to search American ships, whether for the recovery of deserters, or for overhauling the goods they carried. Besides requiring England to gulp down the unsavoury axiom that free bottoms make free goods, a doctrine that would, if adopted, paralyse the right arm of our national power, the arrogant president demanded indemnity for the detention of American vessels which had fallen into the hands of our blockading forces in the years of war already passed. Jefferson, Madison, and their followers, flattered themselves with the consolatory thought that England had passed the zenith of her greatness, and now was the time, after the exhaustion of a twenty years' war, to ally themselves with her enemies, and thus establish a title to a share of the spoils when she should finally succumb under a national bankruptcy and the utter exhaustion of her resources. James, the judicious author of the "Naval History of England," aptly describes the unworthy motives which guided the Washington executive of that time. "Everything was to be settled by a calculation of profit and loss. France had numerous allies, England scarcely any. France had no contiguous territory; England had the Canadas ready to be marched into at a moment's notice. France had no commerce; England had richly laden merchandise traversing every sea. England, therefore, it was against whom the deadly blows of America were to be levelled." But these acute calculators of the profit or loss to follow a war against England soon found that they had blundered enormously in their forecast of the issue of the Russian campaign. Bonaparte, in their reckoning, was certain to subdue Russia with the same facility that had marked his triumph over Prussia, Austria, and the smaller European states! With all the resources of coalesced Europe at his disposal, the fate of England, in their exulting imaginings, was sealed and settled, and the rich heritage of her ubiquitous commerce would fall, they argued, within the grasp of American enterprise. Before the dawn of another year the dazzling vision had faded into thin air, with the ruinous collapse of Bonaparte's last grand scheme of conquest.

Almost at the same time that the Americans ranged themselves on the side of our enemies, the Russians and Swedes became our allies. We were the best customers for their timber, pitch, tar, tallow, corn, and hides; and they had grown restive under the sacrifices imposed upon them by Bonaparte's pet project of closing all the ports of Europe against British commerce. The arrogant dictator now resolved to reduce these refractory vassals to obedience. He had overwhelmed the great military monarchies of Prussia and Austria, and subjugated most of the other states of Europe with startling facility. He resolved that his new conquest should strike the world with amazement and awe by its rapidity and completeness. The Russian troops numbered a quarter of a million. They had proved, in the campaign ending in the peace of Tilsit, that they were a match for equal numbers of the best troops that ever fought under the French flag. Taking full account of the stubborn resistance to be encountered, Bonaparte gathered on the plains of Saxony upwards of half a million of soldiers, four-fifths of whom were French, and the remainder a composite multitude of Italians, Dutch, Prussians, Belgians, Saxons, Austrians, and Poles, with contingents from most of the German states. Never before, in ancient or modern times, had so vast and formidable a host followed the lead of the mightiest potentate. Universal empire seemed now to be within the grasp of the French emperor. At Dresden, in the month of May, he received the homage of a throng of kings and princes, including the monarchs of Austria and Prussia, whose fears, rather than their affections, prompted them to furnish contingents to the prodigious army then moving to the Russian frontier. In the last week of June the mighty host crossed the Niemen and entered Russia. Documents in the French war office state the total numbers enrolled for the campaign at six hundred and fifty-one thousand three hundred and fifty-eight men, including infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers, with one hundred and eighty-seven thousand one hundred and twenty-one horses, and one thousand three hundred and seventy-two field pieces. Out of this enormous total about one-sixth remained in the frontier fortresses of Prussia and Poland, to overawe the populations left in the rear. The invaders met scarcely any obstruction in many hundreds of miles of their march towards Moscow, excepting the privations imposed on them by the removal of cattle, corn, and provender, which the inhabitants, under compulsion of the Russian army, carried away or destroyed. The first battle was at Smolensk, where the Russians made a stand to afford time to the citizens to clear out with their moveable property. The French gained the victory, but their losses were heavy, and instead of shelter, they found in the evacuated city only burnt and blackened ruins. From that point onwards the flanks of their huge army were daily and almost hourly beset by clouds of Cossacks, whose sleepless vigilance exposed the invaders to repeated losses. At Borodino, near Moscow, the Russians made a stand, and a two days' battle ensued, resulting in losses of forty thousand men on either side. Each side claimed the victory, but the Russians, under Koutousoff, continued their retreat, passing through Moscow, and escorting the whole population, with their effects, to a distance of five and twenty miles beyond the deserted city. On the 14th of September, Napoleon, at the head of his imperial guard, entered Moscow, only to find an astounding solitude where he had anticipated a reverential reception by a submissive magistracy and a humbled people. He took up his quarters in the palace of the czars, the famous Kremlin, and his troops were dispersed through the vacant city and its suburbs. But the famishing host found scant comfort in their conquest, for in the stillness of night their resolute foes set fire to the houses in many quarters; they had previously removed the fire engines and all appliances for staying the conflagration. Every effort of the French troops proved fruitless to stem the progress of the flames. The Kremlin itself, with many other public buildings, perished, and nine-tenths of the dwelling-houses shared the same fate. Napoleon's soaring pride and glowing expectations received a rude shock in this proof that the Russians were prepared for any extremity rather than fall under his sway. He sent overtures of peace to the emperor Alexander, who turned a deaf ear to all proposals of accommodation, for the game was now in his own hands. He had only to persevere in the system already carried into operation with destructive effect on the invaders, that of harassing their movements, destroying their convoys of provisions, and ravaging every district to which they might turn for subsistence. The French lingered among the ruins of Moscow until the first snows of an early winter bade them begone, and until the utter failure of all attempts to renew the friendship between their emperor and the czar deprived them of the last chance of an unmolested retreat. The homeward march began on the 19th of October, when winter was already setting in. Eight weeks later a shattered, starved, and wretched fragment of the grand army recrossed the boundary river, the Niemen, to seek in Poland a respite from the horrors under which hundreds of thousands of their comrades had perished by the way. Their chief escaped with difficulty, and made all haste to Paris, there to organize fresh armies with which to beat back the surging waves of war now threatening to hurl the French from Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, Poland, and the many lands over which they had extended their sway in the years of the aggressive republic and the all-absorbing but now tottering empire. For the subjugated nations, after long chafing under foreign rule, thrilled with gladness and renovated hope on learning that the formidable army, which for fifteen years had excited the dismay of all the continental states, had at length ceased to exist, overwhelmed by a judgment as fearful as that which annihilated the hosts of Pharaoh. Hunger and frost had killed one hundred and thirty-two thousand men; a greater number fell in successive conflicts with the Russians; one hundred and ninety-three thousand, including forty-eight generals and three thousand other officers, remained as prisoners in the hands of their foe; a disorderly rabble of nine thousand surviving Frenchmen, without artillery or cavalry, broken with fatigues and privations, the sole remnant of the mightiest host that ever obeyed the behest of a conqueror, sought shelter in the fortress of Konigsburg from the Cossacks, who chased them out of Russia and through Poland.

Hopes that nerve and thoughts that quicken were rife through Europe earlier in the year than when the flames of Moscow kindled to an intenser glow the smothered yet smouldering fires of German love of Fatherland. For French mastery in Spain was already reeling and staggering under telling blows dealt thick and fast by the British armies gathered there. Wellington's star was again in the ascendant. His brilliant triumphs at Ciudad Rodrigo in January, and at Badajoz in March, followed in June by his crushing defeat of the enemy at Salamanca, and his entry into Madrid amid the plaudits and ovations of a grateful people, had already sent a reverberating echo athwart the Rhine, stirring and quickening a flood of ardent though pent-up feeling. The prestige of the conquering French legions, rudely shaken in previous rough encounters with the British, was now effectually broken. The story of Salamanca overtook Napoleon in the neighbourhood of Moscow, the grave of his greatness, where it might be said to have sounded the alarm of those yet heavier discomfitures then hanging over his cause, while it inspired the Russians with redoubled confidence.

The siege and capture of the two formidable frontier fortresses, Ciudad Rodrigo in the north, and Badajoz in the south, are among the most wonderful deeds of daring recorded in the military annals of any nation. Wellington gained timely intelligence of the withdrawal of sixty thousand French troops from Spain to take part in the Russian war. As soon as these were well away from the country he resolved on an offensive campaign against his diminished, yet still formidable foe. On the 6th of January he suddenly broke up his winter cantonments in the vicinity of Almeida and invested Ciudad Rodrigo two days later. He was very badly furnished with either the implements or the staff for a regular approach by the methods of military science, but the dauntless valour of his men was a never-failing resource. He could always rely on a superabundance of volunteers for a storming party or a forlorn hope. His difficulty was rather in holding back his troops from rash enterprises than to spur them on to displays of valour.

An outwork of the fortress was taken by assault on the night of his arrival. A few days later two convents outside the walls, but armed and occupied by a part of the garrison, were stormed and taken. From batteries in these buildings and siege guns in the intrenchments, such a storm of shot was levelled against walls and ramparts, that two practicable breaches were made by the 19th. The assault took place that night. Storming parties gained the breaches with incredible swiftness in the face of a very tempest of bursting shells, grape, and musketry. Gaps in their ranks were promptly filled up by supports following closely in their rear. A few minutes of close fighting, in which the assailants relied solely upon the bayonet, overcame all resistance on the ramparts and in the streets. An attack made on the opposite side of the town proved equally successful. Three hundred of the defenders had fallen and fifteen hundred surrendered. Among the spoils were large accumulations of ammunition and Marmont's battering train. The loss of the allies in the twelve days' siege and the assault exceeded twelve hundred killed and wounded. The dashing Crawford, the commander of the light division, was among the slain. When the victory was won the troops were not to be controlled from indulgence during the rest of the night in those mad excesses which military tradition taught them to regard as the privilege and reward of valour, endurance, and exposure to extraordinary hazards. Spanish jealousy of foreigners gave way in the face of the glorious exploit by which Wellington had wrested from the enemy this famous stronghold. The Cortes gave him the title of duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and lodged in his hands the command-in-chief of the Spanish armies. The Portuguese regency too, who had long pestered him with persistent opposition to his methods of conducting the war, conferred on him the title of marquis of Torres Vedras. Besides these foreign dignities he gained at home another step in the peerage, being advanced to the rank of earl of Wellington. Giving the custody of the captured fortress to the Spaniards, the English general moved the bulk of his forces southwards in March, and commenced the third and final siege of Badajoz. While yet the defences were but slightly damaged it became requisite to deliver the assault, or else to relinquish the attack, in part at least, in order to confront a relieving army with which Soult was advancing from the south. Marmont also, chafing under the loss of Rodrigo, was threatening another irruption into the north of Portugal; so the besiegers were doubly eager to settle the business in hand at Badajoz. At ten o'clock on the night of the 6th of April the columns moved forward to the attack. Phillipon, the governor of the fortress, had made direful preparations for the event. At the critical moment when the rush of the first storming party towards the breaches broke on the hushed stillness of an intensely dark night, a bright flaming light shot upwards from the castle and disclosed to view on the one side crowds of defenders with their garnishing of glittering arms thronging the ramparts, and on the other the close array of the British columns pouring towards the fortress, all eager to follow the gallant fellows who were to make the first rush on breaches. That glaring light guided the fire of the besieged, who instantly opened a terrible fusillade of musketry on the nearest ranks of their assailants, and sent a withering storm of grape and shells upon the close array of the supporting columns. Mingled with and rising above the din of artillery and small arms came the boom of a terrific explosion of hundreds of shells and powder barrels, which were ignited while the stormers were rushing over the infernal pitfall where they had been deposited. Under that murderous crush perished hundreds of the foremost daring band of stormers, whose comrades, undismayed by the terrific sights and sounds, and stirred to fury by the shrieks and groans of the writhing victims shattered by the explosion, pressed forward with incredible ardour in every direction that gave promise of access to the breach. When that goal of their hopes was reached it was found to be barricaded with ponderous beams, in all sides of which were firmly fixed close rows of sword-blades, keen-edged at both sides, and sharpened at the points. On the slope in front of this bristling barrier lay loose planks, thickly studded with sharp iron spikes. These terrible traps, set in motion by the tread of the stormers, who in stumbling fell on the spikes, went rolling down the steep declivity, carrying transfixed and writhing victims on the ranks below. Derisive shouts from the Frenchmen told of their hellish glee at the success of this stratagem. "Again" says Napier, "the assailants rushed up the breaches, and again the sword-blades, immovable and impassable, stopped their charge, and the hissing shells and thundering powder barrels exploded unceasingly Hundreds of men had fallen and hundreds more were dropping, but still the heroic officers called aloud for new trials, and sometimes followed by many, sometimes by few, ascended the ruins; and so furious were the men themselves, that in one of these charges, the rear-rank strove to push the foremost



CIUDAD RODRIGO.

on to the sword-blades, willing even to make a bridge of their writhing bodies, but the others frustrated the attempt by dropping down; and men fell so fast by the shot, that it was hard to know who fell down voluntarily and who were stricken; many stooped unhurt that never rose again." Gallant leaders and desperate followers flung away their lives in many an unavailing attempt to carry the horrid gap. All efforts at this point were baffled, but the same desperate valour on the part of the divisions charged with the other assaults, at points presenting less formidable obstacles, overcame at length the tenacity of the defence. The French only abandoned the breaches when they were beset in rear and flank by the fire of the troops who won their way by escalade over uninjured parts of the ramparts, and by scaling the castle walls. Phillipon and a section of the garrison escaped into a detached fort, but surrendered next day. The loss on the part of the assailants amounted to five thousand killed and wounded, including seven hundred Portuguese. The loss of the enemy in the siege and assault was about one thousand five hundred, out of a picked garrison of five thousand. Badajoz suffered from the excesses of its liberators, who for several days were not to be restrained from rapine and the other forms of license which they practised, with the less compunction at the expense of their allies, in remembrance of terrible privations endured in the cause of Spain in the campaign of 1809, especially after the battle of Talavera. The fall of Badajoz carried with it the liberation of many thousands of the allied troops who were prisoners there.

Having by these rapid and vigorous strokes wrested from the French the two great strongholds which had hitherto given them a firm footing on the most vulnerable lines of approach into Portugal, Wellington promptly followed up these stunning blows by a bold plunge into parts of Spain where French ascendancy had remained uncontested for more than four years. Leaving Hill to watch and check Soult, whose headquarters were still at Seville, he advanced with forty thousand men against Marmont's army, which was threatening a swoop on Rodrigo and Almeida. The French retired step by step as he advanced, having learned great circumspection from recent tough fights. They evacuated Salamanca on the approach of the British, who entered that city as liberators on the 18th of June. But Marmont had now gathered reinforcements that gave him a substantial numerical superiority over his opponent.

He came back and hovered about the allied positions, manœuvring to cut off Wellington's communication with Portugal, and to keep open the Madrid road, along which King Joseph was advancing to join him with the army of the centre. For several weeks there was a trial of strategy between the two commanders, with much marching and countermarching along the river Tormes and the Arapiles hills, in the vicinity of Salamanca. On the 22nd of July, when the two armies were posted along opposite ridges within full view of each other, with scarcely a mile of valley between them, each intently expecting the decisive shock which had been in prospect for several weeks, the French left wing engaged in a rash evolution, which cost them a ruinous defeat. In an attempt to outflank Wellington's right, the French left got detached from its own supporting divisions. At the critical moment a few orders issued from Wellington's lips, and suddenly the columns forming his own right darted impetuously down the slope and across the narrow valley, into the gap between the French left and centre. This was at about 5 P.M., and in scarcely more than half an hour the severed French left had ceased to exist as an organised force. The battle, meanwhile, raged fiercely along the other portions of the opposing lines. The carnage was terrible, for most of the fighting was at close quarters; the cavalry of both sides came freely into play, and the bayonet charges were numerous. The French centre fared scarcely better than their left; but their right, which was opposed mainly to Portuguese, inflicted heavier damage than it suffered, until the rout of both left and centre warned it to move off with all speed. The enemy's loss was enormous. The killed and wounded were estimated at twelve thousand; seven thousand prisoners were taken; scarcely half their army escaped. Even French writers acknowledge the failure of daylight alone enabled any portion to avoid destruction or surrender. Marmont fell with a shattered arm early in the action; the two commanders who in succession took his place were also badly wounded; three other of their generals were among the slain. The allies lost nearly five thousand in killed and wounded, and of these three thousand five hundred were British. This crushing defeat of one of Napoleon's most efficient armies, following close on the wrenching of two famous frontier strongholds from his grasp, changed in an instant the whole aspect of affairs in Spain. The French armies, though still as four or even five to one against the effective force at Wellington's disposal, were suddenly possessed with an impulse for defensive warfare and retrograde movements. The conquerors hastened from Salamanca to Valladolid, and on the 12th of August made a triumphal entry into Madrid, driving before them on their march, in panic fear towards the Pyrenees, that half of Marmont's army which escaped from the late battle, and scaring King Joseph with his army of the centre into helter-skelter flight. The army that had for two and a half years girdled the landward side of Cadiz, now abandoned the blockade, but the British garrison was not yet withdrawn from the custody of that important post.

For several months the French lost their hold over half the country, while Wellington with a portion of his forces held Madrid, and with the rest threatened the enemy's line of communication with their own country. But the French soon gained strength by drawing all their scattered forces into two concentrated armies, one in the north, the other in the south, while the strength of the British was greatly diminished by separation into several distinct corps, each far too weak to cope with the masses that were preparing to swoop down upon and envelope them. Wellington's hold on Madrid was only possible on condition that one or other of the gathering hosts, northward and southward, should be kept off his hands. On his advice some of the British regiments quartered in Sicily were to have been landed in Catalonia or Valentia, to strengthen the native resistance in those parts, and thus divert the French army of the south from marching to the aid of that in the north. The project, however, fell through, chiefly from lack of any Spanish army worthy of the name, with which the small auxiliary British force could associate its operations. In autumn Wellington's position grew perilous. The army of the south, under Soult and the king, numbering seventy thousand men, was moving towards Madrid, where the British, under Hill, numbered only twenty thousand; the other thirty-three thousand under Wellington having gone to Burgos, which they were then besieging. Souham, successor to Marmont, concentrated all the disposable troops from the northern provinces and moved them to the relief of Burgos. Wellington thereupon recalled the divisions left in Madrid, and fell back on his own strongholds, Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, pursued by twice his numbers. Great was the disappointment and grumbling at home at a campaign, brilliant in its commencement and glorious in its progress, yet closing in the abandonment of Madrid and the retreat from Burgos back again to the point of departure at the dawn of the year. But the retrograde movement was unclouded by discomfiture, and was moreover unavoidable in the face of vastly superior numbers. Wellington's successes in the earlier months of the year gave heart to the timid and hesitating nations that had hitherto stood in awe of Napoleon's colossal power. Russia and Sweden led the way in breaking the bonds of amity with him, and renouncing the league against England. All the states intermediate between those countries and France followed the example after a brief interval, and thus ample work quickly turned up for the legions of France in other quarters than that theatre of war in which a small British army had long and nobly sustained the unequal strife.

At home little of interest, beyond the general election in the autumn, and the short session of a month before Christmas, marked the close of the year. Parliament voted 100,000*l.* to the earl of Wellington, in further recognition of his great services in the last campaign, and twice that amount as a contribution towards the relief of those destitute Russians who had lost their all in the devastation inflicted by their own or the French forces. The leaders of opposition still held that the deliverance of Spain was beyond the utmost means of this country to effect, and that it was cruel to encourage the people of that country in so hopeless an enterprise. But these doleful croakers were soon put to silence and not a little shame by the signal falsification of their oft-repeated forebodings of England's inability to shake or rend Napoleon's towering fabric of dominion. Whitbread and other conspicuous members of opposition supported ministers in their demand for ample means in the coming year for waging war with effect; but they insisted that the occasion was opportune, now that perils were thickening about the throne of the French emperor, for securing his ready acceptance of reasonable terms of peace.

The session of 1813 began on the 2nd of February. The time was not favourable for law-making on any large social or political question. The first thoughts of legislators and people were given to the rapid sequence of stirring events in the great drama of war, which were now giving assurance that the end was at hand, and that England's prolonged efforts and sacrifices were on the eve of closing in a glorious deliverance of the nations from their potent oppressor. In a debate on the American war, Canning condemned the orders in council in which the quarrel originated, and heaped heavy censures on the nerveless and half-hearted measures of hostility attempted on our side since the war began. The feeble handling of our naval resources, through which the Americans had gained a series of maritime triumphs, he ascribed to the vacillation of those who "held the pen when they should launch the thunder."

The budget of the year exhibited a higher estimated expenditure than ever. Every vote passed without question, for the feeling pervaded the House that now was the time to put forth all the strength of the nation. Supplies were voted to the amount of 72,000,000*l.*, of which a fresh loan furnished 21,000,000*l.* Subsidies to our continental allies, including 1,000,000*l.* to the Swedes, formed in the aggregate a heavy addition to the outgoings of the year.

Grattan and Plunket again brought forward, in speeches of surpassing power, the question of Catholic disabilities. The debate on their motion for a committee of the whole House upon the subject was prolonged through four adjournments and ultimately carried. On this a bill was brought forward providing for the removal of the ban of exclusion, on the score of religion, from a considerable range of employments. But when the clause which was to render Catholics eligible for seats in parliament was put to the vote, in the course of the third reading, a majority of four rejected it, and the promoters of the measure forthwith gave up the attempt till next year. The failure of this bill gave rise to much bitterness of feeling in Ireland, with many unseemly demonstrations of indignation on the part of the Catholics, and of exultation on the side of the Orange lodges. The Unitarians, encouraged by the growth of tolerant temper in the House, as shown in the discussion on the Catholics' Relief Bill, got their friends to introduce a measure for the repeal of the statute of William III. that imposed sundry pains and penalties on disbelievers in the doctrine of the Trinity. This bill encountered no serious opposition.

The treaty with Sweden, under which the British government assented to the transfer of Norway from the Danes to the Swedes, became the theme of severe animadversion before the close of the session. The Danes had acted all along as confederates with the French. For this they were to be punished by the loss of Norway, which Russia engaged to secure for the Swedes on condition of their active participation in the confederacy against Napoleon. The restitution of Finland to the crown of Sweden, from which the czar had wrenched it four years before, would have been a fitter expression of Russian thankfulness for Swedish aid. But it was hardly to be expected that England should reject the help of Russia and Sweden in the struggle against Bonaparte, merely because those two powers stipulated for England's consent to their scheme of transferring Norway from the Danes, who were the constant allies of France, to the Swedes, who had been and were again becoming the steadfast allies of Great Britain.

When the session closed on the 22nd of July, the country was ringing with glad news of the great achievements and brilliant victories which in the few preceding weeks had carried the British army in triumph from Portugal to the frontiers of France. There came, too, from German battle-fields, strewn with their tens of thousands of dead and dying, tidings fraught with mixed feelings of hope and terror, according as our new allies or Bonaparte's legions were in the ascendant, after each successive shock between the mingling hosts. Not England alone, but all the nations thrilled with anticipations which the early future seemed about to present as accomplished facts. The Emperor Alexander accompanied his army in the march into Poland, and saw everywhere in the track of the retreating French the evidences of the awful fate that had overtaken them. The king of Prussia, shaking off his timidity under encouragement of Russian armies on his frontiers, and under the prompting of a passionate and burning enthusiasm on the part of his patriotic subjects, now firmly bade the French begone from Dantzic and all the other fortresses held by them on Prussian soil. Napoleon answered his mutinous vassal with a contemptuous refusal. The pride that goeth before destruction was strong upon him. He would renounce no single village in the remotest outlying territory belonging to the great French empire. He would give up nothing. The French senate, smitten with his own mania for what was deemed the glory of France—that paramount consideration before which all human interests weighed as nought—assented to his demand for another enormous conscription. In the eight preceding years more than one and a half millions of the youth of France had been drawn from productive industries to carry out his behests of ravage and subjugation at the expense of neighbouring states. Another half million were this year demanded to sustain his tottering throne, and seventy thousand men from the veteran armies in Spain furnished the framework of the fresh battalions. Soult, the most able of the marshals opposed to Wellington, was summoned across the Pyrenees and sent in hot haste to the new seat of war in Saxony. On the other side offensive and defensive alliances came thick and fast into existence. First Russia and Sweden entered into a league for mutual support against the threatened vengeance of the French emperor. Then England sought the alliance of both, and furnished them with ways and means. Then Prussia gladly joined the confederacy with all these; and somewhat later in the year came the adhesion of Austria. At a subsequent stage all the other states that had submitted to French domination threw off the yoke and joined the league against their oppressor. At first the French fell back before the Russian and Prussian forces, which were rapidly augmented by bands of ardent volunteers from all parts of Germany. The crash of war came on in May. Saxons, Bavarians, Westphalians, and other members of the confederation of the Rhine, still ranged themselves under the eagles of France, but their hearts were with their brother Germans in the opposite camp, to which at times they betook themselves, by whole battalions and regiments, as occasion offered. At Lutzen, near Leipzic, was fought on the 2nd of May the first great battle of the memorable German war of 1813. Each side left on the field nearly twenty thousand dead or wounded, among whom the youthful conscripts of France and the student volunteers of Germany were found in large numbers, their young lives immolated on the one hand to the criminal ambition of the French emperor, and freely sacrificed on the other to the emancipation of their native land from foreign oppression. The allies fell back behind the Elbe to Bautzen, near Dresden, where they again offered battle to Napoleon's army. The fight came off on the 20th and 21st of May. The mutual damage turned out to be again nearly equal, and scarcely less severe than at Lutzen. Again the allies retired, but their retreat was orderly and free from panic, and the French could boast no captured cannon, standards, prisoners, or any such trophies of success as graced their triumphs at Jena and Austerlitz. Each day brought large accessions to the forces of the allies. Bernadotte, with his army of Swedes, obtained signal successes over detached French divisions in Southern Denmark and the territory adjacent. The Russians, too, were gathering in dense masses. The advantages thus far gained by the French were simply barren victories. At this crisis, the Emperor Francis of Austria, Bonaparte's father-in-law, interposed as mediator; a suspension of arms was agreed to, and diplomacy came for several weeks into full play. In this interval came the news that the British army was chasing King Joseph, his marshals and his armies, in headlong flight, after a crushing defeat at Vittoria, towards the passes of the Pyrenees. This added fresh strength to the pressure of the diplomatists, but Napoleon, like another tyrant of primeval times, still hardened his heart and refused to let the nations pass out of bondage. The armistice ended on the 10th of August. On the 12th the Austrians joined the great confederacy, and moved their army across the frontier from Bohemia into Saxony. Then came more sanguinary battles, three of them in and about the city of Dresden, towards the close of August, memorable as being the very last of Bonaparte's great victories. Each day brought him news of heavy reverses that had befallen one or other of his marshals in conflicts with the armies now girdling Saxony and closing around his head-quarters. Bernadotte, at the head of a body of Swedes, Russians, and Germans, overthrew a strong division of French under Oudinot, in the neighbourhood of Berlin. Three days later, Blucher with his Prussians overthrew another division under Macdonald, and almost annihilated it in a hand-to-hand contest during a fearful storm of rain that spoilt the powder, and thus prevented the use of muskets.

Another strong division, hemmed in between two powerful corps of Russians and Prussians, surrendered without striking a blow. Napoleon's ablest generals now urged retreat, for the losses sustained in the past four months had reduced the French forces by fully one-half, while the allies, already as two to one in numbers, were constantly gaining accessions of strength. He felt his case growing desperate, and that he must either yield to the demands of his adversaries or cut his way through Germany and across the Rhine. He sternly resolved on the latter alternative, though he might still have secured terms that would have left him master of France and all the territory westward of the Rhine and northward of the Alps. The battle of Leipzic, fought on the 16th, 18th, and 19th of October, was the most destructive and terrible of all the stubborn struggles in the whole course of the twenty years' war. The French gained a slight advantage on the first day, when the fighting was at some distance from the city. Then followed a pause, during which Prussians, Austrians, Russians, and Swedes, numbering a total of three hundred thousand, drew together for the great trial of strength. The French still mustered one hundred and seventy thousand, inclusive of the Saxons, who stood by them on the 16th and 18th, but deserted them on the 19th. The French offered a desperate resistance to the repeated onslaughts of their many foes. They lost forty thousand in killed and wounded, and a greater number in prisoners. Napoleon escaped with the remnant of his routed army, but the Saxon king was captured and sent under a Cossack guard to Berlin. Then followed a close pursuit of the fugitive French emperor, but he fought his way to Mayence, and carried across the Rhine about a sixth part of the enormous army with which he entered Germany in April. The French garrisons left behind in the fortresses held in various nations, from the shores of the Baltic and North Sea to the Rhine, were now girdled by foes, and surrendered in quick succession. These, with the troops that claimed quarter in battle, or were otherwise captured, raised the total of prisoners taken by the allies in this single campaign to one hundred and forty thousand men, while the killed and wounded were not less numerous. Such havoc, following closely on the heels of the ruinous attempt to conquer Russia, exhausted the patience of glory-smitten Frenchmen, who at length tired of their idol, and faltered visibly in their homage towards the military tyrant whose boundless ambition exacted these terrible sacrifices of the life-blood of the nation. But the man whom France had delighted to honour through the years of his conquests was not lightly to be shaken off when victory ceased to crown his enterprises. Such was his mastery of France, and so firm his grasp of the available forces of the state, that though senators and people were alike murmuring at the continuance of a hopeless struggle, he yet maintained a defiant front for several months, until the tramp of hostile hosts, of many nationalities, resounded through the streets of Paris.

First among the allies to cross the frontier were the British troops, who in November, under the lead of the invincible Wellington, turned their backs on Spain, and chased through the defiles of the Pyrenees the last of those formidable armies by which Napoleon had sustained the unstable throne of his brother in the preceding five and a half years. It remains to note briefly the chief incidents in the final campaign of that renowned army, whose matchless valour gained for it the splendid tribute that it "could go anywhere and do anything." After the retreat from Burgos, Wellington suffered no molestation from the enemy, whose attention was diverted by several fresh and vigorous insurrections in the north of Spain, encouraged and nurtured by supplies from British ships of war. In the south, too, the presence of an army of eighteen thousand men, comprising half a dozen British regiments, together with a motley collection of Sicilians, Maltese, and other Mediterranean races, provided occupation for Suchet's army in that quarter, and to that extent relieved Wellington from the pressure of such a concentration of his enemies as had forced him to retire from Burgos. Meanwhile the war in Germany obliged the French emperor to withdraw more of his veterans from Spain, and with these went Soult, the most redoubtable of the many able marshals with whom the British commanders had hitherto measured their strength in the Peninsula. King Joseph now became nominal commander-in-chief of all the French forces in Spain, but the real command rested with Marshal Jourdan, a celebrity in the republican war twenty years earlier. While the French forces were diminishing, the allies under Wellington were fast increasing, both in numbers and efficiency. Even the Spanish troops, now that he had the entire control of their discipline, organization, equipment, and supplies, were no longer the poltroons who in many previous combats too often showed only their backs to the enemy. Irrespective of some substantial accession of strength secured by the subordination of all the native commanders to his supreme direction, Wellington's own army now numbered upwards of seventy thousand fighting men, of whom the British alone were forty-eight thousand, and the rest Portuguese. Reports from all quarters showed that the French were losing heart in the face of the growing difficulties of their position. They evacuated Madrid early in April, and made up their minds to a defensive campaign, first behind the Douro, and failing to maintain that line, then behind the Ebro. The British army entered Spain in the middle of May in the highest spirits, under an exhilarating presage of success. "High in heart and strong of hand, Wellington's veterans marched to the encounter. The glories of twelve victories played about their bayonets, and he, the leader, so proud and confident, that in passing the stream which marks the frontier of Spain, he rose in his stirrups and waving his hand, cried out, *Farewell Portugal!*"* The French troops then in Spain were fivefold more numerous than the British alone, and threefold as many as the total force under Wellington, if the twenty thousand Spaniards be left out of the account. Taking Wellington's total, Spaniards included, at a hundred thousand, the forces under King Joseph's standard in the provinces about to be traversed by Wellington's army were numerically stronger by fully one-fifth. Despite this disparity, in a six weeks' march Wellington's army passed triumphantly from Portugal to the mountain barrier separating France from Spain, a distance of six hundred miles, overthrowing in its impetuous course every army that offered resistance to its conquering progress. The story resembles the most marvellous passages in the record of Napoleon's career of victory in his palmiest days; such as the conquest of Italy in 1797, the campaign of 1806 against the Austrians, or that of 1807 against the Prussians. Wellington's plan of invasion disconcerted all the precautions of the enemy to arrest his progress. He had in previous campaigns moved by the valley of the Tagus, or by way of Salamanca, in his advances against Madrid. This time he sent one division of his army by a more northern route, clean away from the line of defences which were erected along the Douro to bar his passage in the vicinity of Salamanca. The other divisions followed at a distance that admitted of rapid concentration. The result of this strategy was prompt and decisive. The advanced division, on the northern route, threatened to sever the communication between each separate corps of the enemy, posted at Salamanca, Valladolid, and Burgos, from those in the rear, while the two other divisions of the British army were advancing to attack. Taken in reverse at each of these positions, the French retired precipitately, without hazarding a general engagement. On quitting Burgos they blew up the citadel, under a presentiment that their hold of the country was expiring. King Joseph now hurried all his dispersed divisions across the Ebro, destroyed the bridges, and trusted to arrest in the vicinity of Vittoria the headlong rush of his pursuers. But the left wing of Wellington's army, by a sudden change of route and a rapid march through a rugged country, secured an unmolested passage higher up the stream. Then turning swiftly downwards, they took the enemy's defences in reverse, as in the previous operations on the Douro, and in a few days the whole allied army crossed the river and vigorously resumed the pursuit. Marshal Jourdan and his nominal superior, King Joseph, halted on a range of heights in front of Vittoria, and awaited the onset of their assailants. There, on the 21st of June, the French army sustained a defeat so disastrous, staggering, and ruinous, as to eclipse even the sinister traditions of Blenheim. Despite the advantage of a well-chosen battle-field, they were driven with comparative ease from all their strong positions, and in such utter rout that they lost all their artillery (a hundred and fifty-one pieces), together with four hundred and fifteen waggons of ammunition, provisions, baggage, cattle, treasure, the carriages and personal effects of the king and his grandees, with every variety of spoil, including pictures and other pilferings, which the French had taken from the churches and palaces of Spain. The king barely escaped capture in the helter-skelter flight of his beaten army. The military chest, heavy with recent cash remittances from France, was among the valuable spoil snapped up by the victors. The miscellaneous trophies included a stand of colours, Marshal Jourdan's baton of command, wardrobes and gorgeous uniforms, equipages, services of plate, and other rich booty. The bayonets of the English regiments played a chief part in this decisive battle, but all portions of the allied line, including even the Spaniards, fought with emulative ardour under the inspiriting encouragement of recent successes, and an entire confidence in Wellington's superb generalship. The killed and wounded on the side of the French amounted to eight thousand, and some hundreds were captured. The loss of the allies exceeded five thousand, of whom three thousand five hundred were British, thus indicating that the brunt of the fight remained as usual with the soldiers of Britain. All Europe thrilled with the glorious news of Wellington's magnificent victory. The confederate powers, whose armies were fighting drawn battles with the French on the plains of Saxony, broke off the conference which Napoleon strove to prolong, and renewed the strife with a higher confidence in ultimate success, now that French armies in another quarter were staggering in irretrievable discomfiture under the vigorous onslaughts of the British. The multitude of fugitives from Vittoria hurried through the passes of the Pyrenees, which were forthwith occupied by their pursuers. Before entering France it was necessary that the allies should reduce the two frontier fortresses, St. Sebastian and Pampeluna, where powerful French garrisons still held the mastery which they had treacherously acquired six years before. General Graham invested St. Sebastian, and on the 31st of August carried it by assault, but not without a repetition of the terrible losses incurred in the previous sieges of Rodrigo and Badajoz. Pampeluna capitulated at the end of October to a Spanish army, after a blockade which exhausted all means of subsistence within the walls. While these sieges were in progress other divisions of the allied army sustained a series of stubborn conflicts in the gorges of the Pyrenees, repelling fresh attempts at invasion. For Soult had been sent by the emperor in hot haste from the seat of war in Germany to supersede Jourdan and arrest the onward march of the conquering British, who were now on the very edge of France. With Soult came reinforcements and a new park of artillery. The shattered and disorganised army that had fled from Spain rallied round his standard, and within a month of the late disastrous defeat and flight, he led eighty thousand resolute men against the British troops in their mountainous lodgments. There were nine days of almost incessant fighting, which Wellington described as the most desperate he ever witnessed. Overpowered by numbers, the British sometimes gave way, but only to renew the struggle with fierce determination. Despite a desperate pertinacity, the French were at length foiled in all their attempts to establish a footing on the Spanish side of the mountains. They lost fifteen thousand in killed and wounded, besides many prisoners and much baggage, in these sanguinary combats (extending from the 25th of July till the 2nd of August), that are known by the collective name of the battle of the Pyrenees.

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* Napier.

The loss on the part of the British was six thousand. Wellington refrained from pursuit of his beaten foe, and halted his army on elevated slopes, from which they looked exultingly over the far-stretching plains of France, until the British colours waved aloft over the blood-stained ruins of St. Sebastian, and the garrison of Pampeluna, cut off from succour, surrendered to the Spanish blockading army. Then followed another series of conflicts, in which the British were the assailants, ending in the repulse of the French from all their redoubts and other defences along the border streams and heights. Wellington next advanced in irresistible strength and uncontested triumph into the fertile valleys and plains of France. Soult withdrew to his entrenched camp at Bayonne, and the army which had earned for England unexampled glory rested awhile from the toils of war on French territory. Wellington publicly announced his determination to compel his troops to pay the full market price for all supplies, and to punish all attempts on their part to plunder or molest the peaceable inhabitants. This considerate and humane behaviour wrought the best results. The people of that part of France, sick of the exhausting war, were quickly reconciled to the invasion, and exhibited the greatest good-will towards our soldiers, many of whom were billeted in their houses. The other French forces operating in Catalonia and the inland parts of Spain now desisted from the hopeless struggle, and concerned themselves with no other object than to gain in safety their own side of the Pyrenees, there to combine with Soult in staying, if possible, the advance of the British on Paris.

Meanwhile the huge armies of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and the minor German states, animated by the success of the British in the south, were swarming along the Rhine, and preparing to invade France on its eastern side. Acting in concert with the British, these powerful confederates proclaimed that they contended not against the French nation, which they desired to see great and happy, but only against Napoleon's sway over other nations beyond the boundaries of France. The purpose of the invasion was declared to be merely to conquer a peace, and gain securities against the continuance of those miseries and oppressions endured through the aggressions of France on all neighbouring and many distant states during the past twenty years. Until this object was attained, the allies declared they would not cease to war against the French emperor. The invaders on both sides of France adhered strictly to these professions, and by their moderation neutralized the effect of Napoleon's grandiloquent appeals to the weak side of the French national character. The people had learned to interpret high-sounding phrases about the destiny of France at their true worth. They saw that all Europe was in arms against France, only because Napoleon, to the misfortune alike of France and all Europe, under pretence of securing the glory and greatness of France, gratified his lust for universal dominion in the conquest and degradation of all other states. They now turned a deaf ear to his energetic appeals, and rather courted than shunned an invasion which promised to them, as to the nations at large, the overthrow of an oppressive military dictatorship. An obsequious senate granted, not however without ominous protests, further levies of conscripts, but the provincial authorities suddenly relaxed in their accustomed zealous obedience to imperial decrees. The old soldiers, however, on professional and personal considerations, fought yet awhile in support of the tottering throne of a master whose service offered splendid promotions and rewards to men of military capacity, however lowly the social grade of its possessor. They fought more battles, vainly contending against fearful odds, and many of them maintaining, even after their cause was lost, an unwavering fidelity to the chief whom they had long followed to victory and conquest.

In England, meanwhile, all thoughts were turned to the two extremities of France, where the varying fortunes of the opposing armies were watched with inexpressible interest, yet without any feverish anxiety. It was evident the last act of a momentous drama was working out to that conclusion for which this nation had contended for twenty years, often single-handed, and rarely with much effectual help from allies. The power that had long sat as an incubus on all Europe, and which at times aspired to universal dominion, was at length collapsing with a ruinous crash, and British energy had played the chief part in working out the coming deliverance of the nations. Parliament met in November, and occupied a brief session almost exclusively on measures having for their aim to expedite the close of the contest. Large aids were voted to Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, either in direct subsidies or in bills of credit. There were besides gifts of huge quantities of arms and military stores to our necessitous allies, who pleaded as usual their inability to keep the field except with help from the British exchequer. Lord Castlereagh estimated that Germany would absorb 6,000,000*l.* and the Peninsula 4,000,000*l.*, as subsidies for the coming year, which offered small prospect of reduced expenditure, though peace was looming ahead. This time opposition vied with the most steadfast adherents of ministers in cordial acceptance of every proposition for sustaining in the highest state of efficiency both our own military force and the large foreign armies that were at length fighting to good purpose against their oppressor, and the most formidable enemy with whom England had ever waged war. Lord Wellington's triumphant march through Spain supplied matter for eloquent praises in both Houses, both at the opening and close of the session; and many were the glowing tributes to the valour of that incomparable army that had covered itself with glory, and earned for England imperishable renown. The adjournment extended from December 26th to March, an unusually long interval, but the hands and the heads of ministers were full of continental questions, demanding personal conferences between kings and ministers of the leading states; and there was no question of home concern too pressing to admit of giving place to such all-absorbing points as the pacification of Europe and the restitution of independence to the states that had been absorbed into the French empire.

With the aim of embarrassing Wellington's movements, Napoleon attempted in December to cajole his state prisoner, Ferdinand, into a treaty, under which the Spanish prince was forthwith to be restored to his throne, on condition of his turning his arms against the English. Ferdinand was never very bright, and six years' durance had nowise sharpened his dull perceptive faculties, yet even he was not such a drivelling idiot that he could readily be tricked into the proposed compact. Failing to make a tool of the prince, Napoleon sent him adrift unconditionally, and it was not long before he must have experienced a grim delight in the embroilments that ensued between the bigoted Spanish Bourbon king and the progressist party among his subjects. The French emperor, in his extremity, sought also to rally round him the alienated priests by sending back the pope to rule at Rome. But these small concessions were quite too late to help his ruined cause. In the rear of the great armies now gradually girdling his capital, restitution became everywhere the order of the day, and he was powerless to stay the great counter-revolution that had now set in with irresistible might. Holland, Hanover, Brunswick, had now expelled the French and resumed their old allegiance; the kingdom of Westphalia suddenly collapsed, and resolved itself into its former elements; Denmark made peace with England and turned her arms against the common foe of nations; while Murat and Bernadotte, Bonaparte's old comrades, secured their kingly stations by siding with the great league of nations against their former master.

A winter of terrible severity, still traditionally remembered in England in association with the great pleasure fair held on the firmly-frozen Thames, stayed for a few weeks the advance of the allies into the heart of France. But the final struggle began before the close of January, 1814. By draughts from all the garrisons of France, and from the armies under Soult and Suchet in the south, the French emperor had drawn together eighty thousand men at Chalons. The allies were slowly converging by various routes towards Paris. Their aggregate numbers were four-fold those now led by Napoleon in person; but while they were still divided into separate corps, he trusted to his usual good fortune and mastery in his trade of war for some advantage to be got from a sudden onslaught. In the last days of January he had several engagements with Blucher's Prussians and a body of Cossacks in and about Brienne. His own losses were five thousand in killed and wounded, and three thousand prisoners; but as the enemy fell back, in order to effect a junction with other divisions of their army, the French emperor claimed the victory, and sent to Paris high-flown accounts of his successes. Other battles occurred in which he gave repeated proofs that his marvellous military genius and almost preternatural energy were nowise dimmed or dulled under the frowns of fortune, but on the contrary seemed to be stirred to unprecedented efforts by the prodigious issues at stake. Throwing himself between the Austrian and Prussian armies, he gained some fresh successes, counterbalanced, however, by severe reverses. The fighting was more than once stayed by negotiations. There was a congress at Chatillon, and a conference of the allies at Chaumont, in which England was represented by Lord Aberdeen. Napoleon stood out for the Rhine as the boundary of France, and his father-in-law, the emperor of Austria, seemed disinclined to drive him from the throne of a French empire within the specified limits. Aided by the great advantage of this support in the councils of the confederate princes, the French emperor might still have retained the throne of the Bourbons, with the status of a lawful sovereign, if he could have rested content with the old boundaries of France. But as if courting the doom which poetical justice demanded against the final triumphs and prosperity of crime, the baffled oppressor of nations, dazzled by some fleeting gleams of good fortune, became so exacting in his conditions of accomodation, as to exhaust the patience and forbearance of his adversaries. On the first of March a quadruple alliance was signed at Chaumont, between England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, pledging them not to enter into separate negotiations with the enemy, and engaging each power for twenty years, if the war continued, to keep in the field one hundred and fifty thousand men. The plenipotentiaries who settled this preliminary compact, were Lord Castlereagh, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, Metternich on behalf of Austria, Nesselrode for Russia, and Hardenburg for Prussia. From this time the allies resolved to hold no further parleying until they stood as conquerors in the capital. There were more battles, in which the French armies were uniformly worsted. On the 30th of March came the final struggle along the whole line of barriers and fortifications on the north-east side of Paris, which were stormed and carried, though bravely defended by forty thousand men, chiefly national guard. Next day the city capitulated, under threats of bombardment and pillage if further resistance were offered, and promises of protection for life and property in case of quiet submission. There were no English troops among that hostile host which now poured into the French capital, bivouacked in its parks and gardens, and found shelter in its barracks and guard-rooms; yet England, more than any other nation, had brought about this retribution upon her aggressive foe. Not to enumerate her previous twenty years' efforts and sacrifices, her army contending in the south of France in this final campaign played a chief part in the capture of Paris, by holding in check half the available forces then at the emperor's disposal, that would else have flown to his rescue from the toils in which he was entangled. At the close of 1813, some of Wellington's conquering battalions were transferred to Holland. He earnestly protested against the diminution of his army in a despatch which aptly illustrates the bearing of his operations on the capture of Paris. "By having kept in the field in the Peninsula," says this outspoken remonstrance, "about thirty thousand men, the British government have now for five years given employment to at least two hundred thousand French troops of the best Napoleon had, as it is ridiculous to suppose that either the Spaniards or Portuguese could have resisted for a moment if the British forces had been withdrawn. The armies now employed against us in France cannot be less than one hundred thousand men, indeed more, including garrisons; and I see in the French newspapers that orders have been given for the formation at Bordeaux of an army of reserve of one hundred thousand men. Is there any man weak enough to suppose that one-third of the number first mentioned would be employed against the Spaniards and Portuguese if we were withdrawn? They would, if it was still an object to Bonaparte to conquer the Peninsula; and he would succeed in his object. But it is much more likely that he would make peace with the powers of the Peninsula, and then have it in his power to turn against the grand allied armies the two hundred thousand men, *of which one hundred thousand men are such troops as those allied armies have not had to deal with.*" Fortunately for the British, both Soult and Suchet had to detach some of their choicest seasoned troops for service in the north, taking reinforcements of raw conscripts in exchange.

Wellington opened the campaign of 1814, towards the close of February, by a series of vigorous and successful operations against Soult's entrenchments near Bayonne. Driven from this position, the French army retreated inland to a range of heathy heights near Orthes, where on the 27th occurred a stubborn battle, ending in the utter defeat and rout of the French, with a heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the capture of all their baggage. Dispirited by this adverse beginning of their military career, thousands of Soult's new levies disbanded and returned to their homes. Nor were the desertions limited to conscripts merely, for even the old soldiers were losing heart and quitting their standards.

A few days after the battle of Orthes, while Soult was rallying his beaten army at Toulouse, a British division took possession of Bordeaux, where they were welcomed by the citizens as friends and liberators. The partisans of the Bourbons took heart, raised the white standard, and proclaimed Louis XVIII. Wellington cautioned them against premature action, warning them that the allies were still negotiating with Bonaparte.

On the 10th of April was fought at Toulouse the last pitched battle in the war. The French occupied a range of fortified heights in the suburbs of the city, and awaited the attack of the British. The conflict began at daybreak, and lasted ten hours. There were many changes of fortune during the protracted struggle, but in the end the French were dislodged from all their lines of defence and fell back into the town. After a few hours' rest they again retreated, and Wellington's army entered the city. The loss on both sides in killed and wounded exceeded nine thousand. This terrible effusion of blood was doubly deplorable, for the war had come to a close several days before the battle. Nearly at the same time with the battle of Toulouse, occurred at Bayonne, which was invested by a British division under General Hope, some further useless slaughter of brave men. The besieged made a sortie by night on a large scale, when a close hand-to-hand struggle took place, resulting in the loss of about eight hundred killed and wounded on each side. When the victorious armies of the north took possession of Paris, a proclamation in the name of the allied sovereigns told the French people that the old limits of France would be acknowledged, but that neighbouring states, conquered by Napoleon, must cease to be ruled by France; that such government as the nation chose to adopt would be respected, with the single limitation that Napoleon must reign no longer. The senate met on the 1st of April, and gave instant effect to the reaction in public sentiment in behalf of the ancient legitimate dynasty; a provisional government started forthwith into being, with Talleyrand for president. Then came a decree declaring that the Emperor Napoleon had forfeited the throne; that the right of succession to it, so far as concerned his family, was abolished; and that the French people and army were absolved from their allegiance to him. The fallen tyrant was at this time at Fontainebleau, surrounded by his broken army, and occupied alternately in schemes for a new campaign and in attempts to come to terms with his foes.

But even his most devoted followers, who owed everything to him, gave no countenance to his talk of further fighting, and the allied sovereigns sent word that they would enter into no arrangement with him until he had first given in his unqualified abdication. He proposed to abdicate in favour of his infant son, hoping thus to gain the support of the Austrian emperor, the child's grandfather. But Francis stood loyally to his bargain with the other powers, contenting himself with making good terms on behalf of his daughter, the empress of the French, and bespeaking a liberal provision for his dethroned son-in-law. The little isle of Elba, on the shores of Italy, and within easy reach of France, was assigned in full sovereignty to the late dictator of continental Europe. He was permitted to retain the titular dignity of emperor, and large pensions were settled on him and the various members of his family. The French people meanwhile accepted the Bourbons with a sort of polite acquiescence rather than a hearty and loyal welcome. The rejoicings in England which greeted the new king on his way from the quiet retirement of Hartwell, in Buckinghamshire, through London, and thence all the way to Dover and across the straits to Calais, were at the same time heartier and more disinterested than the laboured demonstrations and outward semblances of joy with which his restoration was celebrated in his own capital. The prince regent and a long cavalcade of gentlemen on horseback met the royal exile at Stanmore, near Harrow, on his journey homeward, after twenty-one years' absence from France, to offer their gratulatory salutations on his happy change of fortune, and to accompany the stately procession which was arranged in honour of the entry into London. The hearty English cheers that rose from dense crowds along the line of progress touched the heart of the restored monarch, who gratefully attributed his altered lot and the re-establishment of peace throughout Europe to the energy and persistence of the British government, and the never-failing courage and high spirit of the nation at large. The passage of the royal cavalcade through Kent to Dover was everywhere cheered by joyous demonstrations. A convoy of our ships of war escorted the royal party to the French coast. Thousands of English flocked to Paris to witness the celebrations there. They found all the country, from Calais onwards, full of foreign troops. On the 3rd of May came the magnificent pageant of the king's entrance into Paris. An Englishman who witnessed the ceremony, and took his place among the illustrious company at banquets and other celebrations in succeeding days of festivity, makes the following discriminating remarks as the result of his observations:—"The applause near the spot where I stood was neither long nor vehement; and I understand from other observers that my neighbours were no unfair representatives of the whole mass. The public feeling is quite different from that which seems to have prevailed at our Restoration. The cause of the difference is obvious. * * * The restoration of Charles II. was quite our own work. We had a great deal to repent of in the past, but we had nothing to be ashamed of in the present. We quarrelled with our king—murdered him—then set up an usurper, whom we maintained in power and glory, dreaded by all foreign nations as long as he lived; then we took his son; then we grew tired of rebellion and usurpation, and sent for our rightful sovereign. But it was all our own doing. National freedom had been impaired, but national independence had been preserved. But the French have been taught loyalty and justice at the cannon's mouth. They have undoubtedly done what was best for themselves, though they have been compelled to do it. This is what they know and feel. * * * In fact we have lived to see that amazing event which no man so much as dreamt of till the last few months—the conquest of France. The conquerors, indeed, happen to be mild and politic, but the conquest is not the less real. * * * The conquered are not likely to be very much pleased with the masters they receive from the hands of their conquerors, though they are of their own race, and might, not unnaturally, have been the objects of their own choice." The letter from which is culled this graphic picture of passing events was written by the earl of Dudley to the bishop of Llandaff, four days after the spectacle of the royal entry into Paris. Subsequent transactions, that convulsed all Europe and led to a second conquest of France in the following year, attest the shrewd and accurate estimate recorded in a series of letters by the same writer. Other spectators tell that the gloomy visages of the old imperial guard bespoke their distaste for the change of masters. A few days later the king rejected the constitution framed by the senate in the days of the recent provisional government. This seemingly bold step had its full warrant in the contempt entertained by the nation at large for the senate and its handiwork. He claimed the right to give rather than to accept a constitution, and the nation passively assented for the time being to a form of representative government which, in the eyes of Englishmen, was a mere mockery of the forms of freedom, though it was held to afford as much liberty as Frenchmen of that time could bear. The fervid and impetuous play of old contrarieties among irreconcilable political parties quickly resumed its accustomed violence, and all the elements of another convulsion were soon again in active operation.

On the 30th of May the king formally ratified with the allies the treaty of Paris, which gave back to France its old boundaries, with some slight changes on the eastern frontier and in Savoy. The other chief conditions of the treaty restored to Switzerland the German and Italian states, and to Europe generally that independence which had been swamped under the flood of French aggression. There were provisions to be worked out in detail at a congress later in the year, under which Holland and Belgium were to be welded together as a strong barrier state against France on its north-eastern frontier, and the German states were to be united by a federal league. There were to be restitutions of Italian territory to Austria, but not precisely as in times before the war. England yielded back many of the colonial dependencies she had wrested from her foes, but was confirmed in the possession of Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Tobago, St. Lucie, and some minor places.

In England the festivities and other celebrations of the peace extended over several months. The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, with several of the most illustrious generals who had led the allied armies to victory and conquest, came over as guests of the prince regent, and met with a most enthusiastic reception among all ranks. Marshal Blucher, the Prussian commander-in-chief, and Platow, the dashing leader of the Cossack battalions, were the chief favourites of the people, who everywhere greeted them with vigorous cheers. Oxford conferred doctors' degrees, with the symbolic gowns, on these martial worthies and on the allied monarchs, who were not a little astounded at the observances of commemoration day. Civic banquets and all the varieties of festive celebration, with naval and military reviews, illuminations, and pageantries, followed in bewildering profusion. This heyday of exultation was somewhat marred by renewed public expressions of the old discord between the prince regent and his wife. The queen held receptions at the palace, which the princess of Wales, then residing at Connaught Place, wished to attend. The queen intimated to the princess that her son, the regent, purposed attending these drawing-rooms, but "for reasons of which no one but himself could be the judge, he was determined not to meet the princess of Wales on any occasion, public or private." The incensed princess, with more spirit than wisdom paraded before the House of Commons the old matrimonial squabbles and her recent fruitless attempts to gain access to court receptions, and thus brought down upon the regent not a few most ill-timed exhibitions of popular ill-will, the humiliation of which was doubly aggravated by the presence of his illustrious guests. Later in the summer both Houses were occupied in discussions on several questions springing out of this domestic quarrel in the royal family. The restraints and discomforts imposed on the princess royal, through the mutual hatred of her parents, were made the subjects of questions in the Upper House, addressed by her uncle, the duke of Sussex, to the premier, Lord Liverpool. Then came the expression of a wish on the part of the princess of Wales to travel on the continent. Parliament gave ready assent, and for a time the scandal-mongers lost their most piquant refection, for which, however, ample amends were in store for them, growing out of her royal highness's residence abroad. The session was singularly barren of legislative work, yet replete in interesting debates, for which the narrow limits of this work afford no space. The budget exhibited further growth in expenditure, for reduction of armaments was held to be impracticable until after the settlement of Europe which was to come from the congress of Vienna. The American war, too, had its own separate demands, and those not on a sparing scale. The total expenditure of the year was set down at 75,624,000*l.* The ways and means included a loan of 24,000,000*l.* The memorable event of the session was the duke of Wellington's reception in both Houses. The battle of Vittoria had gained him the highest step in the peerage. The Commons now voted a splendid reward to sustain the hereditary dignity. There had already been a grant of 100,000*l.*; this was now increased to a total of half a million, for the purchase of a landed estate. The Commons further conferred on the great commander the high distinction of sending a deputation of fifteen members to present their thanks for his splendid services, and congratulations on his return to England after a long career of victory. He asked permission to come to the House in person, and tender the expression of his gratitude. The first of July was fixed for the visit. The House and all its approaches were thronged; deafening shouts of applause announced his approach. As he came within the bar all the members rose, greeted him with prolonged cheers, and remained standing and uncovered until he was seated. In a brief and modest speech he thanked the House for the magnificent gifts heaped upon him, and for the support and approbation which through the years of his absence had animated his exertions. Then the Speaker addressed the distinguished visitor in thrilling phrases, appreciative of his great services to the nation. Adverting to the glorious triumphs belonging to each eventful year of warfare on the banks of the Douro, the Tagus, the Ebro, and the Garonne, that had called forth the applauding shouts of admiring nations, he told the duke these triumphs were written by his conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and would be handed down with exultation to our children's children; that his lofty spirit had imparted to the troops following his lead an unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always the day of victory; that the nation remained largely his debtor, despite the grants and honours by which it had sought to express its sense of his many eminent services; and that it owed to him the proud satisfaction that, amidst the constellation of great and illustrious warriors who had recently visited England, he was the leader to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence. There were grants of money and peerages to five of Wellington's most distinguished companions in arms, with the customary vote of thanks to officers and all the rank and file who had revived and extended the traditional glory of their country by their noble bearing and splendid achievements throughout the war just ended.

The task of clearing the French out of Spain and Portugal had cost England, for the maintenance of her own troops, in the six years' operations there, not less than a hundred millions of pounds. She paid besides, to both the nations in whose behoof her army fought, large yearly subsidies, and furnished all their forces, including the guerillas, with arms, clothing, ammunition, and frequently with food. The British troops employed there, including garrisons at Cadiz, Lisbon, and smaller places, varied from thirty to seventy thousand in number. These forces, slenderly supplemented by native help so far as field operations were in question, fought and won nineteen pitched battles and innumerable combats; carried by assault four great fortresses; twice drove the French from Portugal; killed, wounded, or captured two hundred thousand French troops; and, lavish of their own lives, left the bones of forty thousand comrades in resting-places made memorable for ever by their high achievements.

Where, meanwhile, were those renowned battalions, whose invincible courage and enduring fortitude had stood unshaken in front of appalling perils, and in many a day of trial had shattered, broken, and ruined, the most formidable military array ever led to victory by the all-conquering Bonaparte? Where were the medals, with proud historic souvenirs, the tokens dear to a soldier's heart, the cherished heirlooms of cottage homes, that should have been distributed in no stinted measure in those days of national exultation? The grassy slopes and umbrageous elms of Hyde Park should have enfolded a great festive gathering of the conquerors who had won their way against the might of Europe's master, from the furthest crags of Portugal to the interior plains and valleys of France. Every soldier whose musket, sabre, or bayonet had contributed to the great aggregate result, of which his country to the end of time will cherish a proud remembrance, should have been separately made to thrill with the consciousness that his individual share in the glorious work was well appreciated. Napoleon's systematic recognition and reward of merit in the rank and file of his regiments worked the magic influence that gave them an easy mastery in contests with the armies of continental Europe. It remains a standing marvel that British troops, fighting under the cold shade of aristocracy, with none of the high aspirations that nerved and braced their antagonists in the hour of trial, should nevertheless have borne down in many a gallant and desperate struggle superior numbers of Napoleon's choicest legions. It was only after a weary lapse of years had thinned the ranks of our Peninsular heroes, that the survivors at length gained the coveted badge that told of high achievements under the great duke. Within a few weeks of the treaty of Paris the British army, that "could go anywhere and do anything," was widely dispersed over land and sea. The cavalry marched through France to Boulogne, and were shipped thence to England; the infantry were shipped at Bordeaux, some for England, some across the Atlantic, for a triumphant march on Washington, soon to be followed by terrible reverses in the ill-devised and heedless assault on the defences of New Orleans.

It now remains to trace the further course of that smaller and less glorious war across the Atlantic, which was still left on England's hands after her grand triumph in the prolonged struggle with France, and after the pacification of Europe by the first treaty of Paris in May, 1814. The Americans repeated in 1813 similar attempts at the conquest of Canada to those which have already been described as failures in the previous year. The British forces in that quarter were still absurdly insufficient; but their antagonists, though often numerically superior, never mustered in such overwhelming strength in any one of their enterprises as to endanger seriously the safety of the invaded provinces. The earliest fighting in the new campaign came off in the depth of winter on the Detroit frontier, where Colonel Procter commanded a few hundred British and some Indian auxiliaries. This enterprising officer made a successful night attack on a stronger force of the enemy, consisting of an advanced division under General Winchester, numbering 1200 men, all of whom were captured or killed in this well-planned surprise. A stronger body of invaders, numbering 2000 men, commanded by General Dearborn, followed in Winchester's track with better success. Aided by several well-armed vessels, they attacked and captured York, on Lake Ontario, driving out the few hundred troops who defended the place, and making prisoners of some companies of militia. As a set-off against this loss, a party of British crossed the St. Lawrence and enforced the surrender of Ogdensburg. Procter, with his mixed corps of regulars, militia, sailors, and Indians, crossed Lake Erie, and laid siege to Fort Meigs, which was held by a stronger force than his own. His opponent, General Harrison, came out to attack his intrenchments early in May, at the moment when large American reinforcements, under General Clay, coming to the rescue of their beleagured countrymen, were in the act of effecting a landing. Procter inflicted a signal defeat on both divisions, one from the fort and the other from the boats, killing or capturing more than a thousand, and making large booty of the newly arrived stores, &c. He was, however, obliged to abandon the siege, his men being too few, for the Indians and militiamen quitted his ranks after the victory, to convey to their homes their share of the booty. He carried away his cannon to the Canadian side of the lake, where he was soon beset by Harrison's forces, sixfold more numerous than his own, and compelled to give ground after a severe defeat. The British still remained at a great disadvantage, from their lack of armed vessels on the lakes in numbers or force equal to those of their foe. Their weakness in this respect laid them open to inroads on any part of the frontier which could be reached by inland navigation. A hastily constructed flotilla of small craft, carrying among them forty-six guns, and manned by three hundred and fifty-six sailors and landsmen, attacked, on the 10th of September, a stronger American flotilla on Lake Erie, armed with fifty-four guns, and manned by crews numbering an aggregate of five hundred and eighty picked seamen. After a stubborn contest of three hours' duration, in which the killed and wounded on the side of the British exceeded a third of their force, while the loss on the part of their enemy was numerically as heavy, victory rested with the Americans. Exaggerated narratives of this conflict, circulated throughout the States on official authority, represented the strength of the British as greater both in men and guns than that of their conquerors in this hard-fought fight. To enhance the merit of the victors, who were commanded by a dashing young officer named Perry, it was pompously notified that never did warrior fight with a braver or more skilful foe than Captain Barclay, the commander of the British squadron, a man of no ordinary fame, who had gained distinction at Trafalgar and other naval battles in which Englishmen had won the victory; but this day his valour and experience were of no avail against the superior prowess of Americans. This success on Lake Erie was promptly followed up by the passage of large bodies of American troops over to the Canadian side, and throughought the year they maintained a large numerical superiority in the field. Montreal and Kingston were at one time in a panic, expecting an onslaught by twenty thousand of the enemy, who, however, soon suffered a succession of severe defeats, and after the loss of half their numbers, were driven out of all parts of the Canadian territory before winter closed in. Provincial volunteers and militiamen performed good service in these contests with the regular force of the Americans, who, but for such resistance, must have triumphed over the handful of British troops then in the provinces. In retaliation for the destruction of dwellings and private property by the republicans in the course of their retreat, the British followed them into their own territory, and set fire to Buffalo, after destroying Forts Niagara and Blackrock, two considerable military posts on their frontier. Thus the balance of success in these inland operations rested with the British. They also scoured the seaboard, and maintained everywhere an unquestioned ascendancy in American waters, thus bringing the foreign and coasting trade of the States to an utter stagnation.

The memorable event of the year in maritime affairs was the naval duel in front of Boston harbour, between the British frigate Shannon, commanded by Captain Broke, and the American frigate Chesapeake, commanded by Captain Lawrence. Crowds of citizens assembled along the beach to view the conflict, which had been matter of challenge for some days on the part of the English commander, before his opponent came forth to accept the combat. The Chesapeake had such a known superiority in guns and the number of her crew, that it was looked upon as certain that she would make short work of beating her challenger, and bringing her as a trophy, decorated with the stars and stripes, into the harbour. Ample preparations were made in Boston for a festive celebration of the anticipated victory. The feast, however, never came off, for in the brief space of a quarter of an hour from the first exchange of broadsides, the Chesapeake was mastered by Broke and his gallant boarders, the Union Jack waved aloft, and the vanquished ship bore away for Halifax, in company with her conqueror. From that day onward, Americans talked more modestly of their comparative prowess in naval contests with the British. This single action, fought in sight of exulting crowds, gathered on their shores to witness an assured triumph, perceptibly tempered their "tall talk" in respect to the conditions of peace. Early in 1814 the president communicated to Congress some proposals which had already been discussed with the British government for the settlement of all outstanding differences. Soon afterwards commissioners were sent over to Europe to negotiate a treaty. But pending the settlement of terms, the war still proceeded with even greater vigour than before, as far, at least, as military operations are in question. The Americans had now largely increased their force in troops, and were still earnestly bent on the conquest of Canada; while the British were nowise reluctant to turn to account—for the chastisement of a foe who had taken an ungenerous advantage of their day of peril—those incomparable veterans who had triumphed in many a stubborn contest with the best troops of Europe.

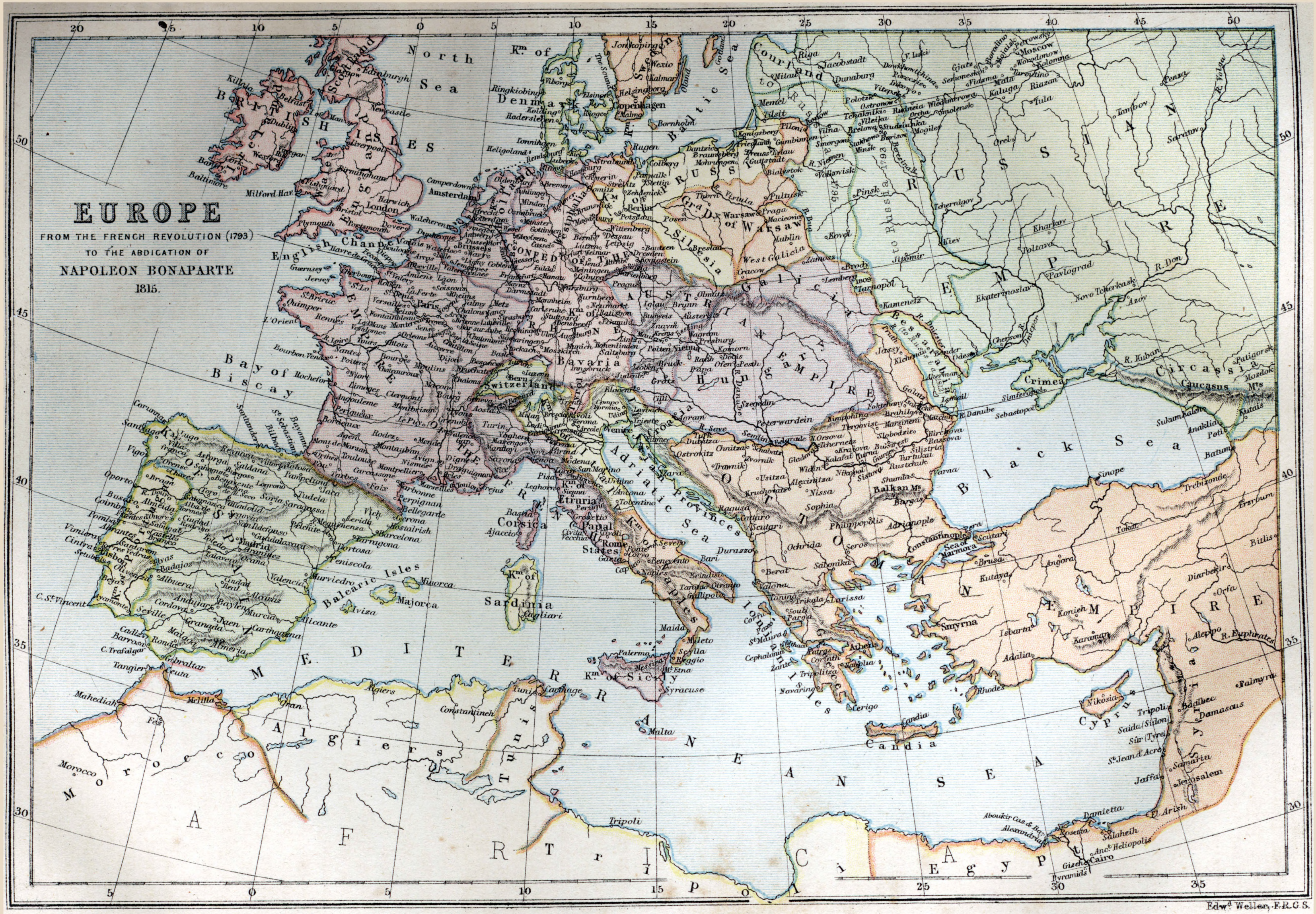
In February, and again in July, large bodies of invaders penetrated into Canada, and quickly gave proof of great advance in all soldierly qualities. They beset Fort Erie, enforced the surrender of its small garrison, and then moved into the interior, driving before them the much smaller force of British located in that quarter. But this onward movement was effectually arrested on the arrival of some English regiments from Wellington's renowned army. Beside smaller reverses, the Americans sustained, near Niagara Falls, a severe defeat in a pitched battle, in which their killed and wounded exceeded fifteen hundred, against a loss of less than half that amount on the part of their adversaries. The British on several occasions crossed over to the American side of the boundary waters, where among other successes they captured Fort Oswego, and burned the barracks at Sackett's Harbour. But their most promising enterprise failed through the astounding cowardice of Sir George Prevost, governor of the province. He headed 12,000 such troops as had never before fought on the American continent, and it was the general expectation that severe chastisement must forthwith overtake all the republican forces still gathered about their own frontier, or holding points gained on Canadian territory. The capture of Sackett's Harbour, the stronghold of American naval power on Lake Ontario, was an object of first-rate importance, but the cautious commander deemed it prudent to exercise his forces on a less arduous undertaking in the first instance. He accordingly planned an expedition against Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, which failed through his over caution and blundering. The officers serving under him entertained no doubt that the place could be carried by assault in less than half an hour. He refused to attack until the American flotilla, moored in the harbour, could be simultaneously assailed by a naval force. After considerable delay, three hastily equipped vessels from the Canadian side, commanded by Captain Downie, made the required onslaught on the floating defences, in full reliance that the military works ashore would be at the same time attacked by our troops. All military co-operation was however withheld, through some inexplicable blundering, until the gallant little naval force was shattered and crushed by the combined resistance of the enemy's more powerful flotilla and the batteries ashore. Prevost made at last some faint demonstration against the field works, but withdrew almost immediately, after a very small loss in men, to the deep disgust of the brave fellows who were eager for the assault. His reputation, already sadly tarnished by his lukewarm and inefficient conduct of hostilities, was now utterly ruined. Sir George Yeo, the commander of our small naval forces on the inland waters, sent home a direct charge of neglect of duty and misconduct on the part of the governor of Canada, who was thereupon summoned home to answer the accusation, but he died too soon to admit of undergoing trial. The troops under better command promptly cleared the republicans out of Canada. In other quarters American territory suffered from successful raids made by combined naval and military expeditions. Admirals Cochrane and Malcolm pursued the Baltimore flotilla up the Patuxent in the month of August, carrying with them a body of military under General Ross. The Americans burned their vessels, seventeen in number, just when a swarm of armed launches and the boats from our fleet were making a dash to board and capture them. The expedition then advanced up the Potomac, and the troops were landed a few miles from Washington. An American army of eight or nine thousand men offered battle five miles from the city. This force was broken and routed by the first dashing onslaught of an advanced division of sixteen hundred British, and in the space of a few more hours the capital of the United States fell into the possession of the victors. It was no part of the plan of the campaign to retain a footing on the territory of the foe, but to curb his towering assumption, and tame down his proud belief in his invulnerability, were held to be likely forms of procedure for bringing him to reason. Accordingly the public buildings were all burnt or demolished. These were the senate house and house of representatives, which together formed the capitol; the president's official residence; the war office and treasury; the dockyard, with its arsenal and rope-walks; and a frigate just ready to be launched, a sloop of war in the dock, and the great bridge across the Potomac, were also destroyed. Private property was left untouched, and the conquerors withdrew on the completion of their task without meeting any open resistance. Alexandria, lower down the river, suffered a similar visitation, after the destruction of Fort Washington, which defended it. The town was despoiled of large stores of ordnance, with other public property, besides a good deal of shipping and the merchandise aboard. A similar attempt on Baltimore was frustrated by the strength of the defences and the difficulties of the approach, for the harbour was closed with sunken vessels and defended by batteries beyond reach of the hostile ships' guns.

General Ross and some hundreds of his men lost their lives before it was discovered that the risks of failure more than counterbalanced the chances of success. The expeditionary army defeated with the utmost ease a larger force which attempted to bar the way to the city, and after driving the republicans into their fortifications, halted for some days near the town, to provoke the defenders, said to be twenty thousand in all, to a pitched battle in the open. The challenge was not accepted, and our troops re-embarked. Smaller expeditions of the same description penetrated in various quarters, in some instances capturing forts, destroying shipping, and other river and coast defences. But the most considerable effort in this line of warfare turned out a disastrous failure that ranks among the darkest passages in military annals. This was the ill-advised enterprise against New Orleans, in which our commanders, ignorant or ill-informed of local obstacles, heedlessly launched those splendid regiments, that had come forth conquerors in scores of hard-fought contests with the best troops of Europe, into the morasses and treacherous shallows of the Mississippi; and, though unprovided with the appliances for an assault, against long lines of well-constructed military works. For several weeks the bravest of the brave were exposed to the murderous fire of a foe they could rarely get a glimpse at. Pakenham, who had made a great reputation in Spain, fell in the act of heading the principal attack on the fortifications. He and those who acted with him were clearly wanting in the moral courage that should have compelled them to withdraw in time from an enterprise in which success was impossible by the methods of attack for which alone they had made provision. More than two thousand of the finest troops the world had ever seen perished ingloriously in these abortive operations. The dauntless survivors were eager to revenge the fate of their lost comrades, but General Lambert, on whom the command had devolved after his three seniors were struck down, wisely renounced all further effort to penetrate into New Orleans. After terrible sufferings from exposure, hunger, and fatigue, aggravated by daily and nightly ravages in their exposed ranks, from the ceaseless fire of sharpshooters, and the desolating discharges of grape, canister, shell, and round shot, which were ever splashing into their swampy bivouacs, the reduced force made its way to the shipping, which was moored far off, for want of depth of water near the scene of hostilities. Better success attended the attack made a few days later on the forts at the confluence of the Mobile and Alabama rivers: these were captured by General Lambert's expeditionary corps just before intelligence reached that quarter that the war was over. Earlier in the year the American frigate Essex, while cruising off Valparaiso, was beset and captured by the Phœbe. In another quarter the redoubted President, the most formidable craft under the American flag, was taken by the Pomona, which hove in sight when the President was already well beaten by the Endymion, but had severely crippled that antagonist. The John Adams frigate, among many other armed vessels pursued by our cruisers up the creeks and rivers, was burned by her crew to avoid capture. On the other hand, the American sloop Wasp beat and captured the British sloop Reindeer. The efforts of the Americans to annex Canada, all of which were signally foiled, cost them scarcely fewer than fifty thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, in the course of the three campaigns. The treaty of peace, signed in December at Ghent, left untouched the right of search, the main point in which the quarrel originated; placed the settlement of the disputed boundary question in the hands of a new commission; pledged both sides to the suppression of the slave trade; and expressed on the part of the United States an entire abandonment of their claim to compensation for captures made under British orders in council. The enormous armaments, naval and military, then at the disposal of the British government, afforded the means, had inclination prompted and public opinion favoured an aggressive policy, of inflicting a succession of heavier blows than any yet dealt in the course of this fratricidal strife. But wise counsels on our side seconded the desire of the Americans to share the general pacification to which all the nations of Europe had become parties on the overthrow of Napoleon.

The year 1815 opened with expectations of a lasting peace among the exhausted nations. Its earlier months were absorbed in the labours of a great international congress, comprising emperors, kings, princes, and the foremost statesmen of the age, who met at Vienna to adjust the many questions and interests left unsettled at the peace of Paris. Rival claims and conflicting interests were beginning to ruffle the accord of this throng of sovereigns and diplomatists, when an astounding event lent its aid to urge on a speedy adjustment of differences. Napoleon Bonaparte had broken bounds. He was rapidly traversing France, rousing the dormant enthusiasm of large masses of the French people with new visions of glory and extended empire, and gaining the hearts of the military sent against him. The man of destiny, as many called him, was asserting his old supremacy among the guiding spirits of his epoch. The work of the congress was suspended for a brief space by the shock of this intelligence, startling to all, and terrible to crowned heads as the crush of an earthquake. It was, however, soon resumed, and in due course eventuated in a system of states and governments differing but slightly from the condition in which the French revolution found them a quarter of a century before. The exceptions to this general restitution of the old order of affairs, were the following. Belgium, which had formerly been a possession of the Austrian crown, was now added to Holland, with the aim of forming a strong boundary state between France and Prussia. The republic of the seven Ionian Islands, formed during the convulsions which had given them several changes of masters, was placed under the protectorate of Great Britain. Denmark was obliged to renounce her former hold on Norway, taking as a set-off part of Swedish Pomerania, which she afterwards exchanged with Prussia. Sweden was confirmed in its acquisition of Norway. Russia, unsatisfied with her old territorial limits, resisted all suggestions for the restoration of Finland, and gained the consent of the other powers to her acquisitions made in Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Poland. There were stipulations which were to ensure good government and representative institutions in most of the states of Europe. But these and every other condition distasteful to despotic monarchs fell through, until the growing intelligence of the people shamed or scared their rulers into yielding some instalments of the promised liberty. The map of Europe, as settled in that congress, has undergone immense changes within the period of an ordinary lifetime following immediately on the adjustment adopted on the overthrow of the first French empire.

Napoleon's asylum, close off the Italian and not far from the French shore, was not well watched, though there were resident commissioners at Elba and Leghorn specially charged with the duty. He kept up incessant communications with his partisans, and by marvellous efforts of discretion, foresight, courage, and fortitude, broke the whole fabric of re-established monarchy in France with the apparent suddenness of a magician's transformation. But in reality all was well devised and prepared for his landing beforehand. His numerous emissaries and adherents kept him well supplied with intelligence of the distrust and hatred which the new government had aroused. He, knew, too that he continued to be the idol of the army, which never ceased to deplore the loss of those splendid rewards and promotions that he had given with a generous profusion to the soldiers who served him best. His restless spirit had never renounced the hope, even when signing the abdication at Fontainebleau, of regaining his lost dominion. This is the secret of his urging his conquerors to allow Elba to be his place of retirement, and of his persistent clinging to the title of emperor, with the maintenance of a state and ceremonial out of keeping with his fallen fortunes. His four hundred foot guards and hundred lancers were perpetually undergoing changes, new recruits being drafted in to fill the places of men who, under pretence of dismissal or furlough, were only detached for other forms of service. He even increased his body-guard to seven hundred men, and arranged for large accessions of trusty fellows at the time when their help would be needed. The plot ripened fast, and ten months after that act of profound dissimulation by which he descended for a time from the imperial throne of France, he was again mounting it with no faltering step. He landed at Cannes, near Frejus, on the 1st of March, accompanied by seven hundred devoted followers, and others quickly flocked to his standard. No one better knew the avenues to the French heart. His ready phrases promising fresh glories to the arms of France subdued the soldiers who were sent to seize him. The garrison of Grenoble declared for him, and all the military suddenly took the infection of renewed fealty to their emperor, who might yet, they believed, retrieve the reverses lately sustained by the French arms. The peasantry exhibited an enthusiasm scarcely less ardent than that of the soldiers. Marshal Ney undertook the commission of seizing the escaped rebel and carrying him prisoner to Paris, where he had already been proclaimed a traitor. But a few flattering words from Napoleon, who in a letter to the marshal addressed him as "the bravest of the brave," sufficed to cancel new obligations. Ney carried over his army to the side of Napoleon, who entered Paris on the 20th of March, amid the acclamations of the troops and some plaudits from the populace. The mass of the Parisians, however, preserved this time an ominous silence, while several of the journals refused to submit to the blandishments of imperial agents, and in the exercise of the freedom of the press, which had been announced as among the chief benefits of the new revolution, gave abundant utterance to the distrust and dismay which pervaded the middle and higher ranks of French society.

Louis XVIII. fled from the Tuileries not many hours before the arrival of the usurper, and escaped across the Belgian frontier under escort of a few loyal household troops. The allied powers meanwhile had issued, on the 13th of March, a declaration that Bonaparte, "by breaking the convention which established him in the island of Elba, had destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended: by appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, he had deprived himself of protection of the law, and manifested to the universe that there could be neither peace nor truce with him." On these grounds the enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world was denounced as a fit object of public vengeance, and the parties to the declaration pledged themselves by treaty, dated the 25th of March, not to lay down their arms until Bonaparte had been rendered absolutely unable to create disturbance or to renew his attempt for possessing himself of the supreme power in France. On his part Napoleon took all possible steps to gain the good-will of the French nation and to confirm the attachment of the army. He renounced all pretensions to absolute power, such as he had formerly wielded, and declared in favour of constitutional liberty, which he engaged forthwith to establish. At the same time he made strenuous efforts to conciliate, if possible, some of the allied monarchs, to each of whom he despatched messages designed to disarm their resentment and to convince them that he had finally abandoned the thought of ruling beyond the limits of France as defined in the treaty of Paris. Faithful to their mutual engagement, the monarchs disregarded overtures on which it was impossible to rely after the monstrous perjury by which they had been already duped in the act of abdication at Fontainebleau. That act notified: "The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, the emperor, *faithful to his oath*, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy." All Europe now resounded afresh with the echoes of coming strife. Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, bound themselves "to keep constantly in the field each a force of one hundred and fifty thousand men complete, not reckoning garrisons, and to employ the same actively and conjointly against the common enemy." Another provision of the treaty substituted a money payment



EUROPE

FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1793)
TO THE ABDICATION OF
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE
1815.

North Sea
BRITISH ISLES
Dublin
London
Edinburgh
English Channel
Bay of Biscay
Paris
EMPIRE
Denmark
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
Sweden
Courland
Riga
Moscow
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Warsaw
Grd. Dy. of Warsaw
PRUSSIA
Silesia
Galicia
West Galicia
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Vienna
Hungary
Bavaria
Switzerland
Kd. of Italy
Venice
Croatia
Illyrian Provinces
Adriatic Sea
Corsica
Kd. of Sardinia
Etruria
Papal States
Rome
Kd. of Naples
Naples
Kd. of Sicily
Malta
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Madrid
Lisbon
Balearic Isles
Majorca
Minorca
Gibraltar
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Black Sea
Crimea
Circassia
Caucasus
Bessarabia
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
Athens
Candia
Cyprus
Smyrna
Syria
Damascus
Jerusalem
Morocco
Algiers
Tunis
Tripoli
AFRICA
Egypt
Alexandria
Cairo
R. Danube
R. Euphrates
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Edwd. Weller, F.R.G.S.

William Collins, Sons & Co. London & Glasgow.

on the part of Great Britain to her allies for such forces as they should furnish to make up any deficiency in her complement of troops for continental service. The other states of Europe were invited to accede to the treaty, and so general was the adhesion, that there is little room to doubt that a million of men would soon have been arrayed in arms against the forces of Bonaparte, but for the ruinous overthrow which closed his career at Waterloo. The duke of Wellington, who represented England in the congress of Vienna, was now called upon by the general voice, not alone of his own country, but of all the allied powers, to assume forthwith the post of honour and of peril on the north-east frontier of France. He accordingly took at once the command of the composite army of sundry nationalities which mustered in Belgium within a few weeks of the escape from Elba. Parliament readily voted immense supplies, making an aggregate of ninety millions, nearly half of which was left, as customary, to be settled by posterity. Our allies plied their incessant arguments for subsidies, which were granted to the amount of nine millions in all. The business of the session turned chiefly on armaments, treaties, and multiform questions connected with the renewal of hostilities. A limited section of the opposition denounced the policy of intervention, holding that the preference of the French for one ruler or one form of government over another was a matter nowise warranting interference from without. But immense majorities in favour of the war clearly indicated a conviction that the repose and safety of all European states were jeopardized by the reinstatement of Bonaparte as chief of a great military and aggressive empire; and that it was idle to talk of leaving the oppressor and despoiler of nations in a position to revive the evils against which we had so long contended. The rekindling of the flames of war operated as a temporary diversion from an anxious branch of home politics, which occupied a good deal of attention in this session and in many subsequent years. This was the question of import duties on corn, levied in the interest of landowners and farmers, to the serious detriment of all other classes forming the great body of consumers. Despite many alarming demonstrations on the part of starving and infuriated workmen, and the shoals of petitions which poured in from all the seats of manufacturing industry, both Houses passed an Act prohibiting the importation of wheat from abroad whenever the price of home-grown wheat was less than eighty shillings the quarter. Several riots among the impoverished operatives of the east end of London expressed the bitter but natural aversion which the selfish legislation in favour of high-priced bread provoked in the minds of the mass of the people. But corn-laws and other domestic topics, however intrinsically important, sink in this eventful year, into microscopic dimensions, dwarfed and overshadowed by the crowning achievements of our army on the plains of Flanders.

While yet the remote Russians and the slow Austrians were far away from the French frontier, Napoleon rapidly and secretly concentrated on the Sambre the several divisions of a formidable army, which had been gathering in the previous two months under cover of the chain of fortresses from Metz to Lille. At dawn of day on the 15th of June he crossed into Belgium and made a vigorous dash for Brussels by the road running northward through Charleroi. The numbers under his standard in this, his final campaign, were about one hundred and thirty thousand, of whom twenty thousand were the old imperial guard, and about as many superb cavalry. His park of artillery consisted of more than three hundred new field pieces. The whole force was in the highest state of discipline, equipment, efficiency, and enthusiasm, confident in themselves, and fervently devoted to their leader. They were, for the most part, veterans who had seen hard service in the wars back to the dawn of the century, or earlier. The peace of Paris had given many thousands of them back to France after captivity in England, Russia, or Germany, and they were now bent on avenging the reverses which had sent them into durance abroad. Wagram, Jena, Austerlitz, and Friedland, had been won by armies less formidable than that which the conqueror in all those memorable fights was now about to hurl against the English and Prussians. Bonaparte's line of march on Brussels brought him in contact with the centre of the long range of cantonments in which the allies were waiting and watching, ready to concentrate for any movement which might be called for by the progress of events. When the French made their sudden burst across the Sambre at Thuin, driving before them the Prussian cavalry outposts under Ziethen, Blucher's forces, making a total of one hundred and ten thousand men, were dispersed along a line of eighty miles, from Liege, through Namur, to Charleroi, and thence westward to the frontier.

Wellington's army numbered about seventy-five thousand men, including fifteen thousand cavalry. They were cantoned in Brussels, and in the villages and woods westward and southward, with outposts towards the Sambre, on the extremity of the Prussian line. Only thirty-three thousand of the total were British; and of these less than half were supplied by those seasoned regiments that had gained renown in Spain, Portugal, and the south of France. With these were the German legion, eight thousand in number, also of Peninsular fame, and the Brunswickers, who had fought with distinction in the German war of 1813. Fused with the first-rate elements of a main line of battle, were untried contingents of Belgians, Dutch, Hanoverians, and Nassauers. When it became known on the fifteenth that the French were rapidly advancing towards Charleroi, Wellington hastened most of his scattered detachments in from the right, and Blucher called in his distant divisions from the left. The concentration was not half completed before the French fell with fury upon that extremity of each of the allied lines where they approached each other for mutual support. Bonaparte succeeded in sundering them, though not by such a gap as to admit of practising his proposed tactics of throwing his undivided force, with crushing effect, first on the Prussians and then on the English. The outposts of both the allied armies fell back hurriedly on the fifteenth, without seriously disputing the advance of the French. Early in the afternoon of the sixteenth, while the bulk of the British were still hastening southwards from Brussels, the left wing of Napoleon's army, led by Marshal Ney, fell upon Wellington's advanced division at Quartre Bras, where the road from Charleroi to Brussels is crossed by the road from Mons to Namur. When the fight began, the only forces in position to meet the onslaught of sixteen thousand infantry, two thousand cavalry, and thirty-eight pieces of artillery, was the Prince of Orange's division of Belgians and Dutch, numbering about seven thousand men. These were well posted in the wood of Bossu, which skirts the western side of Quartre Bras; but they were unable to hold their ground against the energetic attack of more than twice their number. Just as the French had gained most of the wood, Sir Thomas Picton brought into action the famed "fighting division" of infantry. With the British came the "Black Brunswickers," under their duke. These men had marched from Brussels, twenty miles or more, since daybreak; but the vigour with which they suddenly stemmed the progress of the foe, and restored the fading fortunes of the day, betokened how thoroughly, in great emergencies, an iron will can master or exorcise physical exhaustion. As the day wore on Ney received a reinforcement of several fresh batteries of artillery, and General Kellerman's mass of five thousand splendid cavalry. The allies also had some addition to their infantry; but throughout the fight they had no cavalry except some Dutch, Belgians, who made a sorry figure, and the brave Brunswickers, too few in number, who were speedily wasted away in spirited encounters against terrible odds. In artillery, too, there was a yet more fearful disparity against Wellington's section of an army; for none of the English field-pieces reached the scene of action till the fight was over, and the Dutch and Belgian ordnance was simply contemptible. The brunt of the battle fell on the British and German infantry, who nobly repelled many powerful charges of cuirassiers and lancers; but were themselves terribly shattered by shell and round shot from numerous cannon that stormed heavily upon their bristling squares and serried lines whenever the French horsemen recoiled from the encounter. The guards and highlanders, with Picton's division, repelled again and again the opposing cavalry and artillery, drove the French infantry from the wood of Bossu, and gained ground everywhere, until darkness put a stop to the battle. A regiment of highlanders, the 42nd, was all but annihilated under overwhelming onslaughts of cavalry with which they were suddenly enveloped when in disarray, after a magnificent charge in line. Each side lost more than four thousand in killed and wounded. Among the slain was the duke of Brunswick, who "foremost fighting fell," a few hours after that festive scene at the duchess of Richmond's ball-room at Brussels, where joyous revelry was merged in the din of

> "The mustering squadron, and the clattering car"

that, roused by the beat of the alarming drum,

> "Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,
> And swiftly forming in the ranks of war."

While the battle of Quartre Bras was in progress, a yet greater fight was raging at Ligny, a few miles away to the eastward, between the bulk of the Prussian forces under Blucher, and the main army of the French, commanded by Bonaparte in person. There had been hard fighting between them on the previous day at Charleroi, whence the Prussians were falling back to concentrate on the upland slopes in the rear of Ligny, Sombref, and St. Amand, on the road to Namur. At this rallying point, while Blucher was awaiting the onset of the French, Wellington visited the Prussian marshal at noon on the sixteenth, to concert a plan of combined operations. It was then thought that Ney's movement in front of Quartre Bras was merely a feint, designed to fix the attention of the British while the serious attack was maturing on the Prussian position alone. Under this impression the duke engaged to move his troops up to the support of the Prussians, unless attacked himself in the meantime. Later in the day the sound of distant canonnading told each commander how the other was engaged. The battle of Ligny began at three in the afternoon, and lasted till near midnight. There were about fourscore thousand combatants on each side. Mutual exasperations, springing out of indignities inflicted and suffered on both sides, from the fatal day of Jena down to the capture of Paris, lent a character of terrible fierceness to this conflict. No quarter was asked or given, no prisoners were taken. Most of the fighting was in the villages already named as fronting the Prussian position. The French gained the victory, but their only trophies were about a score of cannon. Blucher drew off his beaten army in the middle of the night; the French were not in condition for immediate pursuit; and so little were the Prussians downcast by their defeat, that two days after it they were again ready for battle. Early in the morning of the seventeenth Wellington was about to follow up his repulse of Ney by a forward movement against Frasne, when an officer from Blucher's army arrived with news of the defeat at Ligny, and the retreat then in progress toward Wavre. This event demanded a change of plan on the part of the British commander. He now resolved to fall back about ten miles nearer to Brussels, and to halt at Mont St. Jean, near the village of Waterloo, a position which he had previously scrutinized most thoughtfully. This movement would bring the allied armies once more within easy distance for combined operations. He commenced the backward march about midday, and sent word to Blucher of his intention to offer battle next morning in his chosen halting-place, if a single Prussian division of twenty-five thousand could be forwarded to his assistance. Napoleon meanwhile sent thirty-two thousand men under Grouchy to keep a watch on the Prussians; and then joining the rest of his forces to Ney's division, followed in Wellington's track. The pursuit was not very hot; but when the British were about half way between Quatre Bras and Waterloo, with the cavalry protecting their rear, the French cuirassiers gained some small successes in attacks on the light dragoons. The last of the British were just clearing out of the village of

Genappe when the French horsemen were seen to be gathering in great masses for another swoop on the rear-guard. At the critical moment Lord Uxbridge brought into action the life-guards, to retrieve the fortunes of the day. The charge of those stalwart men on their large and powerful horses into the opposing masses of cuirassiers of Napoleon's imperial guard, formed a spectacle at the same time magnificent and awful. A thick long line of prostrate steeds and horsemen marked the course of that living cataract of flashing sabres. The impression created by that destructive rush of English heavy horse through and over the choicest cavalry of France was permanent. Light horse regiments fell into disesteem among military authorities, and the English life-guards were quoted as the model for a cavalry of the future. The tradition has lingered to this day in the military service of all the great powers; but it must certainly be abandoned now that the destructive power of artillery and small arms is augmented to a pitch that threatens certain and speedy ruin to any cavalry that ventures on its old duty in the day of trial. The battles in front of Metz and Sedan, in the summer of 1870, furnished terrible teachings that the most efficient cavalry in the world are no longer formidable against infantry armed with needle-guns and the other varieties of breech-loading rifles.

When Wellington advanced southwards to Quatre Bras on the 16th to encounter Bonaparte, he sent a corps of eighteen thousand Dutch and Belgians to Hal, on the Mons Road, with orders to delay as long as possible the advance of any corps of the French that might attempt to approach Brussels from the westward. His other available forces assembled in the evening of the 17th on that chosen position which the event of the morrow was to render memorable for ever. The scene of the heroic struggle, wherein British soldiers played the foremost part in quelling the most potent foe their country and all the nations of Europe had ever wrestled with, is still visited by pilgrims from all lands, drawn thither by its great historic memories, even after the lapse of almost three score years since the mingling of hostile hosts in the grim death-strife that went forward through Sunday, the 18th day of June, 1815. The memorials in and near the field of Waterloo, recalling the events of the most decisive battle of modern ages, are not now so scanty as when Byron's glowing verse first told his countrymen that the spot needed no "column trophied for triumphal show" to add to its suggestiveness. There is the huge mound of earth reared by the Belgians, in defiance of Wellington's advice, surmounted by their not very appropriate national emblem, the lion, on a pedestal of granite that bears the record of the date of the battle and nothing more. The names of officers of the German legion are inscribed on another monument, and the memory of a member of Wellington's staff is similarly perpetuated on a third; but Englishmen at large seem to have shared the poet's wish—

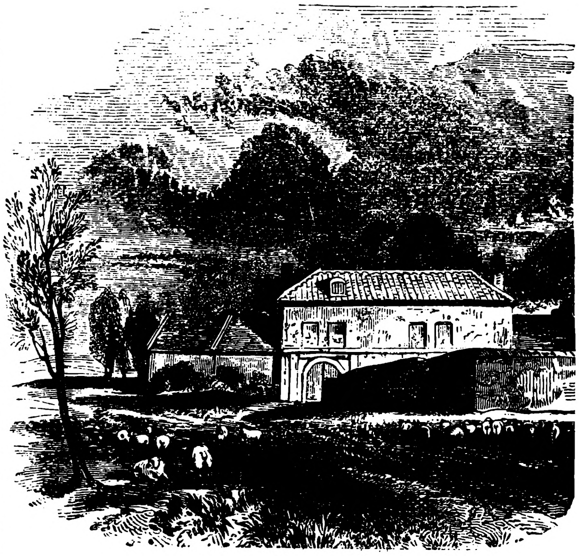
> "As the ground was before, thus let it be."

Holding, perhaps, with him, that—

> "The moral's truth tells simpler so;"

for no sculptured memorial is to be found on the battle-field to tell who played the greatest part in winning the "king-making victory."

The battle-field, two miles south of the village of Waterloo, and twelve miles south from Brussels, comprises a length of two and a half miles of nearly parallel ranges of low hills, with the intervening valley of various breadths, but not often exceeding half a mile. The English position, with its rear towards Waterloo and the adjacent forest of Soignies, occupied the northern ridge. The centre of this position rested on Mont St. Jean, a hamlet forming a continuation of the village of Waterloo. The right of Wellington's line of battle stretched westward to Merke Braine, on the Nivelles Road, and the left eastward nearly to Ohain, on the road to Wavre. Gentle slopes from the crest of the ridge towards the rear afforded some cover to the troops not in action. A corresponding gentle descent in front of the ridge led into the valley dividing the hostile lines. Somewhat in advance of the right centre stood the old Flemish farm-house or château named Goumont or Hougoumont, which in earlier days had been the residence of a substantial country gentleman. Ranged about the dwelling were farm-buildings, stabling, and a small chapel, all contained within a walled enclosure of three or four acres, the greater part of which was garden or orchard. In a corresponding position in front of the left centre stood the smaller farm-house called La Haye Sainte, with its barns and other appendages, also surrounded by a strong wall of masonry. Both of these farms were garrisoned by sections of Wellington's army. Three companies of the guards held Hougoumont, and some Nassau sharp-shooters occupied the surrounding garden and orchard in the earlier part of the fight, and were subsequently relieved by British troops. La Haye Sainte was held by part of the German legion for many hours, and afterwards by English troops. The French position occupied the southern



CHÂTEAU OF HOUGOUMONT.

ridge, its centre resting on the hamlet and extensive farm-buildings called La Belle Alliance. The high-road from Brussels southwards to Charleroi, a broad paved causeway, passed through the centre of both positions. Standing crops of grain waved on most of the space between the two positions the day before the fight, but these were soon levelled under the tread of warriors and steeds in the charges of horse and foot across the valley. There were very few hedges or ditches to impede the movements of the opposing armies, but several ravines and other natural inequalities diversified the surface of the whole position.

The army assembled under Wellington at Waterloo numbered a total of sixty-seven thousand six hundred and fifty-five men, including twelve thousand four hundred cavalry. Less than half of these were British; of the remainder, only the Germans were thoroughly reliable. The artillery numbered one hundred and fifty-six guns. Napoleon's army numbered seventy-one thousand nine hundred and forty-seven men, including fifteen thousand seven hundred and sixty-five cavalry. His artillery exceeded that of the allied army by ninety guns, giving him a total of two hundred and forty-six pieces. Besides their larger numerical force, the French had in their favour the circumstance that there were no incongruous or doubtful elements in the composition of their army. But, on the other hand, the Prussians were only twelve miles away, and Grouchy with his thirty-two thousand might fail to prevent their junction with the English. Every hour's delay was accordingly of the utmost advantage to Wellington. Torrents of rain deluged both camps and the surrounding country in the night before the battle, reducing the ground to a miry condition that seriously hampered the movements of the Prussians, and detained them from the field until the fight was well nigh over. But the same cause retarded by some hours the commencement of the action. Bonaparte waited until an interval of dry weather had improved the state of the ground for cavalry and artillery evolutions. Both commanders had the entire field of operations within view except in so far as the slopes in the rear of each position screened the reserves from observation. Napoleon's station almost throughout the day was on a little hillock in the centre of the French position. He never once mixed in the fight or led his troops to the attack. Wellington, whose plan of battle was simply to hold his ground and repel each assault of his adversary, was always to be found in that part of his line where the peril was greatest. In the intervals between the attacks his station was by a tree near the front of the centre of his line, somewhat in the rear of the spot where the grass-covered Belgic mound now rears its huge bulk over multitudinous dead—

> "Heaped and pent,
> Rider and horse,—friend, foe – in one red burial blent."

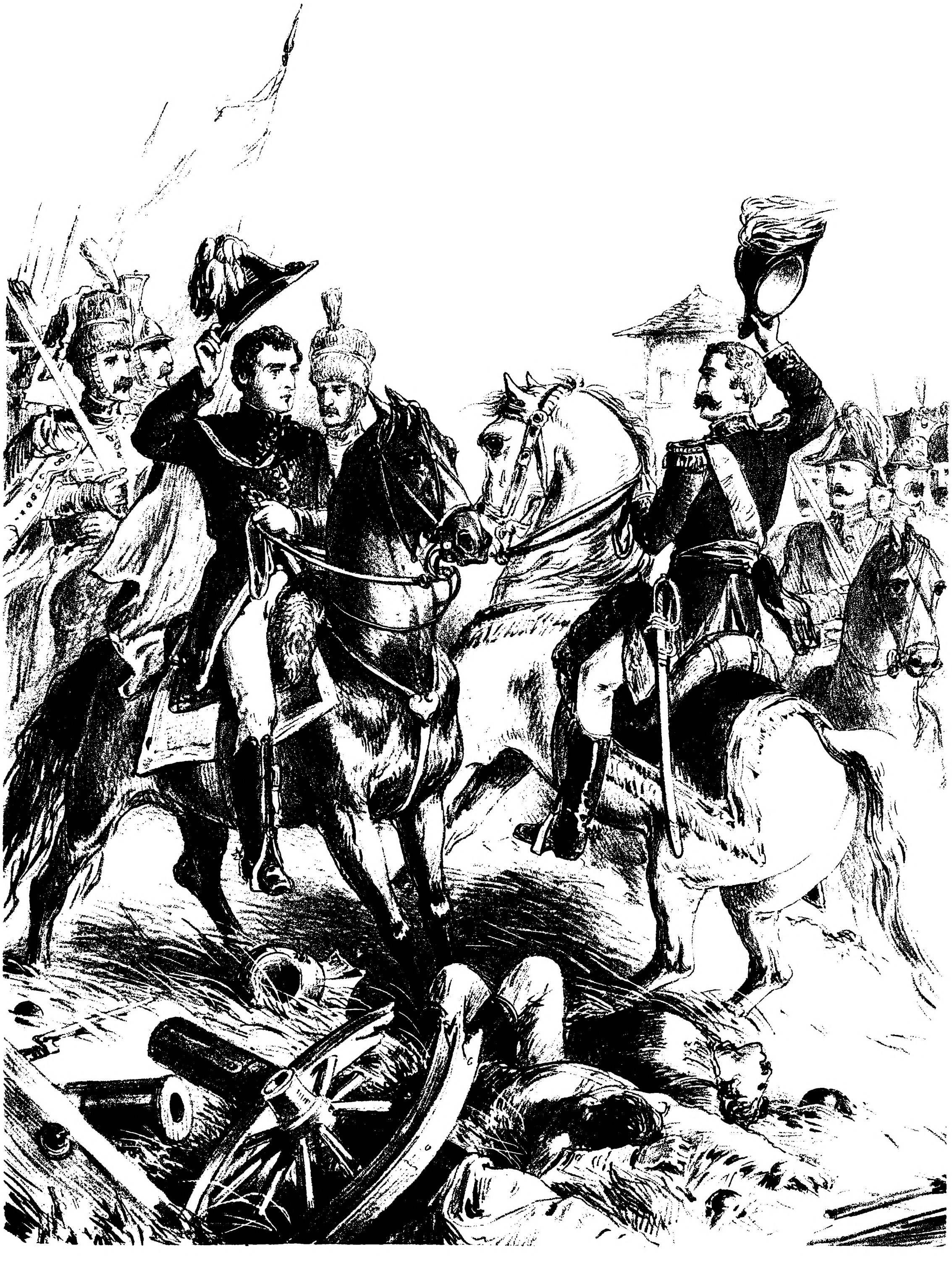
Shortly after eleven in the forenoon dense columns of French infantry, accompanied by horse artillery and cavalry, advanced in imposing array down the western slopes of their position, and commenced a powerful attack on the British right. To succeed in that quarter it was essential that they should gain possession of Hougoumont and its surroundings. Against that important post, accordingly, Jerome Bonaparte, brother of the emperor, launched a large section of the first assailing masses sent into action. Their advance formed the signal for a general cannonade, which commenced on the British right, and quickly extended along the entire range of both positions. The wood outside the walled enclosures of Hougoumont, held by Nassauers, was won by the French early in the action, but the cool determined courage of the English guards, who garrisoned the house and manned the loopholed walls, foiled every effort to dislodge them. Several times the resolute assailants penetrated into the enclosures and engaged in fierce hand-to-hand struggles with the defenders. Heaps of slain within and without the walls testified to the energy and persistence of the attack and the invincible resolution with which it was repeatedly baffled. The house, chapel, and outbuildings were ignited in the course of the day by sundry fiery missiles, but the dauntless guard held to the last, amid flames and smoke and a deadly storm of shot and shell, their tenacious grip on the smouldering and blood-stained ruins. Manifold tokens of the mutual havoc are yet visible, for the place remains much as it was left at the close of the terrible strife. The heaviest losses on the French side were sustained in the vicinity of the famous château, not so much from the fire of the garrison, though that was sufficiently warm and persistent, as from the desolating cannonade kept up from without for the relief of the beleaguered guards. The second grand attack of the French was levelled against the centre and left of the allied line. This was under the lead of Marshal Ney. Four dense columns of infantry, accompanied by Kellerman's division of cavalry, descended majestically down the slopes from the central and right sections of their ridge, and after traversing half the interval between the two positions, separated into two portions, of which the larger advanced against the centre while the other moved towards the left. Numerous field-pieces accompanied the advancing columns and squadrons. Under cover of their death-dealing storm of grape and shell, the advancing wave of horse and foot surged up the slope and poured its fiery flood on the living wall reared there to stem its progress. Belgians and Dutch lost their slender share of steadfastness in face of this avalanche of war. A whole brigade turned and ran as the enemy were nearing the crest of the ridge where these faint-hearted fellows were posted. The French pressed through the wide gap, but were promptly confronted by soldiers of the true stamp. Picton's division of infantry formed the second line in this part, their ardent longings for a place in the first line having been overruled by the commander-in-chief in consideration of the severe losses they had sustained at Quatre Bras. They were not more than three thousand in number, while the enemy, now close upon them, were fourfold as many. Picton, however, was the last to weigh the odds against such fellows as formed his famous "fighting division." Taking his decision in the perilous moment, the gallant old fellow formed his brigade into double line and moved forward to meet the menacing masses. At the instant when the French columns halted to deploy into line, and before they could spread into open formation, Picton's voice rang out loud and clear—"A volley; and then charge!" The volley was poured into the crowded mass of French infantry at the distance of thirty paces. Then followed a terribly destructive onset with cold steel, heralded by loud and fierce hurrahs—the knell of throngs of the now receding French, who a few minutes earlier were exulting in all the assurance of a splendid success. Ponsonby's cavalry, the English Royals, the Scots Greys, and the Irish Inniskillings, that had been posted in a hollow behind Picton's brigade, now came down with the rush of a whirlwind upon the confused and reeling fragments of the columns, and completed their discomfiture. Prodigious numbers were slain, and two thousand who sued for quarter were sent as prisoners to the rear. As at Salamanca, so also again in this section of the battle of Waterloo, large numbers of French infantry sought safety from the strokes of Wellington's terrible swordsmen behind the ranks of the British regiments of foot. Ney's advanced artillery, posted midway between the two positions, shared the fate of his infantry columns. Ponsonby's horsemen dashed among the guns, sabred the artillerymen, cut the traces, disabled the horses, and silenced the whole seventy-four pieces. The attack on the British left wing thrived no better than that on the left centre. On the other hand, Ponsonby's cavalry, while still intent on disabling the artillery in mid space, were assailed by several lancer and cuirassier regiments, and driven back with much loss. Both Picton and Ponsonby fell in heading their respective portions of the counter movement against Ney's powerful attack.

Lord Somerset's brigade of heavy horse, comprising the dragoon guards, the blues, and the life guards, encountered Kellerman's cuirassiers in a succession of charges and many stubborn hand-to-hand combats. In these, as in the memorable charge at Genappe, the superior stature and strength of the English swordsmen, and the greater momentum of their horses, gave them a speedy mastery over their steel-clad opponents. The heavy horse, however, in a too eager chase of the routed cuirassiers, suffered severe chastisement from grape shot and musketry. On the right centre of the British line there was an almost ceaseless succession of attacks, sometimes of infantry, sometimes of cavalry alone, and sometimes with a mixture of every species of force. In these onslaughts the French expended their great martial energies with terrible effect on their adversaries, but with still more disastrous results to themselves. Dense masses of their cavalry, accompanied by artillery, mounted several times the ridge forming the right centre of Wellington's line, and even passed somewhat down the slope behind it, driving the gunners from the batteries to the shelter of the hollow squares of infantry.

Again and again the cuirassiers rode round the hollow squares, seeking a chance to break through the compact fence of glittering steel, but the enduring infantry held their ground, and reserving their fire until the foe came close upon them, delivered withering volleys on the daring horsemen, and strewed the ground with overthrown riders and steeds. Wellington had frequently to retire within these living ramparts from the thrusts of lances and the slashing sabre strokes of enterprising cuirassiers. Each time the hostile cavalry retired from the bristling squares, forth came again the artillerymen who had temporarily abandoned their guns, and hastened the retreat of the foe by a renewed cannonade of grape and round shot. These wasting contests went forward for seven hours from the first attack, Wellington acting all the while on the defensive, defeating with indomitable resolution and unvarying success every assault launched against his own lines, yet refraining from all forward movement against any portion of his antagonist's position. The French had, however, at length secured one solid advantage. La Haye Sainte, bravely defended by part of the German legion against many persistent assaults, was at length carried by the French at about six o'clock in the afternoon. With this exception, the allies had lost no single inch of ground. Their losses, though enormous, were yet far below those of their assailants. The critical moment for which Wellington had for hours been on the eager watch was now at hand—when he could abandon his mere defensive fighting and become in his turn the assailant. The boom of cannon in the rear of the French right wing, growing each minute louder and more continuous, and the movement of French troops towards this approaching sound, gave the welcome assurance that the Prussians were at last coming to his aid. He had been outnumbered through eight anxious hours of stubborn battle, and now the odds were to be reversed. Bonaparte strove with passionate energy to discredit the messages that told him of the approach of Blucher. He asserted that Grouchy's corps of thirty-two thousand, who had been harassing the retreat of the Prussians, was now hastening to rejoin the main army, and that the boom of cannon away on the right was that of French artillery announcing the approach of those large reinforcements that must ensure the speedy rout of the English. That he was not himself deceived is proved by the last despairing effort he now made to snatch the victory from his stubborn foe before the arrival of the force, whether friend or foe, whose near approach was heralded with increasing distinctness in its thunderous utterances. All might yet go well if he could but break through the thinned array that barred the road to Brussels. Any semblance of a victory would have gained the immediate adhesion of the Belgians to his cause, while the French people, not yet disenchanted of their old idolatry for martial glories, would once more have yielded unwavering homage and unreasoning devotion to the chief who had gained a signal triumph for their arms in the day of national peril. Nothing short of victory, however, could save the tottering throne of the emperor, who accordingly now resolved on a final and supreme effort to win his way through the English lines and grasp the Belgian capital. On the slopes below his constant standpoint through the day, the farm of La Belle Alliance, Bonaparte marshalled forth his choicest veterans, the renowned "old guard," who had not yet taken part in the battle, but were held in reserve for a great emergency. He rode to a spot somewhat down the slope where the columns were to pass, and in acknowledging the loud acclamations that greeted him, pointed again and again to the centre of the British position, and exclaimed, "There lies the road to Brussels." Orders were sent along the whole line, to lend all possible support to the decisive stroke by which victory was now about to be secured. Artillery filled the interval between the columns of the guard, and sent over the ranks of men in their front a tempest of shot and shell on the parts of the British line about to be attacked by the infantry. No cavalry took part in this final charge, for the French horse had already been well nigh destroyed in earlier operations.

Wellington meanwhile had taken full account of the altered conditions under which the battle was to be fought out. His extreme left was quite safe. In that quarter the reassuring thunder of Blucher's artillery, and the backward march of the French right wing to confront their new enemy on a line at right angles with their main position, bade him be at ease. He accordingly strengthened his centre by closing up from the left, and shifted much of the artillery to more forward positions. He had still in hand a fine brigade of hussars that had not yet been in action: these were drawn in from their remote station on the left wing, and massed in sheltered hollows behind the centre. The line of advance for the latest and truly formidable attack on Wellington's position was through the space between La Haye Sainte and Hougoumont. The French already occupied the former of these posts in great strength; and from it assailed with persistence and much effect the nearest sections of the allied line, then held by Germans. The successes gained in this quarter, immediately before the imperial guard advanced for their grand assault, were such as to put the assailants in the highest state of exultation, from which, however, they were now to pass by a rapid transition into utter dismay. To the right of the Germans, Brunswickers, and Nassauers, who confronted the French in La Haye Sainte, were posted the two brigades of British guards, one of them lying flat on the ground, fifty yards down the slope to the rear of the summit. Against the seemingly unoccupied space to which the screened regiments belonged, Ney launched the foremost of his two massive columns. The endurance of these veterans had been severely taxed by constantly increasing havoc in their ranks as they moved nearer to the well-served batteries in their front. Again and again, however, they closed up the gaps ploughed in their solid formation by round-shot, shell, and grape, and moved resolutely forward to the very crest of Wellington's right centre. Wreaths of smoke rolled sluggishly over the ground before them, screening from view, though only fifty paces ahead, the regiments of guards comprised in Maitland's brigade, who were still lying flat upon the earth. The Frenchmen had scarcely halted, preparatory to deploying into line for a further advance, when, in words loud and clear, they heard the memorable order, "Up, guards, and at them!" This talismanic utterance, pronounced by the British commander-in-chief, conjured up a vision that must have startled and awed even those resolute veterans. Hardly were the words pronounced when up sprang four ranks of stalwart men, eager for close fight, and full of terrible energy, as they instantly made manifest by their deadly and rapid volleys poured into the mass confronting them, followed by loud ringing hurrahs, the prelude to an irresistible forward dash with cold steel into the wavering ranks of the imperial guard. Returning promptly from the pursuit of their broken and routed antagonists, Maitland's troops immediately afterwards bore an efficient part in repelling the attack of Ney's second column on Adams's brigade of guards, who were posted farther along the right. The second column had suffered as severely as its predecessor in its resolute march towards the mark it failed to reach in the British line. Assailed in front and on both flanks by withering discharges of musketry at close quarters, it retired, when near the summit of the position, in the utmost confusion, and sought the shelter of La Haye Sainte, where masses of French had hitherto maintained a solid front. But close on the heels of the fugitives followed the British guards, who had just foiled the audacious venture against their position. The sight of the old imperial guard running away disheartened the rest of the forces among whom they mingled. Wellington's keen glance followed each sign of slackening vigour; and at the critical moment forth went the exhilarating order for a general advance of his whole line against the enemy's position. The welcome command was executed with emulous alacrity. Every description of force quitted at once and for ever the position so heroically maintained throughout the day. At the foot of La Belle Alliance, Napoleon had gathered the remains of his cavalry, and rallied the remnants of the first column of fugitive imperial guards for yet another stroke. Against these, and against every other formation that presented any show of resistance, Wellington now launched an attack that succeeded in every point. Under this overwhelming onset the whole French army lost in an instant its courage, its discipline, and every element of organization. As described in the French official account, published a few days subsequently, "The whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion. All the soldiers, of all arms, were mixed pell-mell, and it was utterly impossible to form a single corps." The emperor and his staff were hurried away in the general rush as in a resistless torrent. Most of the artillery, with all the baggage and stores, were abandoned by the fugitives.

The Prussian attack, which began late in the day on the rear of the French right wing, rendered a signal service to the British by occupying in that quarter a force which would else have aggravated the risks of discomfiture in the prolonged and deadly strife. By a singular coincidence, Wellington and Blucher, each pressing onward from different quarters, met in the darkness succeeding the long day of battle close to the spot which had been Napoleon's standpoint, and the centre of his line. There, by the roadside inn of La Belle Alliance, after the interchange



THE MEETING OF WELLINGTON & BLUCHER AT WATERLOO.

of greetings befitting the great event, the two commanders settled the order of their further operations. The heat and burden of the day had fallen to the English; so the work of following close on the heels of the routed foe, and forestalling his attempts to rally in the night, was gladly undertaken by the exasperated Prussians, who cherished a long score of bitter remembrances that stimulated their zeal in the discharge of the task. French writers have sought to diminish the lustre attaching to the British arms through the crowning success at Waterloo, by exalting the credit due to the Prussian share in the great achievement. Wellington's own brief official despatch, written next morning, has passages that lend some colour to the disparaging criticism of jealous rivals; for, with a generosity truly marvellous, he bestows words of praise on the least efficient contingents that fought under his own banners, not excepting the poltroons who rushed away in panic fright before the attack on his left centre, which Picton's brigade so gloriously repelled. If Belgians, Dutch, and Nassauers, who again and again flinched from the strife, were commended, despite their shortcomings in the hour of trial, the tardy yet vigorous co-operation of the Prussians at the close of the day deserved and received the highest praise and the fullest acknowledgment at the hands of the duke. Instead of nicely weighing the relative share of credit due to each section of the allied forces, he is characteristically modest in the statements peculiarly affecting himself and his countrymen, while he amply praises each one of the other parties to the joint transaction. It is, however, undeniable, that before a single Prussian gun delivered its fire, except in remote signallings, Wellington's army had inflicted ruinous repulses on each succeeding wave of assailants without sustaining proportionate damage in return. The French cavalry were destroyed, and masses of the dismounted riders prisoners, before five in the afternoon. Ponsonby's heavy horse had disposed of more than seventy pieces of hostile artillery three hours earlier. The French effected a lodgment, it is true, in La Haye Sainte; they also scattered some foreign brigades, of whose prowess doubts were entertained in advance; and in their gallant cavalry charges, right into the thick of the choicest British regiments, they paralysed at times the action of our artillery, yet were forced by the withering fire from protecting infantry squares to leave the guns intact. The broad fact, however, remains—that every attack was beaten back, down to the final effort of the imperial guard, and the irresistible onward movement by the duke's whole line had commenced before the Prussians actually mingled in the strife.

The French official account of their disaster, written at the dictation of the defeated emperor, told of victory won by his heroic legions, yet snatched away the next moment by an envious fate. Speaking of the final charge of the old guard, in which they mounted to the centre of the British line, the mendacious official narrative assured the world :—"In this state of affairs the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions which the enemy had possessed at the outset of the battle. After eight hours' fire and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the victory gained, and the field of battle in our power." It was, of course, necessary to divulge to France the fate of its victorious army; so the official oracle attributed to a groundless and senseless rumour the instantaneous transition from a glorious and complete victory to a hopeless defeat. A panic, said this unveracious despatch, had spread with the swiftness of lightning through all the ranks of that magnificent army; and under that fatal spell they turned and fled in disarray, a mere rabble rout, *after winning the battle*, solely from the depressing effect of an *unfounded rumour* that declared the *old guard were driven back*. Ney's reply to Bonaparte's spiteful depreciation of his own share in the battle told the French a different story, and one closely accordant with the best English versions of the event. The following extract, from the report of another French officer, who shared the perils of the day, is in splendid contrast for its graphic truthfulness with the official report by which it was attempted to delude his countrymen :—"Some battalions that had been overthrown retreated. A profound silence had succeeded to the acclamations of the soldiers, who had made sure of victory. With the exception of the infantry of the guard, the whole of the troops were seen to be exposed to the most murderous fire. The action was still kept up with the same violence, but without any important result. It was now near seven o'clock; Bonaparte, who hitherto had remained where he was first stationed, and whence he could see all that passed, was contemplating with a ferocious aspect the hideous spectacle of such a horrid butchery. Several times he was informed that different points of the army were in a perilous situation, and that the troops appeared to give up; but his only answer was, 'Forward! Forward!' One general sent word that he was in a position which could not be kept, being mowed down by a battery, and asked authority to withdraw from the destructive fire of the battery. '*Storm it!*' replied the emperor, as he turned his back on the aide-de-camp. At the moment, when all his enterprises had completely miscarried, it was announced to him that some Prussian columns had appeared on our right flank, and were menacing our rear; but he would not give credence to the report, and replied several times that these pretended Prussians were nothing but the corps of Grouchy. It was however impossible any longer to mistake the truth of what was stated when these columns, filing off as they arrived, made a fierce attack on our right. Bonaparte, in despite of all, judged with a determination which nothing could alter, that the moment for deciding the day was arrived. He accordingly formed a fourth column of attack, composed almost entirely of the guard, and after sending off to every point instructions for supporting this movement, on which the victory depended, directed it at the double-quick pace on Mont St. Jean. These old warriors rushed upon the plain with the intrepidity one might expect from them; the whole army resumed its vigour; the fire was again in full play along the line; the guard made several charges; but these efforts were completely repulsed. A formidable artillery, which appeared to multiply, destroyed all our formations. These invincible grenadiers beheld their ranks shattered by grape-shot; they closed them, however, with great coolness, still marching on without being intimidated. Nothing arrested their progress but death or serious wounds; but the hour of defeat was come. Enormous masses of infantry, supported by an immense cavalry, to which we could no longer oppose any, our own being entirely destroyed, poured upon them with fury. Almost the whole fell, fighting like desperadoes, beneath the strokes of sabres or bayonets. This slaughter continued as long as their resistance; but at length, discouraged from exposing themselves to certain destruction, they quitted their ranks, fell back in disorder, and melted into a confused mass."

In the hot pursuit, the emperor narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Prussians, a fatality that would assuredly have conducted him to a less desirable asylum than that assigned to the third Napoleon after the surrender at Sedan, fifty-five years later. He contrived with difficulty to break away from the mob of disbanded and lawless runaways, the wreck of his army, and on the day following the disaster that sealed his fate, re-entered France after his four days' ruinous campaign in Belgium. The French never made any return of their losses at Waterloo, but these can scarcely be reckoned at less than five and twenty thousand, exclusive of prisoners. Duruy, a recent French writer of repute, puts down the killed at over twenty-eight thousand, and the prisoners at nearly eight thousand. With a disingenuousness too common among the writers of his nation, he enormously overrates the numbers under Wellington, and understates the French combatants at Waterloo by fully ten thousand. On the side of the allies, the wounded and slain in Wellington's army numbered fifteen thousand; the Prussian losses are set down at seven thousand, which probably includes the casualties in the fight at Wavre as well as that at Planchenoit in the rear of the French line of battle at Waterloo.

Bonaparte hastened to Paris, where the news of his crushing overthrow, following fast on the heels of his bulletins announcing victories, had produced a sudden reaction against his authority. He found himself virtually deposed, and the legislative bodies in an attitude of hostility that he sought in vain to control. He bowed to the storm, and acceded to the demand for a second abdication. He strove to reserve the rights of his son to the succession, but no heed was taken of his wishes in this particular. A provisional government started into being, whose first care was to endeavour to avert the entry of the allied armies into the capital. They opened negotiations with Wellington, who had issued a proclamation telling Frenchmen that he entered their country not as their enemy, but to put down the usurper, the foe of the human race, with whom neither peace nor truce could be made. The various proposals of the provisional government indicated a wish to keep out Louis XVIII. as well as Bonaparte, but to all such proposals Wellington had only the obvious answer that he had no power to treat on forms of government. He declined a suspension of arms while Napoleon was in France and his person free; a form of pressure that led the provisional government to set a guard over the ex-emperor, and to urge his departure from the country on which he had brought its present and much preceding calamity. Bonaparte talked of seeking an asylum in the United States, and made an effort to sail from Rochefort, but the British government had anticipated such an attempt, and taken steps to frustrate it. They despatched many additional cruisers to the coasts of France, with instructions to convey the ex-emperor to Torbay, in the event of his giving himself up. The manifesto of all the allied powers at the outbreak of the war had clearly set forth that the main object of renewed hostilities was to put it beyond his power to disturb the peace of the world again. That object would, in all likelihood, be defeated if he escaped to America. A rigorous blockade was therefore kept up, and the allied generals declined to give the safe conduct requested by the provisional government for the proposed voyage to America. Finding himself beset in the toils, and his freedom of movement curtailed with increasing rigour by the guard set over him, he decided on a voluntary surrender to the British and an appeal to the generosity of the Prince Regent. Accordingly on the 15th of July he gave himself up to Captain Maitland, of the Bellerophon, in Brest Roads, and was conveyed, first to Torbay and then to Plymouth, where he was detained on board the ship of war pending the joint decision of the allied governments. From the Bellerophon he addressed the following letter to the prince regent: "A victim to the factions which distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself on the hospitality of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of all my enemies." On the 30th of July he was informed that the British government, in concert with its allies, had determined, with the intent of preventing further disturbance of the peace of Europe by *General Bonaparte*, to assign him a residence in St. Helena. He made energetic protests against this decision, and pressed to be permitted to reside in England, under any form of surveillance deemed needful. His protests and request remained alike unheeded, and he was conveyed in the Northumberland to St. Helena, where ample provision was made for the luxurious maintenance of himself and his suite. A considerable domain, with Longwood House, the best residence in the island, was placed at his disposal, and there he spent the remnant of his days, though it cannot be said he rested there. He cherished to the last the hope of breaking away from the rock to which an adverse fate had, as it were, chained him. Each fresh precaution taken to frustrate his devices for escape became the occasion of further querulous and vindictive accusations, levelled against his keepers, upon whom much undeserved reproach was heaped in England and abroad for imaginary indignities put upon the captive. Fretting and fuming like a caged lion, the fallen chief exhibited in his exile too little of that nobility of nature which mankind have a right to expect in those who achieve a towering eminence above their fellows. Even when conscious that his end was near, he gave an abiding token of his bitter malevolence towards Wellington by directing, in a codicil to his will, the payment of ten thousand francs to a French miscreant who had attempted to assassinate the victor of Waterloo. Worn with chagrin at his great reverse of fortune, and labouring also under a constitutional disease, this "conqueror and captive of the earth" ceased from troubling on the 5th of May, 1821. Twenty years later the French government gained permission to remove the remains of Napoleon from this far-off sepulchre in the midst of the Atlantic. The British government in granting the request expressed a hope that its ready compliance would "be considered in France as a proof of its desire to blot out the last trace of those national animosities which during the life of the emperor armed England and France against each other." On the 15th of December, 1841, the remains were enshrined in a magnificent mausoleum in the church of the Invalides, thus realising the desire expressed in Napoleon's will, that "his ashes should repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom he had loved so well."

Going back to our narrative, after the brief digression demanded in order to give unity to the record of a career which so marvellously chequered the current of European history through a score of its most memorable years, we have to note briefly some events that followed the overthrow of Napoleon, and the crash of the first French empire.

Wellington and Blucher led their victorious legions to Paris, and gained possession of the city on the 8th of July, after some fighting in its suburbs. Louis XVIII. followed in the track of the conquerors, and was again accepted rather than welcomed as the king of the French. The restored government proved itself fairly discreet and moderate in the use of a victory gained over the nation by foreign armies. Some few dozens of the more prominent traitors to the royal cause suffered the mild punishment of exclusion from office and banishment from the capital. Only two paid with their lives the penalty of their treachery. These were Ney and Labedoyere, the two military commanders most culpable in promoting the defection of the army. Lavalette, a high official, also incurred the death sentence for his treason, but he escaped by the contrivance of two British officers, who were punished for the offence with a short imprisonment in the Conciergerie. The allied powers held many conferences on the question of the securities to be exacted to prevent another disturbance of Europe. Made cautious by recent experience, they finally decided to hold military possession of Paris and all the eastern and northern frontier fortresses for a term of five years, within which it was hoped the French nation would settle down into contentment under the liberal institutions offered by the restored dynasty. The treaty of Paris, dated 20th of November, 1815, laid upon France in her turn a share of the humiliation she had inflicted on neighbouring and remote nations. The cost of foreign armaments maintained on her soil, or engaged in the final campaign of 1815, was exacted from her by instalments, and most of the trophies of her victories and memorials of her conquests were wrested from her and given back to the cities whence they had been pillaged. Venice received again the famous horses of St. Mark; Rome, the Apollo Belvidere; Florence, the Venus of Medicis; Berlin, the horses of the car of victory; and sculptures, paintings, or other master-pieces of art which had been deposited in the galleries of the Louvre, were now returned to their rightful owners. England had nothing to reclaim, for she had always kept the spoilers off her territory. She relinquished her share of the indemnity, amounting to 5,000,000*l.*, in favour of the king of the Netherlands, to enable him to restore his frontier defences. Murat, king of Naples, carried away by the first successes of Bonaparte on breaking the compact of Fontainebleau, made a rash attempt in the month of May to unite all Italy under his standard, and to add its strength to the French armies. He was beaten by the Austrians and deserted by his subjects, who recalled Ferdinand to the throne. Later in the year he landed on the Calabrian shore with a very few followers, in the mistaken notion that the country would rise in his favour, as France had risen in behalf of his imperial brother-in-law. He was captured and shot under sentence of a commission appointed by Ferdinand. Thus fell, on the same day that Napoleon landed at St. Helena, the last of that batch of kinglings created to serve as props of his resplendent imperial throne. It is estimated that the escape of Napoleon from Elba cost France 60,000,000*l.* sterling, in various forms of penalty or outlay arising out of the memorable hundred days of his final tenure of power. Exhausted by long and ruinous warfare, distracted by irreconcilable parties, humbled by defeat, held in subjection by foreign armies in her capital and the frontier fortresses, stripped of those splendid souvenirs of conquest that ministered to her pride and fed the lust of domination beyond her borders, France had yet to endure the further mortification of giving up a piece of territory on the side of Germany and another on the side of Italy. Both these rectifications of frontier were made with the undisguised purpose of facilitating hostile invasion. To consolidate their tardy triumph over the last remains of the French revolution, the monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia banded themselves into a league, to which many other states subsequently gave in their adhesion, by which they mutually engaged to assist each other in upholding their respective governments on the principles of Christianity. As the sanctions of religion were thus called to the support of their anti-revolutionary policy, they gave their league the name of the Holy Alliance. A well-grounded jealousy of the aims of the principal confederates kept the English government from any participation in this treaty, but the prince regent expressed his approval of the general objects of the compact.

Wellington's despatches, telling of Waterloo, arrived in England on the 21st of June. Illuminations and festivities expressed in all directions the national rejoicing on the glorious event, and the momentous issues that promised to result from it.

On the 22nd parliament accorded to the illustrious commander, and all ranks of his companions in arms on the great occasion, its heartiest acknowledgments of the splendour and importance of the victory. Each private soldier who had fought in the battle was permitted to count the great day as equivalent to two full years of service, and was gratified with the decoration of a commemorative medal. The peerage had no higher title in store for the duke, but he now reaped the magnificent reward of an additional money grant of 200,000*l.*, which was voted for the purchase of a mansion and estate, to be settled on the dukedom. A commission appointed for the duty concluded a bargain with Lord Rivers, under which the domain of Strathfieldsaye, in Hampshire, changed hands, and was thenceforward held in perpetuity of the crown on condition that the dukes of Wellington present yearly, on the 18th of June, to the reigning sovereign, a tricolour flag, similar to the little silken emblem given yearly by the dukes of Marlborough from Queen Anne's days onwards, in memory of Blenheim.

The victory that shed an abiding glory on our arms, and a peculiar lustre of renown on the leader who vanquished the vanquisher of many nations, forms, as it were, a great landmark in history, on the score that it purchased a forty years' peace. Between Waterloo and Sebastopol lies a longer span of years than is to be found unmarked by European wars since the dawn of history. In the preceding eight centuries, the years of war between England and France greatly outnumbered the years of peace. But in the long lapse of years through which we now look back upon the crowning victory that ended French domination in Europe, and gave the nations an unaccustomed repose, we and our nearest continental neighbours have come to be better friends than ever. The jealousies and antagonism which had scarcely slumbered for centuries have been succeeded by mutual good-will. When, after forty years of European peace, a great war again broke out, French and English, for the first time since the Crusades, made common cause, and fought shoulder to shoulder against a conspiring despotism vastly more dangerous to weaker states than the aggressive Saracen of mediæval times.

The financial side of the great war claims another parting glance. It is big with warning, especially to the British nation. The outlay on our naval and military establishments, armaments, subsidies, and miscellaneous outgoings, in the period from 1793 to 1815, laid our country under the burden of a mountainous debt that has long outlived the gratitude of the nations and the dynasties in whose behoof it was for the most part incurred; and threatens to be more abiding than the military renown which at the close of the contest won for England the foremost place in the councils of Europe. Napoleon used, in his cynical moods at St. Helena, to say of us, that our gains in continental wars were for others—our losses for ourselves. After the lapse of less than a score of years from the peace of Paris, the liberated nations usually attributed England's championship of their cause, and her lavish outlay on their behalf, to her supreme regard for her own commercial interests alone. That article in the treaty of Paris, by which she sought to engage all the states of Europe in the stoppage of the slave-trade, was in like manner set down to the credit of her selfish instincts exclusively. Her co-partners in the treaty were slow to believe that any regard for justice, or mercy, or religion, operated to call forth the addresses and petitions to parliament for the suppression of the trade in human flesh. Our own markets, said our continental critics, were stocked with blacks, and we sought to close the gates against further importation, solely that we might effectually secure our profitable monopoly in cheap labour for our West Indian possessions. In the ten years between 1793 and the short-lived peace of Amiens, the total sum raised by taxes and loans was 464,214,730*l.*, of which the war expenditure alone is reckoned at 284,214,730*l.* The national debt expanded in those ten years from 254,000,000*l.* to 630,000,000*l.*, giving an increase of 376,000,000*l.* In the second period of the war, from 1803 to 1815, including the brief interruption, which was more an armed truce than a peace, the sums raised by taxes form an aggregate of 771,000,000*l.*, while the proceeds of loans were 389,000,000*l.*, giving a total of 1,160,000,000*l.* Deducting from this a peace expenditure, which for the period in question would not have exceeded 22,000,000*l.* per annum, the outlay on war stands at 874,000,000*l.* Add to this the war expenditure of the preceding ten years, and we attain the enormous total of 1,158,214,730*l.* as the outlay on the part of Great Britain on the war against the French republic and empire, or upwards of 50,000,000*l.* for each of the twenty-three years from the outbreak to the end of the costly strife. The national debt, which in 1803 stood at 630,000,000*l.*, had grown in 1815 to 1,121,407,000*l.* Thus was laid on posterity to distant ages an enormous encumbrance. The passing generation exhausted its ingenuity in devising schemes to put its own proper burdens on the shoulders of posterity. The evil habit of drawing on the income of unborn generations had acquired such strength in the long war, that it continued to operate through many years of the long peace. The budget of 1816 included a substantial loan, which parliament and the country held to be a fitter expedient than the continuance of the property-tax. The chancellor of the exchequer, to render this just tax more palatable to the mass of the people, proposed to exempt from its operation all incomes below 150*l.* per annum, and farms paying less than that amount in rental. But the wealthy classes deluged the House with petitions against the provident scheme of the finance minister, who was defeated by a substantial majority in a House that for years past had accepted without cavil almost every ministerial measure. As the property tax was abandoned in the interest of the rich, government was shamed into giving up another war-tax that pressed on the poor. This was the malt-tax, yielding over two millions. A large curtailment in the military and naval establishments of the country offered the ready means of cutting down expenditure in a yet heavier proportion than the lessening of income. But ministers and their master, the regent, elated by their triumph over Bonaparte, and proud of the pre-eminent position with which the nation had thereby become invested in the eyes of Europe, were now strenuously bent on making their country a great military as well as naval power. The regent's speech insisted on the maintenance of an army, not simply adequate to "the security of the country," but also "suitable to its station and high character among the European powers." When the estimates came under discussion, ministers endeavoured to cover the new aspiration for military as well as maritime supremacy under the plea that not only our rank among the powers of Europe, but also the recent extensions of our colonial empire, demanded a corresponding addition to the old peace establishments. Despite vehement protests that the distressed state of the nation and the quiet aspect of foreign affairs alike withheld any justification for the maintenance of a large force, ministers carried their estimates for one hundred and seventy-six thousand six hundred men, including the thirty thousand stationed in France. The proposal of a military force of twenty-five thousand for Ireland was excused and justified by Mr. Peel as indispensable in the disturbed and distracted state of the country, which was at that time, as often before, suffering under a systematic violation of all law. The navy underwent a larger proportional reduction than the sister service, but even it was maintained at the high level represented by thirty-three thousand men.

The landed interest vented its discontent at the prospect that corn would fail to maintain a sufficiently high price in the face of importations on the existing scale of duties, and dwelt unblushingly on the need of further protection to home agriculture against the cheaper grain from countries less heavily burdened with taxation. A Mr. Western—the very name smacks of the old Tory squirearchy, impenetrable to arguments that told against their interests —moved a series of fourteen resolutions, having for their object to keep up high prices on all food crops. He and his sturdy chorus of country squires held against all comers, "that excessive taxation renders it necessary to give protection to all articles the produce of our own soil, against similar articles the growth of foreign countries." A further exposition of the political creed of this sturdy rural phalanx insisted that "the country must be forced to feed its own population. No partial advantage to be derived from commerce could compensate for any deficiency in this respect. The true principle of national prosperity was an absolute prohibition of the importation of foreign agricultural produce, except in extreme cases." However much a Tory ministry may have sympathized with the landed and agricultural interest in the attempt to shut out foreign grain, and thus keep up rents at the high level to which war prices had raised them, the state of affairs among the unrepresented and discontented masses of the people, bade them halt for the present with the corn-law of 1815, as sufficiently hostile to cheap bread.

A message from the regent, on the 2nd of March, acquainted both Houses that a marriage contract had been concluded between his only daughter, the Princess Charlotte, and Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. As the match was known to be one of affection, and altogether independent of state policy, the announcement gave unqualified satisfaction. Parliament voted the munificent provision of 60,000*l.* per annum as the joint allowance of the illustrious pair, the whole to be continued in favour of the princess should she survive her husband, and 50,000*l.* to her consort if he outlived her. The marriage took place early in May, and was welcomed everywhere with the liveliest demonstrations of public approbation. The duke of Gloucester married soon afterwards his cousin, the Princess Mary, fourth daughter of the king. The prince regent, meanwhile, shared none of the popularity which clung about the newly-married princess royal. Her unaffected gracefulness and benignity won all hearts, and attracted the fondest anticipations of her future happy reign as queen of England; while her father was fast estranging himself from the affections of even the most loyally disposed, by his besotted addiction to luxurious and licentious pleasures, and his indifference to the distress and sufferings which were now spreading through the length and breadth of the three kingdoms. From early summer onwards to the close of the year, the increasing privations of the working classes—owing to scarcity of employment, a bad harvest, the high price of food, and a general stagnation in home and foreign trade—became a fruitful source of agitation, turbulence, and destructive violence. A variety of influences combined to bring about the depressed condition of the industrial ranks. Fortunately for posterity, too often lost sight of in transactions in which it is chiefly concerned, government had enormously curtailed those branches of expenditure that upheld a variety of employments and industries. Dockyards, arsenals, victualling yards, and the various other establishments concerned in the equipment and sustentation of fleets and armies, were now on a reduced scale, and some four hundred thousand operatives, artificers, labourers, soldiers, militia-men, and sailors, were suddenly thrown on the open labour market at a time when other causes were depressing it beyond all previous example. British mercantile shipping had gained by the long war a virtual monopoly in the carrying trade, which had now to be shared by many rivals. Manufacture and exportation had been pushed to rash extremes in anticipation of the opening of the ports of Europe, so that foreign markets were now glutted with British goods before the impoverished populations, labouring under the same trying state of transition and reaction with ourselves, were prepared to purchase. Fabrics from the looms of our manufacturing towns, the hardware and cutlery of Sheffield and Birmingham, together with all sorts of other British goods, the products of factories, workshops, foundries, and forges, were now selling in the ports of Europe and America below the prices in home markets. In agricultural enterprise there was a similar dislocation, though its full effects were not so suddenly apparent. War prices had encouraged the culture of inferior lands, which absorbed an amount of capital out of proportion to the probable returns in a time of peace Such lands dropped out of tillage into pasture, and threw more labourers into a contracted area of employment. The miseries resulting from lack of remunerative work, aggravated by a sudden rise in the price of all the necessaries of life, engendered a widespread discontent that quickly found expression in tumultuous meetings for the discussion of grievances and the discovery of remedies. Mischievous demagogues turned to account a time so rife in the elements of resistance to established forms of social order and political organization. Machinery was denounced as the enemy of human labour. The equal rights of all in the land and its produce became a favourite doctrine of agitators, who drew their inspiration from French communist writers. Agricultural labourers in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Huntingdonshire, burnt or broke up threshing-machines and other farm implements. They also destroyed mills, granaries, ricks, and barns, and helped themselves from any accessible stores of food. The plundering extended, in the fen districts, to the stock-in-trade of butchers, bakers, publicans, and every shop where food or drink was to be had. Some rioters at Ely lost their lives in a collision with the constabulary and military; many others were taken and brought to trial, several of whom suffered the penalty of death, and others were sentenced to transportation. In the midland counties the factory operatives again made war on cotton-spinning machinery and stocking-frames, after the fashion of the Luddite raids, several years before. The colliers, foundry-men, and miners of South Wales, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire, under the same stoppage of industrial enterprise which afflicted other trades, added their demonstrations to the prevalent causes of general alarm. The ferment in London found vent in monster meetings, in one of which, held at Spa Fields early in December, it was resolved to make a sudden onset on the Tower, and carry off the stores of arms known to be deposited there. The mob made a visit to the Tower, but the glistening bayonets of a small party of the guards, and the wholesome dread of a musketry volley, deterred them from their rash intent. Turning their backs upon the grim old fortress, they marched through the main streets of the city, and helped themselves to arms from several gunsmiths' shops. One of their leaders, named Watson, fired at and mortally wounded a shopkeeper who offered some obstruction to the pillage. The lord mayor and aldermen, after some ineffectual exhortations to the rioters, urging a quiet dispersion, brought the military on the scene, scared away the noisy assemblage from the Royal Exchange, made some captures, and broke up the gathering. Watson eluded pursuit and escaped to America, but his father and another of the captured ringleaders were brought to trial and executed. Large subscriptions were raised for the relief of impoverished workmen, but the number of sufferers was too great for effectual help from private beneficence, so the pressure on the poor-rates became excessive. In many of the meetings of distressed operatives, orators of their own order were not slow to contrast their poverty with the luxury and pomp of the opulent classes. In descanting on the notorious fact that the rich were growing richer while the poor were becoming poorer, all the blame of this increasing inequality of social condition was laid on the shoulders of government, which was charged with grinding the industrious under the weight of excessive taxes, to be squandered in prodigal salaries, enormous sinecures, extravagant and unmerited pensions, and lavish outlay on the several royal households. Many of the meetings were turned to account to petition parliament against abuses, and urge a radical reform in the whole system of the constitution, on the basis of universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments. This phase of the popular agitation had the support of the advanced liberal party, who promoted the establishment of Hampden clubs in all parts of the country, to advocate parliamentary reform. The metropolitan club under this title was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, a house associated with similar political movements from the earliest days of the French revolution, and numbering among its principal speakers, Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Cochrane, Cobbett, and Major Cartwright. Cheap publications were brought to bear on their cause, chief among which was Cobbett's "Political Register," reduced in November, 1816, from the price of a shilling and a halfpenny to twopence. Its circulation went up to fifty thousand copies at the reduced price. Mingled with its ultra-radical politics were plenty of sensible teachings, addressed to the working classes, on the folly of fighting against machinery. It also taught them in effect to rely on no other force than reason, instead of resorting to the argument of physical compulsion, in which they were sure to be weaker than their rulers. A few days after the collision between the civic authorities, aided by soldiers and police, and the Spa Fields rioters, the corporation of London addressed to the prince regent a petition or memorial, ascribing the widespread distress to wasteful expenditure in a long course of unjust and ruinous wars, and attributing these fatal blunders of government to the "corrupt and inadequate state of the representation of the people in parliament." Such language from such a quarter must have fallen with startling effect on the court and cabinet; for the city had, through a lengthened period, given a staunch support to the measures of government, despite occasional quarrels and entanglements on questions of privilege.

In the summer of this year a well concerted and successfully executed naval enterprise against the chief stronghold of the piratical states occupying the African shores of the Mediterranean served to divert in some measure the national mind from grievances and turmoils at home. In the congress of Vienna attention had been drawn by several of the minor powers of Europe to the systematic depredations committed on their commerce by the corsairs of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. These nominal dependencies of Turkey had grown into predatory powers, whose rulers derived a large income from ransoms extorted from captives, usually the subjects of states not possessed of naval force sufficient to compel respect to their flags. Captives for whom ransom could not be obtained were reduced to the condition of slaves, and subjected to the extremity of hardship at the hands of barbarous masters. To the disgrace of Europe, and to the especial discredit of the leading maritime power, this practice had gone on for ages without any adequate check. Pious and benevolent men in various countries of Europe, and particularly in England, had bequeathed property for the redemption of Christian slaves from captivity in the Barbary states. During the great war, when few flags but the British covered the trade of the Mediterranean, the sea-robbers, or corsairs, enjoyed few opportunities of following their infamous trade. But the renewed freedom of commerce that followed the peace of Paris in 1815 tempted the pirates to fresh depredations. It was thereupon felt incumbent on England, as the greatest maritime power, to wipe off the reproach that she cared more for the sufferings of negroes than of Italians, Spaniards, Ionians, and the other states in alliance with or under the protection of her flag. The Americans had already, in 1815, chastised an audacious attempt of the Algerines to subject them to the treatment with which Sicilians and Romans were cruelly familiar. Their revenge, however, went no further than the exaction of compensation for injury inflicted on themselves. They made no stipulations in behalf of other nations. Early in 1816, Lord Exmouth, the British naval commander on the Mediterranean station, was instructed to visit in succession Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, for the purpose of demanding, in the first instance, security for the commerce of the Ionian Islands and other states in alliance with Great Britain; and next to obtain, by persuasion if possible, a general abolition of Christian slavery. As secondary objects of his mission, he was further charged with negotiating treaties of peace and commerce between the Barbary states on the one hand, and several of the weaker European states on the other; among them Naples and Sardinia, both recent sufferers from piratical attacks on their commerce. Tunis and Tripoli yielded prompt obedience to all the requirements of the British admiral. Not so the dey of Algiers. Confident in the strength of the defences that girdled his nest of habitual depredators, he haughtily refused any concession beyond the immediate release of Ionian captives without ransom, and the ratification of a treaty with Naples and Sardinia, the former to pay five hundred dollars, and the latter three hundred dollars, for each liberated slave belonging to them respectively. As the admiral's first instructions scarcely empowered him to proceed to extremities, and as the naval force then at his disposal was scarcely adequate to clenching the arguments of moral suasion with the irresistible logic of crushing broadsides, he pocketed some affronts very trying to the nerves of naval commanders, made careful observations on the number and position of the forts, batteries, and other defences, and bore away for England to report the state of affairs, and take further instructions. He had barely quitted the Mediterranean before the Algerines, in an explosion of fanaticism against all who professed the Christian faith, attacked and murdered the crews of several Italian vessels, despite the protection of the British flag. The remonstrances of the British consul were punished by the immediate imprisonment of himself, his family, and such of his countrymen as were ashore. On these events, and the tenour of the recent negotiations with the dey becoming known in England, there arose a general demand for prompt and effectual measures against the great stronghold of piracy. Lord Exmouth was now invested with ample powers, and supplied with all the ships he deemed needful for the duty of enforcing reparation, or else inflicting such a chastisement as would not soon be forgotten. He took five ships of the line, as many frigates, and eleven smaller craft, including four bomb-vessels. This fleet entered the harbour of Algiers on the 27th of August, accompanied by a Dutch squadron of five frigates and a corvette, that obtained permission to join the expedition. The dey had gathered forty thousand troops, including the janissaries from distant garrisons, to man his numerous forts and other defences. The land batteries were computed to include about a thousand guns, with which were to co-operate the dey's naval force, consisting of four frigates, five corvettes, and about two score gunboats. A flag of truce went in with the demand of the British government for the instant release of its subjects then in durance, with an apology and recompense to the sufferers; the liberation of all Christian captives, of whatever nationality; the repayment of the sum lately exacted by the dey on the liberation of Italian slaves; and the immediate stoppage of hostilities with Holland. No answer was returned, but there was no room to doubt that the Algerines had elected the risks of a bombardment in reliance on their powers of resistance. The English admiral had studied and mastered his problem months before, and each of his ships bore up to its appointed station as methodically as if Algiers harbour had been a familiar home port. The fight raged from half-past two till dusk. The Algerine guns were for the most part silenced, their fortifications demolished, and their floating defences sunk or burnt. The arsenals, storehouses, and a large portion of the town, shared the same fate. The fleet now hauled off to await daylight, before finishing its task, for several batteries on heights behind the town were not yet silenced. The attack consumed two hundred and eighteen tons of powder, fifty thousand cannon-balls, weighing more than five hundred tons of iron, besides nine hundred shells and rockets. At dawn of day on the 28th a flag of truce conveyed to the dey the same demand as before, with an intimation that in case of refusal the work of destruction must again go forward. He accepted the terms. Within a few days twelve hundred captives were restored to freedom, making in all more than three thousand, including those released on Lord Exmouth's former visit. The casualties, in proportion to the numbers engaged in this brilliant affair, were exceptionally heavy: those of the British exceeded eight hundred in killed and wounded, and those of the Dutch were sixty-five. The loss in the thronged ranks of the Algerines must have been enormous: it was roughly reckoned at seven thousand; the first broadside from the British admiral's flag-ship was said to have swept about five hundred men from the mole and its defences. The exploit was hailed with the liveliest expressions of joy among all the maritime states of Europe, not less on account of the glorious cause in which it was undertaken, than of the sturdy valour and brilliant success that marked the performance. Some few years later the inveterate marauders ventured on their old practices at the expense of the French, and thus provoked a revenge that eventuated in the conquest and annexation of their country.

The great naval success at Algiers, resulting in the abolition of Christian slavery, furnished the almost solitary gleam of brightness in the general sombre tone of the regent's speech, at the opening of the session of 1817. The patience and fortitude of the distressed operatives received a complimentary notice. With this was coupled regret that it passed the power of government to remove the distress out of which the discontent arose. His royal highness, however, found one ground of congratulation in the belief that the service of the ensuing year would be provided for without making any addition to the burdens of the people. "The attempts which had been made to take advantage of the distresses of the country, for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition and violence," were to be put down by stern measures. On his return from opening parliament the regent was assailed with rough tokens of the popular belief that prevalent miseries sprang from the sins of the ruling powers. There was much hissing and hooting at the royal cortege, and then a crashing of the windows of the royal carriage told of the hurling of missiles, or, as some alleged, the firing of shots. No ball was found, nor was any report of fire-arms heard, but several of the alarmed attendants felt convinced that an air-gun had been aimed at the regent. Both Houses, on hearing of the outrage, postponed all other business until the following day, when a joint address from them congratulated his royal highness that he had escaped unhurt. A proclamation was forthwith issued, offering a large reward for the discovery of the criminal, who, however, was never detected. The debate on the address afforded scope to the opposition for trenchant comment on the lavish expenditure still maintained on swollen establishments and needless armaments. Amendments insisting on further retrenchments and reduced taxation were, however, defeated by large majorities. That these protests made nevertheless a deep impression was promptly shown in the voluntary surrender, by the regent and the ministry, of a substantial portion of their respective emoluments. So long as present embarrassments pressed upon the country, the prince, "in sympathy with the sufferings of a generous people," engaged to forego 50,000*l.* per annum from that part of the civil list which defrayed his personal expenses, and every member of the cabinet relinquished, within the same limits of time, one-tenth of his official income. Shamed by the ceaseless comments showered on sinecurists, Lord Camden now gave up the enormous perquisites attaching to his patent office of teller of the exchequer, amounting to an average of 13,000*l.* per annum. He still retained the fixed salary of 2700*l.*, though the office was merely nominal. Mr. Ponsonby, a prominent member of opposition, relinquished at the same time his large pension as ex-chancellor of Ireland. These good examples, however, found no imitators until long after, when Lord Sidmouth, in his declining years, threw up some heavy emoluments to which no duties were attached. While the House was still in a saving mood, a committee appointed to report on income and expenditure recommended the abolition of many sinecure offices, but without detriment to the interests of present holders of these invidious forms of income. Most inopportunely for the thrifty movement, the speaker, Mr. Abbott, no longer equal to the duties of his office, became in May a claimant on the generous bounty of the House. With his peerage as Lord Colchester he gained the further splendid reward of 4000*l.* per annum on his own life and that of his next successor, somewhat, it may be supposed, to his own astonishment, in the face of the prevalent and very reasonable outcry then heard everywhere against the squandering of public money His vacant post in the Commons fell to Mr. Charles Manners Sutton, whose father was at that time head of the Church.

On the 3rd of February a royal message, accompanied by documents of an alarming character, invited the immediate attention of parliament to the dangers threatening public tranquillity and the security of government from "certain practices, meetings, and combinations in the metropolis and in various parts of the kingdom," all tending "to bring into hatred and contempt the whole system of our laws and institutions." Secret committees of both Houses sifted these allegations, and their reports, issued in the third week of February, expressed the alarming conviction that conspiracies of a seditious and even treasonable character were rife in all the great centres of population. Secret associations, bearing the name of "Spencean Philanthropists," had lately sprung up among the working classes, having for their object the destruction of existing political institutions, the cancelling of the national debt, the confiscation of landed and other property, and a redistribution of the same among the people at large. The new sect of visionaries took their name from Spence, a Yorkshire schoolmaster, whose teachings seem to have comprised a mixture of principles since known as French socialism and English chartism. The Hampden clubs, started professedly for the promotion of parliamentary reform by constitutional agencies, became tinctured from the first with the visionary aims of the Spenceans, and both sets now fell under a cloud of irretrievable discredit, from the undoubted complicity of many of their most active members in schemes of revolutionary violence. The parliamentary reports urged that government and the local authorities should be forthwith armed with extraordinary powers to enable them to cope with impending dangers. In pursuance of this recommendation—framed to further the foregone conclusion of ministers, yet certainly not without much warrant in current signs of the times—parliament assented to four restrictive bills, resembling Pitt's gagging and coercive Acts of 1795. The first of these suspended the protection of the Habeas Corpus Act, thus placing all obnoxious and suspected persons within easy reach of the arm of authority—a hazardous concession when, as in those days, a ministry of absolutist leanings bears sway. Two other measures placed public meetings and political associations under control of justices of the peace, and revived former stringent penalties against tampering with the allegiance of soldiers and sailors. Finally, the special securities of the king's person, framed in days when hungry and angry crowds gave rude tokens of disaffection to royalty, were now extended to the person of the regent also. Many petitions flowed into both Houses against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the other proposed encroachments on the ordinary safeguards of the liberty of the subject. The most objectionable of these newly-furbished weapons, originally shaped and hammered on Pitt's legislative forge, was that which placed freedom of discussion in public meetings under the control of justices of the peace, whose prepossessions were sure to be hostile to the sifting of political grievances. But some disturbances, with the risk of yet worse outbreaks, scared the House into prompt acceptance of the ministerial programme. Some of the more conspicuous agitators and leaders in the secret associations were forthwith seized under the special statutory powers thus conferred on the authorities. The elder Watson, Thistlewood, Preston, Hooper, and Keene, gained the distinction of quarters in the Tower, under a charge of treason. In the manufacturing districts demagogues of the same stamp were pounced upon and lodged in jail. But alarming movements among the unemployed and suffering operatives went forward nevertheless, several of which, to the indelible disgrace of more than one member of the government, were afterwards proved to have been fomented, if not suggested, by informers and emissaries in the pay of the home office. Early in March the factory operatives at Manchester and its vicinity assembled, to the number of eight or ten thousand, with the purpose of marching to London, there to lay before the regent in person a statement of their distresses, and to ask at his hands, in despair of any concession from parliament as then constituted, a redress of political grievances. These poverty-stricken weavers were unarmed, and it does not appear that they contemplated insurrectionary violence; but under a natural alarm at the risks from such an assemblage, the magistrates, with the help of a body of constables and some troops of dragoons, dispersed the throng, and secured a number of the more prominent promoters of the movement. Some hundreds of the proposed multitudinous deputation to the regent actually tramped onwards towards London, carrying at their backs blankets, rugs, or other covering for a bivouac in the fields at night, with bundles containing their too slender commissariat supplies. Hunger, exposure, and fatigue, rather than the actual resistance of the authorities, frustrated the design, and the dwindling ranks of the "Blanketeering Expedition"—as it was quaintly and derisively named—made no progress beyond Derbyshire. In many towns of the manufacturing districts less innocent projects were rife among distressed workmen, in not a few instances, as before remarked, under the direct instigation of wretches in the pay of government. These emissaries or spies stimulated the famishing operatives into sedition and riot, and thus furnished the authorities with the warrant for bringing the military into play. An intelligent artisan named Bamford, in his interesting autobiography, the "Life of a Radical," throws abundant light on the proceedings of a set of these infamous informers, who under the direction of the notorious Oliver, the prime witness in subsequent proceedings for punishing the dupes they had snared into crime, traversed the manufacturing districts and fanned the flame of discontent. Bamford was one among a number of working men arrested in Lancashire and sent to London after the "blanketeering expedition." He was examined by the privy council and by Lord Sidmouth in person, but got off with a caution. On his return home, in May, he found Oliver busy among his acquaintance, persuading them to take part in a rising in Yorkshire, and deluding them with the pretence that he was a delegate from London. He represented that there were as many as a hundred and fifty thousand members of secret associations ready to rise in the metropolis, and only waiting for the co-operation of their brethren in the great centres of industry in the northern and midland counties. Bamford avers: "The stranger introduced amongst the discontented classes of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, who first inveigled them into treasonable associations, then to armed insurrection, and then betrayed them—that stranger, that betrayer, was Oliver, the spy!" After the outbreak in question, which was quelled with the utmost ease by a score of soldiers, the secret committees of both Houses made further investigations. Their reports told of depositions and revelations made by informers who themselves had taken part in the plots which they denounced for the sake of gain—who in fact had tempted and instigated to crime for the very purpose of betraying their accomplices. Mr. Ponsonby, a member of the Commons' committee, in expressing to the House his dissent from the conclusions of his colleagues who urged a further suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, explained in detail Oliver's practice of covering the craft of a paid spy under the pretence of being a conspirator against the government. He added, with an indignant protest, that the infamous Oliver had been in communication with the home office, and was unquestionably a paid agent of government during and after his tour in the disaffected districts, where he excited starving men to crime, and then guided the vengeful arm of the law against them. Several other speakers mercilessly reprobated any approach towards a secret alliance between the executive and those base wretches who stirred up sedition in order to profit by betraying their deluded victims. Ministers insisted that a regard for the public safety obliged them to accept offers of service in the detection of crime, without too nice a regard to the character of the parties volunteering the information. They carried their point, the further suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for another half year, but failed to clear themselves of the odium which in England must ever cling to the employment of the execrable agency of paid spies and informers. The home secretary, Lord Sidmouth, whose name is most prominently associated with these un-English practices, gained unenviable distinction, somewhat earlier in the session, by an abortive attempt to curtail the freedom of the press. Smarting under newspaper criticisms, which he deemed libellous, yet hesitating to prosecute in the old way, with the risks of failure to extract a conviction from a jury, he came to the conclusion that the cumbrous process of an action in the higher courts, and the agency of judge and jury, might be dispensed with, and that a more summary and certain process could be brought to bear on every sort of objectionable publication. He addressed a circular to the lords-lieutenant of counties, acquainting them that the law officers of the crown were of opinion that it rested within the competency of justices of the peace, on information being laid before them charging any person with the selling of printed matter of a libellous character, to issue their warrant for the apprehension of the person so offending, and to hold the offender to bail against any repetition of his offence, or in default of such bail to commit to prison. In those days the term "libellous" bore a wide significance, such as would have brought within the meshes of the law every newspaper or other publication that indulged in criticisms distasteful to the authorities. The lords-lieutenant, all nominees of the Tory government, were not likely to be slack in giving effect to the instruction from head-quarters that directed them to put in action, through the benches of magistrates within their respective jurisdictions, this new engine of repression. Most of the rural justices, and indeed of the urban magistracy also, were red-hot Tories, sharing the deep-seated hostility of their order towards any meddling with the existing framework of government in church and state. These, then, were to be forthwith arrayed against the free action of the press, and on their individual opinion to decide what was or was not a libel, at the instance of any common informer, and at their discretion to commit or hold to bail the party accused of selling or publishing any so-called libellous writings. Country squires, whose decisions were extremely liable to be biassed by wilfulness, religious animosities, political rancour, unneighbourly ill-will, or personal spite, were to be entrusted with the power of giving off-hand decisions, alike on niceties of literary construction and on subtleties of law, without the intervention of a jury. The attempt, of course, was too monstrous to succeed. It collapsed under the weight of argument against its lawfulness and policy. Earl Grey in the Lords and Sir Samuel Romilly in the Commons, pointed out that the power now claimed in behalf of justices had neither been conferred by statute nor recognised by any decision of the superior courts; that the point was confessedly doubtful, otherwise ministers would not have referred the question to the law officers of the crown; that until 1808, even the judges of the higher courts were not empowered to commit or hold to bail persons charged with the publication of libels; and that the secretary of state had no more right to interfere with the discretion of justices of the peace than to dictate to judges of the superior courts in questions of construction of the statutes. The crown, in declaring the law through its own executive officers, had encroached upon the province of the judges. To these weighty legal arguments were added the obvious objection, that few members of the magistracy possessed the aptitude required in applying the law in cases affecting so large a question as the freedom of the press. In the face of this opposition in parliament, and of the widespread indignation vented in the press, the contemplated raid on obnoxious writings was in effect abandoned. But the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act proved hardly less efficacious, while it lasted, in the hindrances it offered to free discussion, than the proposed gagging process which Lord Sidmouth was reluctantly obliged to renounce. Some ardent reformers were scared into silence, concealment, or flight, in dread of the heavy hand of the home secretary. William Cobbett betook himself to America, leaving behind him, in his widely-circulated "Register," a forcible statement of the reason for his flight. "I do not retire," he said, "from a combat with the attorney-general; but from a combat with a dungeon, deprived of pen, ink, and paper. A combat with the attorney-general is quite unequal enough; that, however, I would have encountered. I know too well what a trial by special jury is; yet that, or any sort of trial, I would have stayed to face. So that I could be sure of a trial of whatever sort, I would have run the risk; but against the absolute power of imprisonment, without even a hearing, for time unlimited, in any jail in the kingdom, without the use of pen, ink, and paper, and without communication with any soul but the keepers—against such a power it would have been worse than madness to attempt to strive."

Some six hundred petitions, embracing a million and a half signatures in favour of parliamentary reform and reduction in public expenditure, were presented in the course of the session. One of these, from the Spa Fields meeting, bore twenty-four thousand signatures, and another from Manchester had thirty thousand. Sir Francis Burdett presented the Leeds and other petitions, praying for annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and dwelling in some instances upon the huge waste of public money in pensions, sinecures, and the various forms of lavish outlay in the service of the state. On the 20th of May the radical baronet moved for a committee on the subject of these petitions, and though beaten, as was to be expected, carried with him seventy-seven votes.

Towards the close of the session, in a discussion on the state of the foreign trade of the kingdom, Mr. Brougham broached some advanced notions on the impolicy of the navigation laws and other restrictions on commerce. His speech on this occasion is held to have laid the groundwork of the repeal, at a later date, of a cumbrous mass of antiquated statutes that hampered the growth of the very interests they were designed to cherish. "The period," he argued, "was now arrived when, the war being closed, and prodigious changes having taken place throughout the world, it becomes absolutely necessary to enter on a careful but fearless revision of our whole commercial system; that we may be enabled safely, yet promptly, to eradicate those faults which the lapse of time has occasioned or displayed; to retrace our steps where we shall find that we have deviated from the line of true policy; to adjust and accommodate our laws to the change of circumstances; to abandon many prejudices alike antiquated and senseless, unsuited to the advanced age in which we live, and unworthy of that sound judgment which distinguishes this nation." Before the prorogation, some cheering tokens of recovery in financial prospects drew from the chancellor of the exchequer a flattering forecast, extending to the following year. He believed the Bank of England would be in a position in July, 1818, to resume cash payments, and take in the whole of its discredited paper issues. The funds had lately gone up twelve per cent., and the Bank had of its own accord reduced its paper circulation by five millions of pounds sterling.

In several of the trials of prisoners charged with high crimes and misdemeanours, government sustained discreditable and damaging failures in the higher courts. Watson, Thistlewood, and the other Spa Fields notorieties, detained since February in the Tower on the charge of treason, owed their escape to the disgust of the jury at the means taken to secure evidence. The principal witness against the prisoners was a spy named Castles, in the pay of the home office This man had insinuated himself into the confidence of the conspirators, and acted all along the part of an accomplice, solely for the blood money which was to reward his diabolical services. He deposed to acts of treason and conspiracy that it was hardly possible to doubt, and which must have ensured a conviction, but that the cross-examination by the counsel for the defence exposed the infamy of the espionage system, and thereby fixed on the chief witness for the crown so deep a loathing in the minds of the jury, that they regarded his hireling testimony as worthless, and in the absence of better evidence acquitted the prisoners. A special commission sat in the autumn at Derby, for the trial of the many offenders concerned in the abortive insurrectionary attempts made in the adjacent country in the month of June. Twenty-three received sentence of death, of whom, however, three only, Brandreth, Ludlam, and Turner, were executed. The other nineteen suffered minor penalties. The prosecution against many of their fellows was abandoned for lack of better evidence than that of the infamous Oliver, and the tools employed by him. As the year wore on, a slight revival of trade assisted the coercive action of the authorities in subduing political effervescence among the masses. Most of the offenders imprisoned in the spring and summer were released without being brought to trial. The exposure of the espionage system went far to quiet the alarm of the middle and higher classes, whose exaggerated fears of an impending revolutionary movement had scared them out of all sympathy with the popular claim for representation in parliament.

One more remarkable government prosecution marked the close of the year. William Hone, a bookseller in the city, issued among his other literary wares a series of political squibs, his own compositions, bearing the objectionable form of parodies on the liturgy of the church. In these publications he ridiculed members of the cabinet and other officials in church and state, and lashed with an unsparing hand the many flagrant abuses and corruptions which were the talk of the time, and formed undeniable blemishes in the working of government. He was arrested early in the year, on the charge of blasphemous and seditious libel, but he was not brought to trial until December. Hone conducted his own defence with remarkable adroitness and wonderful force of argument, intermingled with powerful bursts of genuine eloquence. The trial riveted public attention, and gained for the accused a wide-spread sympathy. He was looked upon as the victim of a vengeful prosecution on the part of despotic ministers, who sought by every available device to fetter free comment on the administration of public affairs. There were three separate indictments, each charging Hone with bringing the Christian religion into contempt, by profane libel on the liturgy of the established church. The defendant relied chiefly on the plea that publications like his own had received the negative sanction of uniform toleration. He cited numerous instances of similar parodies which had never been made the subject of criminal charge against their authors; and contended that his, like the other cases, were exclusively political in their bearing, and not aimed against religion. Canning, a member of the government, had in bygone years published, in the "Anti-Jacobin," similar parodies in ridicule of liberal political aspirations, yet it had never been imputed to him that he brought religion into contempt. And so of a long line of celebrities in the world of letters, politics, and theology, whose productions the pertinacious bookseller freely quoted, to the infinite amusement of a large auditory. The chief-justice on the second day sternly bade the defendant not to trespass on the time of the court with endless quotations that only inculpated others without anywise excusing his own offence, and on several other occasions interrupted the defence with angry rebukes and animadversions. Hone, however, held on to his chosen line of defence with the coolest self-possession, and proved more than a match, in the severity and power of his retorts, for the awful chief justice. On the third day, roused to redoubled energy by the efforts of the attorney-general and the judges to drive him from his sole, but most effective line of defence, and animated by the marked sympathy of the bystanders who thronged the court, the humble bookseller utterly discomfited the dictatorial judge by a tremendous rebuke for the lack of temper, judicial calmness, and dispassionate bearing which had marked his lordship's conduct. Then turning to the special jury, he added: "It is you, gentlemen, who are trying me to-day. You are my judges. His lordship sits there to receive your verdict. I will not say what his lordship did yesterday, but trust his lordship will to-day give his opinion coolly and dispassionately, without using either expression or gesture which could be construed as conveying an entreaty to the jury to think as he did. I hope the jury will not be beseeched into a verdict of guilty." In vain the crown lawyers endeavoured to rivet attention on the religious aspects of the case. Their unctuous talk of the profanity and blasphemy contained in the parodies failed to hide the fact that the real offence which the prosecution aimed to punish was one not named in either of the indictments. The verdict of "Not guilty," pronounced by the three separate special juries that dealt respectively with the three distinct indictments, expressed the prevalent feeling of the time, that hostile comment on the conduct of ministers was the crime against which they and their law advisers were fighting. Their defeat gave very general satisfaction. Hone's triumph over the crown lawyers and the bench brought him substantial benefits. A public subscription, amounting to 3000*l.*, was presented to him, in acknowledgment of his well-timed services in the cause of free political discussion, and in sympathy with his prolonged imprisonment before trial. His future publications, which, by-the-bye, were in better taste than his parodies on devotional writings, commanded an extensive sale. The baffled chief-justice, Lord Ellenborough, felt his discomfiture so keenly that it is thought to have hastened his end, and it certainly shortened his official career. The unseemly violence of his temper and his overbearing demeanour had long before gained for him the epithet of *the angry judge.* The censures now heaped upon his obstinacy and irascibility, and the widespread exultation over his defeat in the interchange of reproofs and rebukes between himself and the obscure bookseller, filled up the measure of his wrathful vexation. He resigned his high judical post on the day after the trial, and died a year after his retirement.

The untimely and sudden death of the heiress presumptive to the throne, the amiable and accomplished Princess Charlotte, added a heavy national sorrow to this year of grief and gloom and inquietude. She was not yet twenty-two years of age, and had been married only a year and a half, when on the 6th of November, 1817, she sank under the exhaustion of her first accouchement. Thus closed a life in which an empire's hopes were fondly centered, to the grief and consternation of millions who had already yielded in advance the homage of loyal hearts that rejoiced in the anticipation of her coming reign. Her offspring, too, had perished before its birth, and serious misgivings now spread abroad that the Brunswick or Hanoverian dynasty would come to an end on the demise of George III.'s sons and daughters, most of whom were no longer young. It could not be supposed the prince-regent would have another child; several of his brothers and sisters were still unmarried, and indifferent, it seemed, to the attractions of wedded life; and so unfruitful had been the other royal marriages, that there now remained no single grandchild in the line of succession to the aged monarch.

The speech from the throne at the opening of parliament, on the 27th of January, 1818, gave utterance in the first place to the regent's and the nation's sorrow for the death of the Princess Charlotte. Then followed words of gratulation on the many signs that the tide of national prosperity was again in full flow after the late terrible depression. A concluding paragraph recommended that a grant of public money should be made for the building of additional churches, "to meet the increased population of the country, and to promote the religious and moral habits of the people." There was no attempt to carry an amendment to the address in either House, but the opposition had much to say on the exaggerated or pretended alarm of government in connection with the recent discontents and disturbances. It was insisted that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act ought not to last a single day longer, since ministers were now boasting of the flourishing and peaceful state of the working classes, whose murmurs and demonstrations of discontent had lately been turned to the utmost account in excuse for violations of the constitution. There had been, it was urged, a series of arbitrary imprisonments and tyrannical prosecutions, for which it behoved parliament to exact a strict account at the hands of ministers. The required exculpation was attempted before the close of the first week of the session. Green bags stuffed with masses of papers were sent down to both Houses by royal command, with the proposal for a scrutiny of their contents by secret committees. The mysterious green bags, with their revelations too awful for full publicity, occasioned endless small talk and ridicule. Before the close of the month the two secret committees, in their reports on the green-bag documents, exonerated ministers from blame in the exercise of the arbitrary power with which they had been clothed. It appeared that, under warrants from the home office, forty-four persons had been arrested, who had been dismissed without trial; but that in each instance circumstances of reasonable suspicion justified the arrest, and no warrant had been issued except on information tendered on oath. On the groundwork of these exculpatory reports a Bill of Indemnity was passed, by which ministers were shielded from any action at law on the part of innocent or other sufferers under the recent arbitrary exercise of authority. Canning incurred much unmerited and spiteful censure by a harmless pleasantry into which he was tempted in the course of the debates on this Indemnity Bill. Among petitions presented to the House from persons imprisoned and discharged without trial, was one from William Ogden, a leading promoter of the Manchester demonstrations. His hardships under the alleged grievous oppression, put upon him without any process of law, were made to appear the more reprehensible in consideration of his advanced age and a bodily infirmity under which he had long been a sufferer. After exposing the inventions with which the statement on behalf of the petitioner had been distorted, Canning added: "The case of the revered and ruptured Ogden may be a very fit one to be brought before the Rupture Society; but to ask for it the decision of parliament, is a daring attempt on our credulity." This droll alliterative reference to the age and the infirmity of the petitioner became the text of much foolish denunciation of the supposed heartlessness of the minister who could thus trifle with human affliction. Persevering attempts were made to secure a parliamentary inquiry on the demoralizing espionage system. Ministers, however, defeated every motion in that direction. They were pointedly reminded that they were their own worst enemies if they refused to allow any sifting of transactions which they asserted would, if investigated, assure them an entire acquittal from the slanderous imputations heaped upon them by political rivals.

The project of augmenting the church accommodation of the country at the cost of the imperial exchequer met with next to none of that opposition which in subsequent parliaments would assuredly have frustrated the scheme. The sum of a million sterling was set apart for building churches in new seats of population, chiefly in manufacturing towns and the suburbs of the metropolis.

The risk of a failure in the direct succession to the throne had operated within the royal family circle in the negotiation of quite a batch of marriage alliances, which parliament was now asked to ratify by the customary award of suitable provision for each of the royal pairs. The Duke of Clarence took for his consort the Princess Adelaide Louisa of Saxe-Meiningen. The Duke of Kent married the daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, Mary Louisa Victoria—who was sister to Prince Leopold, the husband of the lamented Princess Charlotte. From this marriage sprang one daughter, destined at no distant date, though little suspected at the time, to fill that throne which popular anticipation had long assigned to the departed Princess Charlotte. The Duke of Cambridge took for his partner the princess of Hesse. Each of these princes now received an additional allowance of 6000*l.* per annum, being the utmost the House of Commons would consent to give, despite the persevering efforts of ministers to secure larger awards. The third daughter of the king married the prince of Hesse-Homburg somewhat before the other royal weddings.

Although three years had now glided by since the close of the great war, ministers were so beset with outcries against the burdens of taxation, and yet so indisposed to reduce expenditure to the level of income, that they even now resorted to large loans to cover the deficit in income. A large portion of the floating debt of sixty-three millions, which ought to have been redeemed out of the taxes of recent years, was now funded, and no one talked of the duty of wiping off old scores.

The Bank of England had engaged to resume cash payments in July this year, but leave was now asked for an extension, until July, 1819, of the restriction in favour of notes. It appeared that the Bank had largely reduced its paper circulation, but that exceptional circumstances were drawing bullion from this country to the continent to an extent that necessitated the further delay now asked. Among the prominent sources of this excessive flow of cash out of the country, were mentioned the large remittances to the continent for Englishmen travelling or resident abroad; the negotiation of a large loan in this country on behalf of the French government; and the drain consequent on our large importations of corn. Then, too, Spain had to be bribed by a subsidy of 400,000*l.*, as the price of her consent to a treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade. Our exacting ally, for whom we had expended a hundred millions during the Peninsular war, claimed this payment under the name of compensation to interests that would suffer by the suppression of the odious traffic. The treaty concluded at this time with Spain and Portugal secured to our cruisers the right of search.

The legislative work accomplished or attempted in this session included several very important social reforms. Mr. Brougham carried a measure for the appointment of a commission to investigate the pecuniary position of all educational charities. The reports of that commission soon furnished evidence of maladministration, misuse, and barefaced spoliation of endowments left for the benefit of the poor. Those revelations proved eminently beneficial in the long run, and assisted the immediate extension of popular education, by concentrating the attention of philanthropists on the crying need for that species of reform. Some attempts were made at amelioration in the poor-law, but nothing material was accomplished beyond sounding the depths, as it were, of a great and growing evil. Romilly again brought forward his scheme for softening the atrocious rigours of the criminal law, basing his measure upon the notorious fact that extreme severity of punishment for minor offences afforded palpable encouragement to crime, inasmuch as the victims of offences to which were attached inordinate penalties refrained for the most part from prosecuting, and the administrators of the law were tempted to apply their ingenuity in devising loopholes of escape rather than of securing convictions. This was the sixth time the Commons had agreed to abolish the death penalty for stealing in shops and warehouses to the value of five shillings and upwards, but the Upper House, under Lord Eldon's lead, again rejected the measure. "You have already," the chancellor told the peers, committed enough of mischief by the 48th of Geo. III. [the Act that abolished capital punishment for the offence of stealing from the person]: for God's sake, take care what you do! Prosecutions are now twenty to one compared with what they were under the old state of the law: there is a bounty given to crime, and crime accordingly increases." In vain the promoters of milder but certain punishment pointed out that it was not the number of crimes, but only of prosecutions, that had increased, and that the main object of a more merciful criminal code was to induce men to prosecute, and thus diminish crime by the increased certainty of its penalties.

The other noteworthy measures that failed this year, but paved the way for more fortunate subsequent efforts, were the bills introduced by Sir Robert Peel, father of the great statesman, for restricting the hours of labour in factories; a bill to amend the bankruptcy law; another to extend the copyright of authors; and sundry schemes of parliamentary reform; all of which were summarily rejected by a government that seemed to have caught the contagion of despotism in the course of their long and close association with the courts and cabinets of continental states. Scotland especially called aloud, but to no purpose, for changes in its flagrantly corrupt municipal and electoral system. The *rôle* of the ministry was antagonism to novelties, a hard and fast adherence to old lines, and unswerving resistance to the party of progress. Nothing was to be conceded, lest more should be demanded. The immemorial right of asylum enjoyed in England by refugees from every form of European tyranny was again limited by this ministry of repression for a further period of two years, under a renewal of the Alien Act. On the 10th of June came the prorogation, followed instantly by a dissolution, for parliament was in the final term of its legal existence, though not so near the end as to call for simultaneous action in the two processes. No such sudden and startling dismissal had occurred since the dispersion of the Oxford parliament, after a single week's sitting in the days of Charles I. Contrary to the forecast of ministers, the elections gave a substantial accession of strength to the opposition. The regent's prorogation speech made the most of the indications of restored prosperity and contentment among the classes whose depressed condition had occasioned the late effervescence. Disturbances at Manchester, Burnley, Stockport, and neighbouring places, very soon betokened that better times were not yet assured, but were still hinging on precarious circumstances. Corn had gone up, thanks to the law checking importations, while the wages of factory operatives were still kept down to the reduced level to which they had fallen in the stagnation of trade in 1816. Strikes and turnouts followed, and the magistracy were obliged to call to their aid the military, to prevent attempts on the part of the rioters to enforce the stoppage of mills where the spinners were willing rather to work on low wages than to face the hardships of none at all.

The opposition had suffered serious diminution in its front-rank men in the short interval since the close of the great war. Whitbread, Sheridan, Horner, and Ponsonby were gone, and before the close of this year the most eminent lawyer of their party was also numbered with the dead. This was Sir S. Romilly, who had been solicitor-general during the brief tenure of office by the Fox-Grenville ministry in 1806, and stood in the certain line for the woolsack in the event of his party coming again into the ascendant. His strenuous exertions in the cause of law reform were only partially successful in his own lifetime, but they laid the foundations of a noble superstructure reared soon after by his able coadjutors or followers. A nervous disorder, occasioned by overwork in his professional avocations as leading barrister at the chancery bar, and aggravated by a recent domestic bereavement, destroyed the balance of his reason, and he committed suicide.

The occupation of France by the allied armies came to a close in the fall of the year. The conditions of the evacuation were settled at a congress held in September at Aix-la-Chapelle. The duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh represented Great Britain; the monarchs of Prussia, Austria, and Russia attended in person. The treaty of Paris had fixed five years as the term of occupation. There was a strong inclination on the part of our allies to abate no single jot in the full atonement due from France for the miseries she had inflicted on other states. But Wellington, whose private interests as generalissimo of the four armies were largely concerned in carrying out the treaty stipulations to their full extent, exerted his powerful mediation in favour of giving back to France, without further delay, her position of independent dignity among the nations, which could only be restored by the withdrawal of foreign troops from her territory. His moderate and disinterested counsels prevailed. Before the close of the year a full reconciliation between France and the other great powers was effected. The congress wound up its work in a declaration, dated the 15th of November, setting forth the common accord existing among their respective governments, having for its object the preservation of the existing state of Europe. The manifesto of this great monarchical confederacy declared: "Henceforth all their efforts would be devoted to the protection of the arts of peace, to the increase of the internal prosperity of their states, and to the awakening of those sentiments of religion and morality whose control had been too much enfeebled by the misfortunes of the times." The high and mighty potentates, and their grave counsellors and conscience-keepers, relieved their laborious deliberations on state affairs by sundry light diversions, among which the most attractive seem to have been the pugilistic encounters of some English professors of fistic science. Gregson, Carter, and Cooper, famous boxers of their day, gained the plaudits of the astute Austrian politician, Prince Metternich, Prince Charles of Prussia, the prince of Salms, and other distinguished foreigners, who cheered the onsets of the English fistic heroes in the great historic hall of Aix-la-Chapelle, where Charlemagne and his chivalry were wont to disport themselves in feudal pageantries. Before the final dispersion of the congress, the sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, and Austria marked their sense of Wellington's great services by promoting him to the same high rank in their respective armies that he held in his own. No other name in history affords a parallel to the almost incredible fact that the illustrious English general, who owed every step in his promotion to merit, and not to birth, occupied the rank of field-marshal for more than the third of a century in four of the greatest armies in the world.

Forgeries on the Bank of England, and the prosecutions arising out of them, had greatly multiplied since the peace. In 1817, the quantities of notes presented for payment and rejected as forged exceeded the sum of 37,000*l*. There were thirty-two capital convictions for the offence in the same year, and ninety-five sentences of transportation for having possession of forged notes. The one pound note was the favourite object of the forger's imitation, on account of the greater facility with which it could be passed in the transactions of daily life than notes of higher value, which in passing from hand to hand are checked and fenced about with precautions not readily counterfeited. Of the seven hundred and ninety-six criminals executed in England and Wales, in the years from 1805 to 1818, for the several offences of forgery, or murder, or burglary, or robbery from the person, the forgers were two hundred and seven, the murderers two hundred and two, the burglars one hundred and ninety-nine, and the thieves of the footpad character one hundred and eighty-eight. More than a third of the offenders executed for forgery were convicted under Bank of England prosecutions. The public at length began to note with disgust the heavy price in human life at which a monetary corporation attempted to secure the inviolability of its paper tokens, and yet utterly failed to lessen the number of offences, despite the increasing frequency of prosecutions. Juries were less and less disposed to convict, especially when several trials established the fact that bank servants were often unable to detect spurious from genuine paper, and that it was impossible for the public to distinguish between the false and the true notes. In December, 1818, two juries refused to convict persons tried before them unless the bank authorities would explain the marks in the structure of their paper which enabled their inspectors and clerks to distinguish the imitation from the genuine article. To discover their private mark would have necessitated the calling in of all notes then in circulation, and a reissue with a new mark. This was out of the question, so the prosecution had to be abandoned. The risk of increased depredations could only be avoided by renouncing the use of the small note, a precaution that was soon afterwards adopted. The return to specie payments was also expedited under pressure of the increasing unwillingness of juries to convict the imitators of one pound notes.

Her majesty Queen Charlotte died on the 17th of November, in the seventy-fifth year of her age, and the fifty-eighth of her connubial life. The event had been expected throughout the preceding half-year, and in anticipation thereof some amendments had been made during the last session in the Regency Bill, under which she was invested with the control of the poor demented king's person and establishment. She had long ago outlived her popularity, and her name had become the butt of not a few unmerited suspicions, which laid on her shoulders the blame of the coercive and repressive policy so long pursued by ministers, savouring rather of the narrow spirit of German governments than of English liberty. This imputation is not well founded; but the staunchest of Queen Charlotte's advocates never insisted that she was amiable, while it can hardly be questioned that she merited the reproach of unqueenly meanness in monetary matters. She was frigid and austere, proud and exacting, narrow in mind, small in person, and the reverse of captivating in her bearing and manners. Her austerity not only scared vice from the court, but effectually repelled the gay, the light, and the frivolous. But all her queenly frowns on the votaries of pleasure failed to inspire her own sons with a love of the decencies and domestic virtues of a well-ordered English home. Despite the untainted surroundings in which they were nurtured, most of them graduated early in the school of profligacy, and thereby terribly discredited the influences of that moral and religious high pressure which pervaded the royal household.

The decease of the queen left her town mansion, Buckingham House, at the disposal of the regent. It was now decided to enlarge and embellish this residence, and adopt it as the palace of future sovereigns, reserving St. James's Palace for levees. Carlton House, till then the residence of the prince of Wales, was at the same time condemned to demolition.

The year 1818 is memorable in the history of our eastern empire. In the summer of that year, British supremacy, cemented by the successful close of a long and harassing war, was proclaimed by the viceroy, and accepted by all the native princes, from the Ganges to the Indus, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. The force of events had brought about this inevitable conclusion, despite the resolute pacific policy which had again and again aimed at a sort of rest-and-be-thankful position. At the dawn of the century, public opinion at home and the most earnest wishes of the company seemed to be dead against further territorial acquisitions, or the extension of any other than mercantile interests in India. In 1805, Lord Cornwallis, after an absence of twelve years, undertook his second administration on a system the reverse of that high and unyielding policy which had given him fame and rank and wealth in his first tenure of the great post of viceroy. The directors, trembling for their revenues, which had been severely strained and crippled during the able and energetic, but warlike and costly administration of the marquis of Wellesley, required Cornwallis to put an end to existing contests at any reasonable sacrifice of territory. Reduction of expenditure, especially the military part of it, was to be the beginning and end of the new policy. Before the new governor-general had been a month in Calcutta, there was a talk of restoring to Holkar and Scindiah the lands and strongholds wrested from them in recent years, and of cancelling numerous alliances with native princes that imposed upon the company the obligation of interposing with military aid in certain contingencies. Lord Lake, the commander-in-chief, offered an earnest and able remonstrance against the timid and sordid line of action which threatened to inflict a fatal blow on British power. Cornwallis died in October, and the senior member of council, Sir George Barlow, on whom devolved provisionally the rank and duties of governor-general, lost no time in making it known that he held strictly to the policy of his predecessor. Further vigorous protests from Lord Lake, setting forth his deep conviction that the neutral and shrinking policy now about to take effect, would lead either to the speedy ruin of English sway in India, or to wars on a large and costly scale to recover lost ground, stayed the yielding hand of the temporary viceroy, but not before much mischief had been done. The home authorities, alarmed by Lord Lake's words of warning, sent out Lord Minto in 1807, as the regularly appointed successor of Lord Cornwallis, under instructions that neither encouraged further conquests nor required any descent from the height to which British power had advanced. Several times during the five years of his stay Lord Minto was sorely tempted to draw the sword against plundering hordes who ravaged large tracts of country bordering on the company's territory. But the financial side of the question, on which instructions from home were inexorable, constrained him to put up with some trying affronts on the part of marauding chieftains whose enterprises grew bolder under the unwonted forbearance of the British. Just as Lord Minto's term of office was drawing to a close, Ameer Khan's hordes of Mahrattas, Patans, and Pindarrees made an inroad on Mirzapore, within the limits of the company's territory, and carried away immense booty. The chastisement of this offence, and of similar defiances of British authority in other quarters, remained as a legacy for the new governor-general, the marquis of Hastings, who assumed the reins of government in 1813. Lord Minto signalized the close of his viceroyalty by the conquest of Java from the Dutch, an enterprise that absorbed so considerable a portion of his available military force, that he had no choice, at the time, but to leave unpunished the insolent invasion of Ameer Khan's roving bands of plunderers. But on retiring from office he placed on record, for the decision of the home authorities, urgent representations of the necessity of a more vigorous line of policy on the part of his successor than had been prescribed for his own guidance. His views were fully supported by reports from the ablest political and military officers then in India, and the result was that the marquis of Hastings went out in 1813 with his hands unfettered. Internecine domestic quarrels among the Mahrattas kept them off the territory of the company for about three years, an interval which was for the most part occupied in war with Nepaul, one of the most arduous that had yet taxed the energies of any British general in India. For years past the Ghorkas, who may be called the Nepaulese highlanders, had become increasingly aggressive against the zemindars in the neighbouring lowland provinces under British protection. Petty chieftains of fastnesses in the mountains made sudden raids for plunder, or to enforce contributions, and then retired to their strongholds in the hills. Remonstrances proved fruitless; occasional inroads were at length succeeded by the assertion of permanent rights on the part of the rajah of Nepaul over the lands invaded by his subjects, the Ghorkas. The Ghorkas proved brave enemies, but a six months' warfare sufficed for their entire subjection, and some of their best battalions were taken into the service of their conquerors. The rajah of Nepaul, however, was not yet sufficiently beaten. He refused the offered conditions of peace, among which the admission of a British resident to his capital seemed the least palatable. Hostilities began afresh in December, 1815, when General Ochterlony led twenty thousand effective troops, including three British regiments, into the heart of Nepaul. A decisive battle in February, 1816, resulting in the defeat and rout of the Nepaulese, ended the war. The conditions scouted before were now readily accepted. Later in the same year, 1816, the kingdom of Kandia, in Ceylon, underwent a revolution which ended in its inhabitants seeking annexation with the British territory in that island. Central and southern India meanwhile were suffering under the desolating ravages of vast hordes of banditti, whose wholesale plunderings were aggravated by every species of cruelty. These were the terrible Pindarrees, the scum and offscouring of all the tribes of Hindostan. Their numbers varied, increasing in times of war, when they usually took service as mercenaries, and were rewarded with license from their temporary master to ravage the territory of his foe. They were all horsemen, unencumbered with tents and the other impediments of regular cavalry; and as their business was not conquest, but only plunder, they usually evaded pursuit by incredibly swift marches over difficult country, through which regular cavalry often found it impossible to follow them. One of their marches extended over five hundred miles in a fortnight. These predatory bands had alarmingly increased in recent years of anarchy in Holkar's dominions. Under the secret incitement of the Mahratta princes, in whose mutual quarrels they had lately borne the part of hired participators, and in conjunction with the Patans, a tribe of military marauders like themselves, they made a twelve days' raid in 1816 through the cultivated districts of the Madras presidency. This terrible visitation resulted in the plundering of three hundred and thirty-nine villages, which were denuded of all movable property, such as cattle, sheep, money, and jewels, estimated at the value of a million rupees. Nearly four thousand of the wretched inhabitants were subjected to various forms of torture, to compel them to discover hidden property; and of those who resisted the plunderers, about seven hundred were killed or wounded. All the Mahratta chiefs strenuously denied complicity in this act of their dependants, and expressed the utmost anxiety to put down the marauders. But evasive and treacherous acts on the part of these chiefs quickly belied their words. Lord Hastings claimed their co-operation in a scheme for extirpating those scourges of the land, the Pindarrees. They pretended to acquiesce, and made large preparations as if to join in the concerted simultaneous movement of military forces, by which it was proposed to drive inwards, in a gradually narrowing area, all the hordes of banditti. Then, instead of aiding the movement against the common pests of every state, several of these deceitful princes suddenly threw off the mask and fell upon the nearest detachments of British. This treachery sealed the doom of the Mahratta powers. The governor-general secured the adhesion of other rajahs and nabobs of central and southern India, and in the campaign beginning in the autumn of 1817, and extending through the summer of 1818, entirely broke up the terrible confederacy of depredators, whose destructive ravages had already transformed immense cultivated tracts into wastes and jungle, and whose growing power threatened rapid extensions of savagery. The robber hordes of Pindarrees, under those chiefs of evil fame, Cheetoo and Kureem, the Patans under Ameer Khan, the Bheels, and other tribes of born marauders, were hunted down and so utterly shattered that thenceforward they never rallied as an organized force to disturb afresh the peace of the country. Several of the great Mahratta chieftains, the wily patrons and secret allies of these old scourges of India, shared the ruin from which they treacherously sought to shield the hordes of ruthless despoilers. The Peishwa Bajee Row, the most powerful and perhaps the most faithless of them, was deprived of all public authority, and his extensive dominion, the state of Poonah, added to the British territory, on conditions that found general acceptance among his former subjects. His conquerors assigned him a residence on the Ganges and a large pension, on condition that he renounced all pretension to his late sovereignty and surrendered his dominion. Similar acts of confiscation added Nagpoor, Mulwah, and other large fragments of the old Mahratta empire to British sway. Native opinion favoured these annexations. Several rajahs voluntarily relinquished their old independence, preferring the safer position of their fellow rulers over protected subsidiary states under the supreme control of the British. Our allies in the war were duly rewarded with extensions of territory; and to conciliate the Mahrattas, the nominal head of their nation, the rajah of Suttarah, a consenting party to all the recent changes, was restored to the dignity which the peishwa had usurped, and sustained therein by a splendid revenue. Thus, after ages of almost incessant war, with mingled anarchy and pitiless tyranny, India at length attained repose and security under the supreme sway of that great corporation of merchant princes, the directors of the East India Company. The new era of peace gave early proofs that it was also an era of unexampled progress and prosperity. The deserted and grass-grown streets in many hundreds of towns and villages, which had been depopulated under recent anarchy and misrule, again teemed with life and industry; and the natives learned by a hundred tokens to appreciate the blessings of a beneficent though foreign administration, which protected them from the miseries of their old oppressive governments. The ruling race no longer hesitated to bring to bear on the minds of the ignorant and idolatrous millions of new subjects, the influence of those higher agencies of civilization—intellectual, moral, and religious enlightenment—which had heretofore been deemed dangerous instruments of policy while British authority rested on a precarious footing. The governor-general gave the fullest countenance and generous help towards a scheme for the instruction of the common people; the foundations were laid for that system of native schools which now flourishes and diffuses its blessings through our eastern empire; missionary operations brought to the minds of myriads a knowledge of the unknown God; colleges for the training of native clergy sprang into existence; and the Hindoos received with docility and thankfulness the fruitful germs of a higher civilization. Lord Hastings remained till 1823 in the position of viceroy, diffusing incalculable benefits on India, yet augmenting largely the revenues without pressing heavily on the resources of the people under his beneficent government.

The first session of a new parliament began on the 14th of January, 1819. The late speaker, Mr. Manners Sutton, was reinstated without opposition. The regent's speech gave a roseate picture of some signs of the times which were thought to promise the immediate return of a solid prosperity, but the early future cruelly belied these glowing anticipations. Lords and Commons were felicitated on a large growth in the revenue and the recovery of manufactures and trade from the heavy depressions under which they had long laboured; yet the national income, as appeared shortly afterwards, could only be brought up to the level of public expenditure by the aid of a large loan and new taxes. Mention was made, among other topics of congratulation, of the return, at the close of the past year, of the army of occupation from France, and of the amicable settlement of the several points left for future adjustment when the treaty was concluded with the United States in 1815. In the debates on the address ministers were taken to task for their glowing picture of a state of the nation which had so little warrant in actual facts; and on the absence of all reference to such pressing questions of the day as the poor-law, law reform, the currency, and the Catholic question. The addresses passed, however, in both Houses without a division. The queen having died in the recess, it became needful to make a fresh arrangement for the custody of the aged and afflicted monarch. Lord Liverpool brought forward accordingly a bill to invest the duke of York with the powers previously lodged in her majesty, and to allot to the new custodian an additional income of 10,000*l.* a year as remuneration for the duty. The proposal, at any period, to pay a large salary to a son in consideration of his discharging a filial duty, could not fail to provoke strenuous opposition. A season of burdensome taxation and national impoverishment added gravely to the obvious objections to such a payment for taking control of the establishment at Windsor. The duke's large debts were, however, pleaded as the sufficient ground for the ministerial proposal; and notwithstanding a very free discussion and a most unreserved condemnation of his prodigality, the bill passed by a considerable majority.

Sir James Macintosh, eminent alike as an eloquent and sagacious lawyer, a profound thinker, a distinguished author, and a philosophic politician, took up in this session, and continued through several following years, the task of reform in the penal laws which had long occupied the lamented Romilly. On the 2nd of March he moved for the appointment of a select committee on the criminal law, more especially with reference to felonies. He classified under three heads the crimes to which was affixed the death penalty; first, those in which the sentence was invariably carried out; secondly, those in which it was seldom put in force; and thirdly, those in which the law had become in practice a dead letter, since the penalty provided under the terribly vindictive statutes of early times was so utterly beyond the mark, that the humanity of judges, juries, and even the injured party, drove them to all sorts of devices by which to screen the criminal from a conviction. The first and second heads, comprising the most aggravated and heinous crimes, he proposed to leave untouched; but the third, under which there were no fewer than one hundred and fifty different offences, including many varieties of mere theft, ought, he contended, to be wiped away from the statute-book as a blot and disgrace to a civilized state. Moderate but certain punishment, proportioned to the offence, would take away from judges, juries, witnesses, and prosecutors, the temptation under which they laboured, to side as it were with the criminal, rather than bring him to the gallows—the only alternative to an acquittal. Petitions from the common council of London and from the Quakers for a revision of the criminal law had just been presented to the House, setting forth the advantages likely to spring from the milder yet certain punishment of those manifold petty crimes that were now committed with something like an assurance that no attempt would be made to secure a conviction. Strengthened by such expressions of public opinion, Sir James carried his motion in the face of a most stolid resistance from a ministry whose highest conception of duty seemed to be to stay and thwart every progressive aspiration. Before the close of the session the researches of the committee were presented in a report which soon became the groundwork of fruitful changes in the criminal law of the United Kingdom and its dependencies. There were not fewer than fifty discussions or debates in the two Houses in the course of this session on the vexed question of a metallic *versus* paper currency. The Cash Payments Restriction Act being on the eve of expiry, when payment in gold would again become the order of the day, the serious question arose whether the Bank of England, which in recent years had parted with ten millions of its stock of bullion in loans to government, would be able to face its obligations. The Bank had voluntarily made the experiment of offering payment in gold for all its issues of paper bearing dates earlier than 1817. The result of this trial was a rapid and large drain of gold, which for the most part had ebbed away to the continent in payment for importations of corn. Two reports by a secret committee of the Commons, appointed to investigate the state of the Bank of England and the monetary prospects of the nation, advised a prolongation of the Restriction Act. Mr. Peel thereupon brought in bills, one staying entirely for a time the liability of the Bank to give coin in exchange for its notes; and the other imposing on it the obligation to deliver on demand, in exchange for its notes, gold ingots or bars of standard fineness, in quantities not less than sixty ounces, at certain specified rates per ounce, these rates being pitched higher than the usual price of gold, in order to check the export which had been very active so long as coin could be drawn from the Bank on the ordinary terms. Under this further bolstering up of the credit of its paper, the Bank gathered in stores of bullion sufficient to admit of a full return to cash payments in 1821, two years earlier than Peel's bill required. A select committee on the national finances presented a report, on the strength of which Mr. Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer, brought forward and carried a string of resolutions affirming the large loss of revenue in recent years through the reduction of taxation at the close of the war, and the necessity of new loans of a large amount to make both ends meet. Besides a loan of twelve millions, and the withdrawal of an equal amount from the sinking fund, new taxes were laid on wool, spirits, malt, tobacco, tea, coffee, to the estimated total of three millions. Including the interest on the funded debt, and some liquidation of floating debt, the total outgoings of the year were put down at upwards of seventy-six millions. A motion for large retrenchment met with little support, notwithstanding much virtuous talk about the duty of wiping off portions of the mountainous debt rather than of adding yearly to its unmanageable bulk.

Grattan again, and for the last time, brought on his annual motion in favour of the claims of the Roman Catholics. His earnest efforts, though not crowned with complete success, were yet rewarded by such a growth in the numbers voting with him as left the reasonable assurance of an early realization of his hopes. The majority against his motion was now only two in a full House, yet in the face of this encouraging sign of the times, ten more years were to elapse before a ministry could bring itself to make the concession which Ireland persistently continued to demand with ever increasing fervour.

The war of independence on the part of the Spanish colonies in South America attracted considerable numbers of unemployed subaltern officers belonging to the British service, some of whom raised bodies of troops among their countrymen for the same destination. Remonstrances from the Spanish ambassador set our ministers on a review of the neutrality laws. These were found to be quite inapplicable to the case now pressing, inasmuch as their penalties were levelled only against rendering military service to any foreign "king, prince, state, or potentate." The prohibition was therefore extended, under a new foreign enlistment bill, to the case of any colony or dependency which might assert its independence. The equipment of vessels for foreign service was put under the same ban with the raising of troops. The bill encountered much disfavour, for the sympathies of the country were all along strongly engaged on the side of the oppressed colonists. It was stigmatised out of doors and in the House as an enactment to enable the bigoted and tyrannical king of Spain to reimpose the oppressive yoke which the South American colonists had shaken off. It is quite clear, however, that our position as a neutral required that our shores should cease to be the base of private belligerent operations against a power with which we were at peace. The terrors of the new law stayed the regular and open organization of forces for the war of liberation, but large numbers contrived, under various ingenious pretences, to give their aid to the efforts of the colonists. Lord Cochrane, who had taken service as admiral of the Chilian navy, fitted out a ship, and carried from England large stores of arms and ammunition. He soon acquired distinction under the flag of the Chilian republic as admiral of a squadron that fought successfully against the naval force of Spain. Early in June a mutiny among a large body of troops assembled at Cadiz, for the reconquest of the revolted settlements, frustrated the most formidable effort yet put forth by the mother country to restore its tottering rule in South America.

Mr. Wilberforce renewed his old protests against the bad faith of several foreign governments in regard to their treaty obligations for suppressing the slave-trade. Addresses were carried in both Houses, as in several previous years, urging the prince regent to renew the attempts made often before to induce foreign governments to act more loyally on existing treaties for the suppression of the odious traffic still notoriously carried on by their subjects.

Emigration to the United States had been very active of late, under the pressure of dearth of employment in several departments of industry. In order to divert the stream to the Cape of Good Hope, a British dependency where the inhabitants were too few, and most of them Dutch, the consent of parliament was obtained to a scheme of free passages for suitable families of settlers, with the further temptation of an allotment of a hundred acres of land to each head of a family. A vote of 50,000*l.* supplied the means of a first experiment in assisted emigration at the public cost.

The regent in person closed the session on the 13th of July. One of the paragraphs in the prorogation speech, as interpreted by an event that followed soon after, might be taken to foreshadow the high-handed policy which was on the eve of giving quite a tragic colouring to the history of the year. The misery that comes with dearth of employment was again weighing heavily upon several of the great centres of manufacturing industry. Many factories in Glasgow, Paisley, Carlisle, Leeds, Manchester, Stockport, and other north-country and midland towns, were shut up, and the rest were only partially employed. The suffering operatives held meetings to discuss the causes of their distress, and to devise remedies. In those days mill-owners and other employers were too often wanting in that culture and political knowledge which ought to have fitted them for the part that naturally appertained to them, of guides and leaders of their workpeople. Even where this disqualification did not operate, a potent influence kept them away from popular assemblages for political discussion. A dread of the ascendancy of the unrepresented masses, in the event of their gaining the right to vote in parliamentary elections, extended from the throne downwards through all the ranks of the influential, the wealthy, and the professional classes. English society remained, in fact, as in the days when Burke and Pitt aroused its hostility to democracy. The lapse of a quarter of a century had nowise abated its jealousy of the people; it had grown indeed even more strenuous in discountenancing and frowning down the assertors of popular rights. Those who cared for its good opinion kept aloof from assemblages where popular discontents were ventilated, and where discredited political doctrines were certain to be broached. In the absence of safe guides, the whole field of leadership fell into the hands of mischievous demagogues, who laid the blame of scant employment and low wages solely on political, instead of chiefly on social causes. Universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot, became the accepted cure for dearth of work and the pressure of poverty. No word of warning ever impressed on the operatives the obvious but unpalatable truth, that the sorest blight on their prosperity, the most fruitful source of their impoverishment, was their own reckless improvidence, especially in the matter of extremely early marriages. Lads of twenty and girls of seventeen, belonging to the poorest ranks, became the parents of a progeny that preyed too soon on the common stock available for the sustenance of their class. The workers multiplied faster than their work, and no outspoken counsels bade them exercise that prudent self-restraint which preserves from similar distress the operatives of Switzerland, France, and some of the other European states. Some of the grounds of discontent that furnished themes for the popular orators were in themselves real grievances, though only in a very limited measure the causes of the prevalent distress. The corn-law especially merited all the odium cast upon it, as a monstrous sample of selfish legislation by the privileged class that then monopolized political power. The government, and the House of Commons too, had for many years treated with contemptuous indifference the innumerable petitions from scores of populous places in favour of parliamentary reform. The harsh and defiant attitude of a privileged minority forming the governing class stirred up a natural resentment in the unrepresented masses. It began to be asserted that the constitutional right to send representatives to the House of Commons rested in every section of the population, and the claim was now advanced by several of the largest towns to elect members forthwith, in disregard of the old formality of a writ to authorize such election. Sir Charles Wolseley, a landowner in Staffordshire, and one among the very few of his class who had adopted radical politics, took a leading part in meetings for the discussion of the people's grievances. At a great open-air meeting convened at Birmingham, he was elected by show of hands as the "legislatorial attorney and representative" of that town. Leeds and Manchester next bestirred themselves with arrangements for a like election. Their representatives were to claim their seats in the House of Commons in the name of the unenfranchised populations that elected them.

In many quarters the operatives practised themselves in drill, with the purpose, it was said, of enabling them to assemble and disperse without confusion, on the occasions of public meetings or processions. The women also banded themselves into societies, under the title of "Sister Reform Associations," and invited their own sex to co-operate with the men in promoting a great political change. The female reformers took a pledge which required them to instil into the minds of their children a deep-rooted hatred of tyrannical governors. The excitement spread, and the alarmed magistracy reported to government their fears that insurrectionary movements were afoot. On the 30th of July a proclamation was issued against seditious meetings and writings, military training, and unauthorized elections. The newly-chosen representative for Birmingham was arrested on the charge of inciting to sedition, by his speech at a public meeting at Stockport. One of his coadjutors on the same occasion, a dissenting preacher, named Harrison, was also arrested for the same offence while attending a similar meeting in London. At Manchester, meanwhile, notice was issued for a great meeting of the inhabitants on the 9th of August, in St. Peter's

Field, for the election of a delegate or legislatorial attorney. The magistrates, however, put forth a counter notice, that an assemblage for the object announced was illegal, and would not be permitted. An anonymous advertisement then came out, stating that the meeting fixed for the 9th was abandoned; but that in lieu of it another meeting would be held on the 16th, for the legal purpose of petitioning for a reform in parliament. In response to this invitation from fifty to sixty thousand persons, for the most part factory operatives, of both sexes and all ages, met at the appointed place. All the towns and villages within walking distance of Manchester were represented by their respective contingents, which marched five abreast in orderly array, each lot preceded by its flag or banner. The new political clubs of female reformers, with white silk banners at their head, took their place in the gathering. Among the mottoes and devices noticed on the banners were "No Corn Laws," "Universal Suffrage," "Liberty or Death," "Liberty and Fraternity," "Vote by Ballot," and other similar watchwords of the Radical party. All were in holiday trim, and no worse weapons than a few sticks were to be seen among them. The authorities had made no attempt to prevent the gathering, nor indeed could they have done so, except in contravention of the acknowledged right of the people to meet peaceably to discuss grievances, and petition for the redress thereof. In the agitation of the times the meeting might have been prevented under a stretch of magisterial authority, which public opinion would readily have excused. The magistrates, in deference to the alarm excited among the middle and higher ranks by the extensive preparations that were notoriously going forward for a monster political demonstration, might have interfered and stopped the meeting in the interests of public tranquillity. So far from being taken by surprise, they had made ample preparations for suppressing a very formidable insurrection. A large constabulary force extended from the Star Inn, where the magistrates posted themselves to watch and control events, to the platform from which the speeches were to be addressed to the surrounding assemblage. Artillery and infantry were held in readiness at the barracks for instant action, and many squadrons of yeomanry cavalry and hussars of the regular army were posted in streets adjacent to the place of meeting. No sign, however, was manifested of authoritative or official opposition to the concourse until the people had ranged themselves in their places, and the chairman had begun proceedings by expressing his confidence in the peaceable and orderly conduct that would mark the whole of the transactions of the day. He had scarcely spoken half a dozen sentences when screams in the outer circle of his auditory drew all eyes towards the scene of alarm. Shouts instantly arose, "The soldiers are upon us!" The magistrates had resolved to arrest Hunt, the chief promoter of the gathering, with other leaders; but instead of exerting their authority before or after the meeting, as common sense dictated, they adopted the worst alternative open to their choice—that of penetrating the dense mixed multitude by a charge of horsemen. First they sent the Manchester yeomanry, who were to make their way to the hustings, and aid the chief constable in securing the reform leaders. The yeomanry, however, got separated, and closely hemmed in by the dense masses. They, for the most part, used only the flat of their swords, in comparatively harmless strokes; but the 15th Hussars, who were next ordered to charge into and disperse the crowd, exhibited little of the same humane forbearance. In the words of Sir William Joliffe, M.P., an officer of hussars who bore part in this crushing onset, "People, yeomen, constables, in their confused attempts to escape, ran over one another, so that by the time we had arrived at the midst of the field, the fugitives were literally piled up to a considerable elevation above the level of the ground." Although no resistance was offered, between three and four hundred of the helpless and terrified people fell under the sabre strokes of the soldiers, or were trampled upon and maimed by the charging steeds; but happily, only six were killed outright. In the vain attempt to extenuate the havoc inflicted upon unresisting and unarmed men and women, the officer already quoted, after admitting that nine out of ten of the sabre wounds were caused by the hussars, yet had the temerity to put on record, for the information of parliament and the nation, his deliberate opinion that "it redounded highly to the humane forbearance of the men of the 15th that more wounds were not received, when the vast numbers are taken into consideration with whom they were brought into hostile collision." A vivid, but somewhat overdrawn description of the event, as viewed from the side of the passive victims in this so-called "hostile collision," is to be found in the "Life of a Radical," which has already furnished apt matter for quotation in respect to the popular disquietudes in previous years. Bamford, the author of the work in question, was the leader of one of the sections of the great assemblage in St. Peter's Field. "The cavalry," his narrative tells us, "threw themselves, with all their weight of man and horse, on the compact mass of human beings, and, finding that they could not penetrate it, they began to hew away through naked held-up hands and defenceless heads. Then chopped limbs and wound-gaping skulls were seen, and groans and cries were mingled with the din of that horrid confusion. 'Ah! ah! for shame! for shame!' was shouted; then 'Break! break! they are killing them in front, and they cannot get away!' and there was a general cry of 'Break! break!'" Hunt and other leaders, including Bamford, were captured and consigned to jail, charged in the first instance with high treason, but subsequently with treasonable conspiracy only. The magistracy lost no time in tendering the public expression of their thanks to the officers and men who had so promptly and thoroughly discharged the duty entrusted to them. Government in like manner, and with yet more reprehensible haste, issued official letters of thanks to the magistrates for their discretion, and to the military for their zeal in maintaining the public peace. The prince regent, too, was so ill advised as to convey his own emphatic commendation of the course adopted by the civil authorities, and the effectual support rendered by the military in dispersing the meeting. The transaction itself, and the laudations with which it was thus greeted by the highest authorities in the state, gave rise to intense indignation in other ranks of life besides the working classes. Meetings were held in a score or more of the largest towns, to express sympathy with the victims of the Manchester massacre, as the affair was denominated, and to protest against the new assertion of magisterial authority, which was denounced as a dangerous inroad on one of the most cherished safeguards of the liberty of the subject. The disturbance of public tranquillity, it was urged, had proceeded solely from those charged with its preservation, and not in any degree from the orderly and peaceable assemblage which had been routed by military violence under direction of the civil power. Other meetings had been held of the same description, without molestation; then why, it was asked, was the Manchester gathering singled out for so unheard-of an exercise of magisterial rigour? The Riot Act had not been read, or at any rate had not been duly read, for all the testimony on this head went no further than to show that the formal reading took place beyond the farthest outskirt of the multitudinous assemblage, and in the hearing only of the magistrates and their executive officers. Anger and indignation against both local and central authorities stirred the country from end to end. The corporation of London presented an energetic address to the prince regent, deprecating in severe terms the unprovoked rigour of the local authorities, and censuring the high official sanctions that had so inconsiderately been lavished on the transaction. The regent, under advice of the cabinet, and sharing thoroughly their hard and defiant bearing towards all assertors of popular rights, answered this remonstance in terms of stern rebuke. In a similar spirit he dismissed Earl Fitzwilliam from his high official appointment of lord-lieutenant of the West Riding, for expressing, at a county meeting held at York, his disapproval of the high-handed proceedings at Manchester. At a meeting held in London, resolutions were passed censuring with trenchant severity the conduct of the civil authorities and the soldiers; thanking Hunt and his colleagues for their unflinching assertion of the right of meeting in public for the discussion of grievances; and engaging to raise by subscription the requisite fund for defending the reformers in the coming prosecution. Burdett issued a letter to his constituents, the electors of Westminster, that quickly involved him in another conflict with the law officers of the crown. He and his fellow member, Mr. Hobhouse, got up a great meeting in Palace Yard, where, after prolonged and energetic addresses on the great exciting topic, they readily carried a series of resolutions condemnatory of the authorities, together with an address to the regent, asserting the lawfulness of the Manchester meeting, and stigmatizing the outrage on public liberty by which the assemblage had been dispersed, as an attempt to destroy by arbitrary violence the few remaining liberties of Englishmen. The fact that these numerous meetings passed off in an orderly manner, and that the authorities made no attempt to prevent or to disperse them, affords in itself a fair presumption that the Manchester meeting would also have been unattended by turbulence or riot, the anticipations of which formed the only defence of the hot-headed magistrates. The general outburst of indignation seems to have intimidated the magistracy in some quarters where in all likelihood they would otherwise have been not more discreet or forbearing than at Manchester. Attempts were made to institute a criminal prosecution against the persons most implicated in the loss of life and various forms of bodily injury at Manchester; but the grand jury threw out every bill which the sufferers or their representatives endeavoured to substantiate. The administration, meanwhile, steeled themselves against all appeals for inquiry. They were encouraged in this course by counter-demonstrations, chiefly of the squirearchy and their tenantry, who sent up loyal addresses and offers to raise troops of yeomanry to strengthen the hands of the authorities, in dealing with assemblages for the venting of popular discontents. The resentment and irritation of the other side were greatly increased, and rose indeed to a dangerous pitch, under such provocation from the class that monopolized political power. Evil counsellors, as usual in such a case, added fuel to the deep-seated exasperation of the suffering operatives against privileged ranks who scouted every proposal for enlarging the existing basis of representation. Preachers of sedition were not wanting to turn to account the angered temper of the unrepresented masses. Wild and outrageous doctrines were now promulgated in weekly publications, tending to the unsettlement of all current notions in politics, morals, and religion. Such excesses in their turn provoked another reaction, which ranged a large section of the Liberal party on the side of the administration. Numerous addresses, one of them from the city of London bearing five thousand signatures, urged the government to adopt speedy measures for the suppression of blasphemy and sedition. The perilous excitement was at its height when parliament met in the fourth week of November. The regent encountered some marked expressions of disfavour on his way to the House. His speech lamented the prevalence of disaffection and an insurrectionary spirit in the manufacturing districts, and invited the earnest attention of parliament to measures that would be brought forward for strengthening the hands of the executive. There was no word of concession or conciliation in the language of ministers in the debates on the address, but on the contrary a strenuous resistance to amendments calling for inquiry into the proceedings at Manchester, and to every proposal for giving just attention to the complaints of the people as expressed in the addresses and petitions adopted at numerous great assemblages. Earl Grey, who moved the amendment in the Upper House, warned ministers that the natural consequence of their unbending policy and constant resort to measures of coercion, was that such a system, when once commenced, must lead inevitably to the destruction of constitutional freedom. He contended that the employment of force would aggravate discontents, and that the increased agitation thence resulting would call for yet stronger acts of repression, till by degrees all freedom of speech or writing would disappear, and an arbitrary despotism would supplant the boasted principles of the British constitution. Mr. Tierney, who had become the recognized leader of opposition in the Commons, warned members that the growing intelligence of the people would not long abide the manifest injustice of a political system which excluded them from any share in the choice of representatives and ignored all their grievances. Large majorities, however, sided with the hard and unyielding policy of the cabinet. Papers were submitted to both Houses, setting forth the alarming state of the working classes in many of the great towns. On the strength of such evidence, ministers brought forward a batch of severely repressive laws, thenceforward known as the "Six Acts." The first was "An Act to prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanour." This bill took away from defendants the right of traversing, a process which had hitherto furnished the seasonable resource of long postponement of a prosecution. The next in the series was an Act to render the publication of a blasphemous or seditious libel punishable, on a second conviction, at the discretion of the court, by fine, imprisonment, banishment, or transportation; and to give power, in cases of second conviction, to seize all copies of the libel in possession of the publisher. The third extended the newspaper stamp duty to all periodicals or pamphlets containing news or disquisitions on current politics or public affairs. The publishers of such stamped periodicals were required to give security for the payment of penalties to which they might render themselves liable. The fourth, called the "Seditious Meetings Bill," gave large powers to justices of the peace in the control of public meetings. Any gathering at which the speakers used language which could be construed into encouraging hatred of the government and constitution of the realm was to be deemed an unlawful assembly, and as such the magistracy were empowered to disperse it, and to capture the promoters or leaders by military or other aid; and in case any persons were killed in the process of dispersion, no action could be instituted against the authorities concerned. It was further declared illegal for any person to attend a meeting in a place where he was not an inhabitant. The carrying of flags, banners, or arms in a public assemblage was made punishable with two years' imprisonment. One section of the bill placed lecture halls and debating clubs under supervision of officers of the law. The fifth prohibited training in the use of arms, or in military exercises of any description, including such drillings as had preceded the Manchester meeting. The sixth empowered magistrates in any disturbed district to search for and seize arms. The whole of the bills were carried, with slight modifications, in the face of an earnest and prolonged opposition to many portions of them. The seditious meetings bill was limited in its operation to five years, and the seizure of arms bill to three years; the others were to be permanent. Stringent as were these limitations on freedom of political discussion, there were leaders of opinion at that time who lamented that enough had not yet been done to curb and control the masses in their aspiration after a share in the making of the laws by which they were governed. Several of the great law lords held language which evinced an intense and settled distrust of the press and of every form of popular privilege. Lord Redesdale wrote to the home secretary, shortly before the passing of the Six Acts, giving as his deliberate opinion that "every meeting for radical reform was not merely a seditious attempt to undermine the existing constitutions of government, by bringing it into hatred and contempt, but was an overt act of treasonable conspiracy against that constitution of government, including the king as its head." The same learned expositor of the heinousness of calling in question the fitness of things as by law established, tells Lord Colchester, a few weeks after the passing of the new repressive measures, "I doubt whether it would not have been fortunate for the country if half Manchester had been burned, and Glasgow had endured a little singeing." The old chancellor, Lord Eldon, was not less pronounced in his abhorrence of doctrines favouring the rights of the people. The bare idea of such great changes in the political framework of the nation as were to be accomplished by the reform bills of 1832 and 1867 would have inflicted severe torment on that sturdy upholder of the old order of statecraft. Liberty of opinion had never been in greater jeopardy since the days of the Stuarts than under those ancient notabilities in the cabinet of the regency, Lords Liverpool, Eldon, Sidmouth, and Castlereagh. The risk was the greater inasmuch as several of the Whig leaders, in their alarm at the acts and aims of the extreme Radicals, gave in their adhesion to the new arbitrary methods of curbing freedom of speech and writing. Thus Lord Grenville in the Upper House, and Mr. Plunket in the Commons, maintained that the authorities at Manchester merited applause rather than blame. They opposed all attempts of their party to bring about a parliamentary inquiry into the vexed question of the legality of the Manchester meeting and its dispersion by military force. Wilberforce took the same line, insisting "that the majority of thinking persons were satisfied with the steps taken by the magistrates, and would be dissatisfied if inquiry at the bar were instituted." The same feeling crops up in several of the admirable letters of Mr. Ward (afterwards Lord Dudley), who on most questions followed the lead of Grenville. Writing in October to Dr. Coplestone, then the head of one of the Oxford colleges, he says: "You have been perpetually in hot water in England since I left it. It is the old story, the wickedness of the demagogues working upon the misery of the people. * * * All I am afraid of is, that by having the theoretical defects of the present House of Commons perpetually dinned into their ears, the well-intentioned and well-affected part of the community should at last begin to suppose that *some* reform is necessary. Now, I can hardly conceive *any* reform that would not bring us within the draught of the whirlpool of democracy, towards which we should be attracted by an irresistible force, and in an hourly accelerating ratio. But I flatter myself there is wisdom enough in the country to preserve us long from such an innovation." A few weeks later the same writer, who is a good type of the aristocratic Whigs of the day—holding an uncertain and wavering position between the men of resistance and the men of progress—expresses his high gratification that the trial of Hunt and the other notibilities connected with the Manchester business had resulted in a verdict of "Guilty." He says, "It was a most agreeable surprise to the government, who did not in the least expect it from the course the trial has taken. I have not read the evidence yet, but I am told the magistrates were in too much of a hurry. I had always some suspicion that this was the case, but however true it may be, it by no means follows that they ought to have been 'called over the coals' in a parliamentary inquiry. It is one of the most difficult problems in practical politics to know how far the ruling party ought to go in protecting over-zealous friends. The safest and the honestest side to err on is that of defending them too long. Yet it is an irksome duty, because the opposite faction are always very noisy and violent on such occasions, and having a show of justice in their favour, are sure to gain over some weak, short-sighted people. In England, the government must not quarrel with the Tories. I wish, with all my heart, there were moderate Whigs enough to save the country, for nobody has a greater disgust of Tory prejudice than I have. But, unhappily, the Tories compose the main body of the army with which the Jacobins [*i.e.*, the Radicals], are to be opposed." Thus buttressed up by the support of an important section of their usual opponents, who now fully concurred in the necessity of strong measures, ministers bore down with relentless energy on the most outspoken of their antagonists. Both members for Westminster were among the first to smart for their trenchant comments on the high-handed course adopted by government. Hobhouse was committed to Newgate on the Speaker's warrant, for expressions used in a pamphlet intituled a "Trifling Mistake;" and Burdett underwent a prosecution for libel on account of his printed letter to the electors of Westminster. The precursors of reform were however not all scared or silenced in this hey-day of unmitigated Toryism. Lord John Russell, for one, was not among the faint-hearted band who at this crisis lost confidence in their countrymen. Before the Christmas recess he made a great impression on the House and the country by his first considerable effort in the cause of parliamentary reform. He adduced unanswerable arguments for the transfer of seats from ancient and decayed boroughs, or small and corrupt constituencies, to the large unrepresented towns that had risen in latter times from insignificance to vast importance. As a first instalment in this obvious line of reform he urged the immediate disfranchisement of Grampound, a rotten and decayed borough whose electoral corruption had very recently been proved before a committee of the House. He proposed the transfer of its two seats to one of the great manufacturing towns. The principle of transfer had been followed in earlier times, as he proved by historical documents. But the days when the rigorous Six Acts, in all their freshness, were bidding reformers hide their diminished heads, were not the season for enforcing by argument the smallest concession from narrow-minded upholders of ancient privilege and the ascendancy of aristocratic interests. Another reign had yet to run out in succession to the one just closing its protracted span, before a more prescient statesmanship would adopt as its leading principle concession instead of defiance, and confidence instead of distrust in the people. Parliament adjourned from the 29th of December to the 15th of February, 1820. In the interval the regency ended, and a new reign began.

While our own government was each year narrowing the bounds of political freedom among the masses of the people, several of the continental states were making progress in constitutional government. The Germans had long agitated the question of representative institutions, which were promised by many of their rulers at the crisis of the struggle with Napoleon. This year the sovereigns of Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and Baden, redeemed their promises. But the king of Prussia still held back, despite the widespread discontents among the intelligent part of his subjects. The professors and students at the universities fell under the heavy displeasure of the court; many of the patriots were immured in dungeons, under sentence of a special tribunal which was vested with inquisitorial powers for the detection and punishment of political offences. The Russian and Austrian governments withdrew their students from the dreaded contamination of progressive ideas and theories emanating from German universities. In Hanover, where the Duke of Cambridge was regent for his father, the assembly which stood in the place of a parliament abolished torture, and deprived the nobles of the invidious privilege of exemption from taxation. Spain, too, was astir with progressive aspirations, but the despotic Ferdinand, guided by bigoted priestly counsels, quelled for a time the demand for civic rights by sanguinary vengeance on fifty promoters of constitutional principles. While he was thus crushing out, under military executions, the rising spirit of liberty in his home dominion, free representative institutions were taking firm root in his vast transatlantic territories. Columbia, Buenos Ayres, Chili, and Peru, established their claim to a place among the family of nations, or at least made such advances in that direction that it became matter of certainty that the oppressive yoke of Spain would never more control those regions. General Bolivar, liberator and first president of Columbia, gained the applause of the friends of liberty in every land by the masterly exposition of political science contained in his address at the inauguration of the representative assembly, chosen under the new republican constitution.

France, too, was moving with the times at a sober pace in the path of parliamentary government. The ultra-royalist party in the chamber of peers made an effort, early in the year, to restrain the freedom of elections to the chamber of representatives. But Louis XVIII., under guidance of a popular ministry, turned the tables on the over-zealous supporters of the authority of the crown, by creating a large batch of new peers from the moderate party, and by recalling about twenty of Napoleon's marshals or other principal adherents, whose peerages had been quashed on the final overthrow of the empire. Some restrictions on the freedom of the press were abolished, and an outburst of religious bigotry against Protestants in the south of France effectually controlled by the government and public opinion.

Such was the outlook on the political horizon at home and abroad when the long reign of George III. came to a close. No gleam of re-animated reason had broken in upon the dreary years of his seclusion since the first days of the regency. Yet his recollection of persons and events belonging to the half century preceding his long and final mental derangement was marvellously exact, as appeared from the soliloquies in which at times he beguiled the tedium of his mournful seclusion at Windsor, and which were overheard by the watchers, of whose presence he was unaware. His sight was already almost gone before the failure of his mental faculties. With the yet heavier calamity of shattered reason came also the "ever-during dark" of physical blindness. For several years the harpsichord afforded a genial resource to the afflicted king, but deafness at length deprived him of the solace he had before found in playing Handel's oratorios. Sightless, deaf, and insane, this piteous wreck of royalty drifted in inaccessible desolation through the period of the regency, uncheered by the splendid triumphs that gladdened the nation and restored peace to the world, and unconscious of the turmoils that agitated the state in the final years of his protracted reign.

Taking into account the unvarying and active hostility with which George III. confronted all progressive aspirations in home politics, it is somewhat of a puzzle to later times that the mass of his subjects nevertheless entertained for him an earnest loyalty and a marked partiality, rising at times to the warmth of genuine personal liking. No monarch ever gained the hearts of the people more thoroughly, if we may judge from such spontaneous manifestations of national gladness as greeted his recovery, in the middle of his reign, from his three months' loss of reason. The wide-spread celebrations of his jubilee year demonstrated that his popularity had not waned with the long lapse of time. This firm hold on the good-will of his people was based on his merits as a man, rather than on his qualities as a king. Though narrow, unconciliatory, stubborn, and resentful in his public character, he was yet in every sense conspicuously superior to his two German predecessors. They cared little for English affairs, gave their first thoughts to Hanover, and remained to the end of their days unaccommodating aliens in habits, tastes, opinions, amusements, and dissipations. He, on the other hand, was quite the model of a respectable country gentleman of the time, fond of farming, addicted to rural sports, and intimately conversant with home politics. They, even in the declining years of their lives, lived in scandalous concubinage; while he, from the commencement of his reign to the end, was strictly faithful to the obligations of decorous wedded life. Almost equally to his advantage was the similar contrast between himself and the son who in due course would fill his place. The heir to his throne, on the one hand, from the earliest years of incipient manhood until long after the prime of life, was a notorious libertine, whose licentious court might yet revive the scandals of the Restoration. As Prince of Wales he was known to his future subjects chiefly by his evil repute. He had gained, as years rolled on, the character of an undutiful son, a faithless and cruel husband, a tyrannical parent, a profligate spendthrift, whose nights were divided between sensual orgies and the gaming-table; and as the boon companion of men who laughed decency out of countenance, and scoffed at the domestic virtues. The virtuous old king, on the other hand, was temperate, homely, exemplary in morals and religion, a good father, a kind and faithful husband, regular in all his habits, and blameless in his amusements and pastimes. The aged monarch and his elderly son were alike hostile to the spread of political power beyond the narrow limits of the privileged few. But the social habits and moral conduct of "the good old king"—as his subjects often fondly named him—had throughout a long career accorded uniformly with a high English standard of decorous domestic life, while the heir to the throne had never conformed to the requirements of propriety and decorum. Hence, though the long reign of sixty years was unmarked by any gracious concession to the growing demand for amendment in the political institutions of the country, the retrospect, through its vista of great events and stirring memories, was more satisfying to the people than the prospect ahead, in a reign barren of promise.

The Duke of Kent, fourth son of the departed king, died six days before his father, leaving an infant daughter, who after a few years became the heiress-presumptive to the throne. This was the Princess Victoria, then only eight months old, who in the dawn of her early womanhood was destined to begin a reign far more prosperous and beneficial to the nation than that of the lamented monarch, her grandfather. For, unlike the days of dogged resistance to the freedom of the press, the freedom of speech, freedom of assembling to discuss grievances, and of persistent denial of political rights to the masses of the population, her benignant sovereignty was to become the era of statesmen,

> "Who knew the seasons when to take
> Occasion by the hand, and make
> The bounds of freedom wider yet,
> By shaping some august decree
> Which kept her throne unshaken still,
> Broad-based upon her people's will
> And compassed by the inviolate sea."

SECTION III.

George IV., 1820-30.

George IV. had reached the verge of old age when he became king, in succession to his father. He had, however, filled the throne in his father's stead for upwards of nine years before his accession to the regal title, and exercised under the name of regent all the prerogatives of the crown through the greater portions of that period. His accession, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, on the 29th of January, 1820, forms, as it were, a midway landmark between the beginning of his sway as regent and the close of his scarcely fuller sovereignty as king. From the commencement of his regency to the end of his reign, his personal influence, like that of his predecessor, was uniformly exerted in checking the growth of civil and religious freedom, in stemming the flow of progressive political thought, and in cramping to the utmost the rights of the people. His anti-liberal notions throughout the twenty years of his rule stand in marked contrast with his ostentatious connection with the party of progress from his entrance on public life down to the fiftieth year of his age. In the summer of 1812, he sundered with startling suddenness his old alliance with the Whigs, and passed at a bound into the Tory camp. The astounding transition was heralded by the suspicious declaration of an entire impartiality that left "no predilections to indulge and no resentments to gratify." From the day of his assertion that the shackles of party had lost their hold upon him, the regent simply changed sides, bestowing, thenceforward his confidence and his favours on his former political adversaries, and his frowns and aversions upon the party with which he had been intimately associated through the third part of a century. His first public act on exchanging the name of regent for the title of king met exactly the general expectation that the reign that had ceased and the reign that was beginning would be in strict keeping with each other. At his first council, held on the day after his father's death, he gave back to Lords Liverpool, Sidmouth, Eldon, and Castlereagh, and every other member of the unpopular cabinet of the regency, the emblems of office which the law obliged them to surrender on the demise of the crown. A more hated ministry than the unprogressive set, whose ascendancy was thus confirmed at the dawn of the new reign, had never guided the counsels of an English sovereign since the Revolution. The ceremony of the proclamation called forth none of the usual expectations of beneficial changes or demonstrations of popular goodwill. One of the great seats of learning, however, celebrated the new king's accession by closing its gates during a whole term due to study. It was Oxford that thus absurdly testified its loyalty towards George IV. by remitting in his honour a substantial portion of the education sought within its academic folds. It was Oxford that testified by this questionable procedure the warmth of its affection for the morose old voluptuary who had just ascended the throne. A sensible member of the university, and one who shared to the full the traditional loyalty of the place, objected, but without avail, that to remit in favour of undergraduates, in consideration of a joyous public event, a portion of their education, was in effect to place education on the level with the penalties attaching to crime; felons and undergraduates were thus brought into strange fellowship in the benefits flowing from the death of one king and the accession of another. Before the tomb had closed over the late king, his son and successor was attacked with an illness that seemed to threaten an abrupt close to his reign. An inflammation of the chest, like that which had carried off his brother the duke of Kent a fortnight earlier, began on the day after the proclamation, and assumed three days afterwards an alarming character. The malady was aggravated by gout and a complication of disorders, brought on by excessive indulgence in the pleasures of the table. The king soon got over the attack, but not in time to attend the funeral of his father, which took place at Windsor on the 16th of February.

Constitutional lawyers hold that parliament dies with the king that called it together. The last parliament called by George III. was not dissolved until a month after his decease. The law requires a new parliament to be summoned within six months of the demise of the crown. In practice the interval is abbreviated to the utmost that public business will admit. On this occasion the real work of the session, that began on the 17th of February, occupied scarcely ten days, and was almost entirely confined to providing for the wants of government. One subject perplexed its latter days, and gave a foretaste of the heavier perplexity with which its successor would have to deal. The money votes raised questions of civil list finance. Joseph Hume, destined to great after celebrity as an economist, figured in these early days of his parliamentary career as the advocate for a splendid allowance to Caroline of Brunswick, the discarded wife of the new monarch. The elevation of her husband to the rank of king carried with it her advance to the station of queen; but he had determined, on grounds that will presently come under notice, that she should never share his regal splendour. She had lived apart from her husband for twenty-three years, though not separated by any process of law. During the last half-dozen years she had resided abroad, chiefly in Italy. While princess of Wales her name was included in the litany among members of the royal family, specially mentioned in the ministrations of public worship. When the necessary alterations following the death of George III. were made in the form of prayer for the royal family, her name was excluded by order of her husband. Several prominent members, who participated in the popular prepossessions which had never ceased to cling about the forsaken royal lady, taunted ministers with making an unworthy use of the rumours in circulation against her, and reminded them that it was their duty to substantiate the charges affecting her character before depriving her of the least of the honours belonging to her high station. Mr. Tierney insisted that before a division was taken on the money vote, out of which her majesty's maintenance was to be provided, ministers ought to make a distinct acknowledgment of her rights as queen consort, or else offer some explicit statement of the charges made against her. Ministers managed, however, to evade either form of declaration.

On the 28th of February came the dismissal of parliament. The principal paragraph of the royal speech extolled the wisdom, firmness, and prudence of those legislative provisions made just before the death of the late king, for counteracting the designs of the disaffected, and trampling out sedition. The praises of the "Six Acts" concluded with the declaration, "If any doubt had remained as to the nature of those principles by which the peace and happiness of the nation were so seriously menaced, or of the excesses to which they were likely to lead, the flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy which has lately been detected, must open the eyes of the most incredulous, and must vindicate to the whole world the justice and expediency of those measures to which you judged it necessary to resort, in defence of the laws and constitution of the kingdom." The event here adverted to was the Cato Street conspiracy, a plot which ranks among the most malignant, as regards its intended victims, and at the same time, the least likely of success in the objects it had in view, of the many absurd devices that have been entertained for mending the political condition of any nation. A set of obscene, poverty-stricken, and almost illiterate workmen, acting under the leadership of a desperado, who had already acquired some notoriety, indulged the preposterous thought of overturning the monarchy, and lifting themselves into power as the chiefs of a popular government akin to that set afoot in Paris a quarter of a century earlier. The plot appears, at the outset, to have contemplated the killing of the king and some other royal personages. This part of the scheme was eventually abandoned, but the extermination of ministers remained a settled point to the last. After several postponements, the outbreak of revolution was finally arranged for the evening of the 23rd of February. A cabinet dinner had been fixed for that day at the house of Lord Harrowby, in Grosvenor Square. While the banquet was at its height, one of the conspirators was to seek admission to the mansion under pretence of carrying a letter to a member of the government. His confederates were to be lurking close by until the opening of the door, when all were to rush in, secure the servants, and then kill the guests assembled at the banquet. Bags were actually provided in which to carry off the heads of some of the slaughtered ministers, with the intent, probably, of exhibiting to the populace of London ghastly trophies of success, like those which had garnished the French metropolis in several of the earlier stages of the great revolution. The home secretary, Lord Sidmouth, and the foreign secretary, Lord Castlereagh, were to be specially singled out for exemplary vengeance at the hands of the ruthless gang. To heighten the alarm and confusion, several quarters of the metropolis were to be set on fire. Under cover of the expected commotion, the conspirators were to lead mobs of roughs against the Bank of England, the Tower, and the several depots of arms. The Mansion House was to be occupied as the head-quarters of the provisional government to be established on the ruins of the monarchy. The prime mover in this atrocious scheme of wholesale murder and arson was Arthur Thistlewood, who had figured among the chief promoters of the seditious movements in Spa Fields in 1817. On his acquittal, on that occasion, with the elder Watson, on the charge of high treason, he had the effrontery to challenge the home secretary to a duel. This new offence brought him again under a government prosecution, and a sentence of imprisonment, that aroused in his vengeful breast an undying purpose of terrible retribution. Hence his monstrous plot, scarcely parallelled for cool malignity, yet unscrupulously quoted by ministers as evidence of a revolutionary spirit rampant among the people, and giving fullest warrant to gagging Acts, and the other forms of coercive legislation. Among the sworn accomplices of this arch conspirator, was one of those fiendish promoters of crimes who conceal the craft of a paid agent and spy, under the mask of sharing in the treason which it is their business to betray for the price of blood. This was Edwards, who in his sham zeal for the cause of the conspirators, suggested other atrocious crimes which were to take effect as parts of the purposed revolutionary outbreak. The place of meeting was a loft, over a stable, in Cato Street, Edgware Road, where, on the evening of the 23rd of February, fourteen constables, accompanied by a magistrate, pounced upon the conspirators, and caught them in the act of equipping themselves for the intended butchery of ministers. Thistlewood thrust his sword through the heart of the first constable who ventured into the den. Before the other constable could grapple with the desperate gang, the lights were extinguished. Favoured by the darkness, more than a dozen escaped through a window. A party of the guards arrived in time to assist the police in the capture of the remainder, nine in number. Thistlewood, who got off for the time, was tracked to his hiding-place early next morning and secured. The ten were tried in April, and convicted on the charge of high treason. Their leader and four others were executed on the 1st of May; the sentence on the rest was commuted to transportation. Edwards, who, under pretence of being one in this brotherhood of sworn traitors, had decoyed his trustful confederates to their destruction, disappeared amid a buzz of idle rumours of his sudden affluence, which it was thought he had won by his services as a government spy. Nearly forty years after his first notoriety, his hated name became again linked with a horrid crime. In the summer of 1869, the public was startled with the intelligence of a murder deliberately perpetrated, on an insignificant provocation, in which the victim was a worthy old man of good repute among a wide circle of friends and neighbours, and the criminal was a yet more aged man, several years past fourscore. The hoary assassin escaped the vengeance of the law by shooting himself immediately after taking the life of his victim. The inquiries to which this crime gave rise resulted in the discovery that the diabolical old murderer was no other than Edwards the spy. Hiding his earlier infamy under the disguise of a false name, he had for many years earned his bread in the humble occupation of a stamper, in one of the revenue departments at Somerset House. When overtaken by age and infirmity, he was pensioned on an allowance nowise answering in magnitude to the estimate of his affluence which got abroad among the people in the days of his first evil fame. Other plot-mongers, stimulated by a horrid greed of blood-money, were plying their baleful agency in the great towns of Yorkshire, and among the disaffected operatives of Glasgow and neighbouring places, at the time when the country was startled by the exposure of the Cato Street conspiracy. A vague impression and some alarm prevailed of a coming revolutionary outbreak, to commence in many towns on the same day. The authorities were thus put on the alert, and adopted precautions which secured the public tranquillity, if indeed it was really threatened. Troops were gathered in the several centres of rifest political discontent, and bodies of yeomanry volunteers came forward with loyal tenders of service on the side of law and order. That the uneasy feeling was not wholly causeless became clearly apparent in the first week of April, when a placard extensively posted on the walls of Glasgow, and purporting to be issued by the members of a provisional government, told of a revolution to commence next day, and charged the people to leave their factories and workshops, and bear their part in the rising that was to give them political freedom. Ample preparations were made to quell this threatened rising. Partly owing to the disquietude engendered by the gathering of troops and mounted volunteers in the streets, and partly through a belief that insurrection was really to be attempted, the factories and workshops were nearly all untenanted, and dense masses of operatives thronged the main thoroughfares, there to await the event foreshadowed in the ominous proclamation. Nothing happened in the town; but two days later, a collision occurred at Bonnymuir, near Kilsyth, between a troop of the Stirlingshire Yeomanry and a body of about forty men, who left no room to doubt their insurgent character. Several of the military were wounded by shots or other missiles fired from behind walls. They, however, promptly overcame all resistance, and captured nineteen of their assailants. Others compromised in the movement were arrested, and a special commission sat in the summer to try the offenders, three of whom suffered the penalty of death. In the interval between the seizure of the Cato Street plotters and the collision at Bonnymuir, Hunt and the other leaders of the Manchester movement in the preceding August were brought to trial at York. The charge of treason, contemplated in the first instance, was abandoned, and there were other concessions showing that ministers took a soberer view of the transaction than at the time of its occurrence. Four of the defendants, Hunt, Bamford, Healy, and Johnstone, were however convicted, and condemned to various terms of imprisonment on the charge of assembling unlawful meetings, for the purpose of inciting to hatred and contempt of the government. At about the same time, similar prosecutions resulted in similar sentences on Sir Charles Wolseley, and Harrison, his fellow champion of popular rights, for their share in the Stockport demonstration in behalf of parliamentary reform. Major Cartwright and some of his Radical coadjutors were convicted in August on the charge of conspiracy in the election of a legislatorial attorney to represent the unenfranchised constituency of Birmingham in parliament. After long delay, arising out of bills of exceptions tendered to the court on behalf of the defendants, the major was fined a hundred pounds, and the others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Burdett also figured in the court as defendant on a charge of a libel on the government, contained in his letter to the electors of Westminster respecting the Manchester outrage.

The muster-roll of the new parliament, which met for business on the 27th of April, after several days spent in the usual preliminaries, differed very little from the old one. Mr. Manners Sutton again became Speaker. The royal speech was meagre and barren of topics. It foreshadowed a policy of strict economy in the public expenditure, and expressed the king's contentment with a civil list as fixed in 1816, rather than call for an increase of taxation during current unprosperous times. Such a declaration must have cost the royal spendthrift a pang, for he had just been showing ill temper to his ministers for their lack of generosity in the matter of his future income. On the day before the reading of the speech, a letter from the lord chancellor to his daughter told of disquietudes that had ruffled the palace on this very question. "Our royal master," says Lord Eldon, "seems to have got into temper again, as far as I could judge from his conversation with me this morning. He has been pretty well disposed to part with us all, because we would not make additions to his revenue. This we thought we could not conscientiously do in the present state of the country, and of the distress of the middle and lower orders of the people."

Grattan, the gifted Irishman, whose impassioned and brilliant eloquence had often thrilled and charmed the imperial parliament, from its first year onwards, and the separate legislature of his own country from 1782 down to the merging of the two parliaments into one, sank into the grave soon after the opening of the first session of the first parliament of George IV. Sir James Macintosh, in moving the issue of a new writ for Dublin, paid a high tribute to the memory of the departed patriot, who had long represented that city. The sober verdict of after times allows the warmth and brilliancy of his oratory, but is chary in its acknowledgment of his solidity of argument or the correctness of his views as a statesman.

National education figured prominently among topics of debate in the Commons. More real importance attaches to Brougham's motion on the 28th of June, for setting on foot throughout the land the civilizing agency of the school, than to the great quarrel between king and queen which the Lords were then engaged in sifting, and which was fixing the attention of the three kingdoms on its nauseating revelations. Brougham's bill aimed at establishing, at the expense of local rates, a sufficiency of schools in every parish for all children of suitable age. One-tenth of the population, on his computation, ought to be in school. The riper judgment of later reformers in the same line has adopted one-sixth as the true proportion. Statistics gleaned by a parliamentary committee on education in the four years preceding the first serious effort to provide for the education of the whole people, had brought to light the startling fact that nearly a third of the parishes throughout England and Wales were entirely without any semblance of a school;

and that not more than one-sixteenth part of the population received any kind of schooling, even of the merest rudiments, and reckoning in that total the weekly attendances at Sunday-schools, which covered more than half the whole. All parties and sects shared a vague wish that even the lowest grades of society should not go wholly uninstructed. But the difficult problem of so working a school as to satisfy the reasonable scruples of differing religious communions was not to be solved until another half century had yielded the garnered fruits of countless controversies in the senate, the pulpit, the press, and the social circle, and suggested in the end a compromise fairly acceptable to all parties. Though it was evident from the outset that the bill would not pass, the debate served the purpose of fixing the thought of the country on a crying need. Brougham was confronted by one class of objectors, more numerous then than now, though not yet extinct—the alarmists who hold that education does more harm than good among the poor, by unfitting them for a lowly lot in life, and inspiring them with the desire to rise. Good people used to think it a species of wickedness in a poor man to strive to reach the level of his "betters."

Several of the old death-dealing statutes, noteworthy for their grotesque barbarism, fell this year under the assaults of Macintosh, who in a series of bills endeavoured to give effect to the recommendations of the committee appointed at his instance in the previous year. Two of these bills abolished the death penalty for the following, among other comparatively trivial offences:—the maiming of cattle, the destroying of trees, the breaking down of banks of rivers, the sending of threatening letters, receiving stolen goods, the abduction of a woman for the sake of her fortune, the stealing of goods to the value of forty shillings from any shop, and several sorts of forgery. Imprisonment at the discretion of the judge, with transportation for the more aggravated in this category of offences, took the place of capital punishment. A third bill repealed several acts which for ruthless barbarity could hardly be exceeded in the practice of an incensed African or Asiatic despot, dealing out punishments under no better law than the promptings of his own uncultured and capricious temper. Under these ferocious, though perhaps harmless statutes—for judge and jury would assuredly have evaded the attempts of any prosecutor to secure a conviction—the death penalty was threatened against any Egyptian who remained more than a year within the realm; against any notorious thief found resident in Cumberland or Northumberland; against any one found disguised within the Mint; and any mischievous idler who defaced or injured Westminster Bridge. The morose old chancellor, Lord Eldon, still sternly resisted, as far as might be, every innovation on a code which was sacred in his eyes. The peers, under the guidance of their judicial leader, retained capital punishment for thefts from shops to the value of ten pounds and upwards, and listened with callous ears and hearts to many an unanswerable argument in favour of further amendment in the criminal law.

The agricultural interest made its voice heard in more than one debate, in impudent clamourings for further restrictions on the importation of bread-stuffs. The monstrous corn-law of 1815 had failed to keep the price of the loaf at a sufficiently high level to content greedy monopolists in the food of the people. To insure high rents, the lords of the soil, regardless of the privations already afflicting the industrial ranks, began to talk of the necessity of a fixed duty of forty shillings per quarter as the only adequate protection against foreign competition. The existing corn-law, which only a parliament dominated by the landed interest could ever have passed, was at this very time provoking retaliatory tariffs against the products of British industry in countries injured by artificial hindrances to the sale of their food supplies to the hungering multitudes in these isles. In Poland numerous communities petitioned their government to stop the importation of British merchandise as long as our law shut out their corn from our markets. Political economists at home were not silent on the question. Adam Smith's teachings had now been before the world half a century, and were at length sapping the foundations of the most stable monopolies. Guided by his conclusive exposure of what he termed "the mean and malignant expedients of the mercantile system," Ricardo and Baring carried the sense of the House and the country with them in their hard hits at existing hindrances to the buying of corn in the cheapest markets. With a parliament as then composed, the entire repeal of the corn duties was impossible. On the other hand, the most blatant advocate of the delusive practice of protection to native industry no longer ventured to insist on prohibitory imports on bread-stuffs; and the most powerful of protected interests, though not yet overborne, was kept in check, and warned that the days of artificial prices were numbered. Free trade doctrines found emphatic expression in both Houses on other occasions besides the corn-law discussion. The merchants of London and Glasgow petitioned parliament to remove the restrictions impeding foreign trade, to revise the navigation laws, and to open the China and India trade, then monopolized by the East India Company. Lord Lansdowne founded on these petitions a motion for enquiry into the whole subject of the foreign trade of the realm, and elicited from the premier, Lord Liverpool, a general assent to the principles of free trade, coupled, however, with exceptions which betokened only a partial and reluctant conversion to the generous and fruitful policy of unrestricted commerce.

But corn-laws, and the many kindred devices under which the interests of the privileged few were promoted at the cost of the unenfranchised many, were not yet to be abolished or abated. The outworks, however, of the great stronghold of monopoly, were fated to fall in successive years, even before the era of a real representation of the people. But it was reserved for a more liberal parliament, under guidance of more advanced thinkers, to demolish the inner defences and citadel, so to speak, of that evil system which, under the mask of "protection to native industry," laid all the world under contribution for the benefit of the few.

The absorbing question of the session, the leading and most exciting topic of the day, the matter that engrossed the thought and the talk of all ranks, that stirred and shook the very framework of society into an alarming state of commotion, the event that in the eyes of all contemporaries filled the chief place among all the historical occurrences of the reign, has long ago ceased to be thought an affair of national concern to succeeding generations. This was the trial of Queen Caroline by the House of Lords on the grave charge of adultery. Some of the incidents in her unhappy career must be briefly recounted by way of introduction to the Bill of Pains and Penalties which the ministry, on the demand of the king, attempted to carry against her. Her marriage, in 1795, with her cousin, the prince of Wales, like too many other royal marriages, was a heartless bargain of supposed convenience, scarcely preceded by the merest semblance of mutual affection, not to mention the reality of strong personal liking. She was the daughter of that duke of Brunswick who was slain at the battle of Jena, and brother of the next duke, who was killed at Quatre-Bras. Her mother was a sister of George III. All her exalted relatives were active promoters of the match, which resulted so disastrously to the comfort and credit of all the parties concerned. She, among the rest, knew beforehand that her proposed husband was one of the most rakish and dissolute princes in Europe, yet she entered eagerly into the unholy bargain that promised the glittering prize of a queenly crown, though it offered no prospect of domestic happiness. She was ill-educated, hasty in temper, and not qualified by dignity or stability of character to win the regards of a consort of most exacting tastes, and already spoilt by self-indulgence. After a year of unseemly connubial wranglings, the ill-assorted couple separated. The question of the custody and education of their only child, the Princess Charlotte, gave rise to further quarrels. The princess finally found herself without a friend in the royal family of England, with the sole exception of the old king, her uncle, who while his faculties lasted treated her with affectionate consideration, and made successive but unavailing attempts to heal the irreparable breach. When her husband became regent his influence closed against her all the circles in which her rank entitled her to the second place, with the expectancy of the chief place, in female society. To escape the irksome position of a discredited and forsaken princess, she went abroad in 1814. But the cold shadow of her husband's displeasure followed her in her foreign sojourn. She encountered numberless mortifications in the denial of the honours and distinction due to her rank in the foreign courts to which she sought access. Driven by slights and discourtesies from the society befitting her rank, and lacking the strength of mind which has enabled other royal outcasts to sustain with dignity all reverses of fortune, the discarded princess gave full play to her natural levity of character. She mingled freely in masked balls and other questionable entertainments, where many of the guests were of inferior and scarcely respectable grade. With yet more lamentable inattention to the propriety and dignity befitting her exalted station, she descended to numberless familiarities with her own domestics, and exhibited a suspicious partiality and scandalous fondness for an Italian named Bergami, whom she promoted from the mean employment of a courier in her service to the dignity of chamberlain of her household. Rumours were current in the upper ranks of English society, throughout several of the later years of the regency, fixing on the princess the terrible stigma of habitual adultery with this confidant and minion. The regent got ministers to send a secret commission in 1818 to several of the places of her royal highness's foreign travel and residence, for the purpose of gleaning evidence of her guilt. No active measures were taken at the time on the report thus obtained, but ministers agreed with the regent in the conclusion that the princess could never be received in England with the honours due to royalty. Meanwhile negociations passed in the summer of 1819, between Mr. Brougham on behalf of the princess, and the leading members of the cabinet, with the view to an arrangement by which to avoid the necessity of public discussions, damaging alike to the dignity of the throne, the credit of the nation, and to public morals. A scheme was settled, under which ministers engaged to secure an annuity of 50,000*l.* to her royal highness, on condition that she never returned to England, and set up no claim to the rank of queen when her husband should become king. The proposal, however, was not actually communicated to the royal lady until the time for calm deliberation and dispassionate discussion had gone by. Her impetuous temper, already tried by many slights and injuries, was stung to the quick by the omission of her name from the prayer book in the first days of her husband's accession to the throne. Well aware that the generous sympathy of the great bulk of the people would run in her favour in any quarrel with her unpopular husband in respect to her rights as a wife, and that her presence in England would sorely trouble the government, she determined to brave her enemies, challenge a trial, and claim her full privileges as queen of England. She accordingly left Italy, and in the course of a leisurely journey through France to Calais, sent sundry demands to high official personages in England, claiming prompt provision for her reception in a manner befitting her queenly rank. Spurning the overtures made to her by an agent of the government who met her near Calais, she took passage in the common packet-boat to Dover, where, on the morning of the 6th of June, her arrival was greeted by the inhabitants with every demonstration of loyal attachment. She journeyed the same day to London. Amid a vast concourse of people, on foot and on horseback, who were awaiting her approach, she made something like a triumphal progress through some of the principal thoroughfares, and took up her residence in South Audley Street, at the mansion of Alderman Wood, who had ever acted the part of a devoted partisan. "From this time," says the duke of Buckingham,* "the agitation in the public mind hourly increased, till it began to assume a most threatening aspect. The queen never appeared in public, without creating intense excitement. When in the streets her horses were taken from her carriage, and she was drawn in triumph by scores of shouting adherents through a clamorous mob." The damaging stories current in the higher social ranks had not yet reached the multitude, and even when the progress of the trial brought out disclosures that left no doubt of grossly indelicate, not to say criminal, behaviour on the part of the queen, the generous sympathies of the people remained steadfastly enlisted on the weaker side. Cobbett, a front-rank man among the most ardent supporters of the queen, not, however, from disinterested motives—for he states that he availed himself of her cause as a promising means of furthering the political interests which he advocated—gives the following explanation of the devotion of the multitude to the side of the queen. "They, in their sense of justice, went back to the time when she was in fact turned out of her husband's house, with a child in her arms, without blame of any sort having been imputed to her. They compared what they had *heard* of the wife with what they had *seen* of the husband, and they came to their determination accordingly. As far as related to the question of guilt and innocence they cared not a straw, but they took a large view of the matter; they went over her whole history; they determined that she had been wronged, and they resolved to uphold her."

The first public notification of the forthcoming proceedings in parliament was the message from the king to both Houses, on the day of the queen's triumphal entry into London, stating that his majesty had felt the most anxious desire to avert the necessity of disclosures which must be as painful to his people as they were to himself, but that the step now taken by the queen left him no alternative. A secret committee in the Upper House was then appointed, on the proposal of ministers, to report on the sufficiency or otherwise of the evidence contained in papers which were presented in sealed bags. On the 4th of July the committee reported that "the concurrent testimony of a great number of persons, in various situations of life, and residing in different parts of Europe, appeared to be calculated so deeply to affect the character of the queen, the dignity of the crown, and the moral feeling and honour of the country, that it was indispensable that they should become the subject of a solemn inquiry, which would best be effected in the course of a legislative proceeding." Ministers thereupon brought in the Bill of Pains and Penalties, which, after reciting the charge of adultery, provided that the queen should be degraded from her rank and title, and that her marriage with the king should be dissolved. Two days later a party of twelve Italians, witnesses against the queen, on their arrival at Dover met with so rough a reception at the hands of the populace, that it was found expedient to re-embark them, and convey them more stealthily to a lodging adjacent to the Houses of Parliament, where they were placed under the protection of a strong military guard. At a later stage in the trial another party of twenty Italians, in the interest of the queen, were received at Dover with every demonstration of the liveliest good-will. Groans and hisses assailed the principal ministers on their approach to the House, or other appearances in public. Even the soldiers on guard about the palace and the public offices caught the popular infection in behalf of the queen. The ferment grew as the trial proceeded, until at length government had to abandon the bill, to avoid the imminent risk of wide-spread insurrection which they were powerless to confront, since it was abundantly clear the troops would refuse to act against the people in quelling the expected outbreak. The second reading, however, which followed the evidence and the speeches of counsel on both sides, and which was deemed equivalent to the question of guilty or not guilty in other courts, was carried by one hundred and twenty-three against ninety-five. On the third reading, however, this majority of twenty-eight dropped to nine only. The session, meanwhile, had already been protracted far into November, the all-engrossing "Degradation Bill," as it was often called, having occupied the exclusive attention of the Upper House for five entire months. The House of Commons, which, by repeated adjournments, had been kept in readiness to take up the bill, had given many unmistakable indications that within their ranks the customary ministerial majorities would not this time be found. These considerations, and the intense excitement out of doors, stayed the further progress of the measure. The premier announced the abandonment of the bill, and on the 23rd of November parliament was prorogued, without the usual formality of a speech from the throne.

The trial called forth many magnificent displays of forensic eloquence, both on the side of the prosecution and the defence. Brougham, attorney-general to the queen, surpassed, if possible, all his former achievements in persuasive oratory, especially in his magnificent two days' speech, closing in the following brilliant peroration:—"My lords, I call upon you to pause. You stand on the brink of a precipice. If your judgment should go against the queen, it will be the only act that ever went out without effecting its purpose: it will return to you upon your heads. Save the country! Save yourselves! Oh, rescue the country! Save the people of whom you are the ornaments, but severed from whom you can no more live than the blossom that is severed from the stalk and tree on which it grows. Save the country, therefore, that you may continue to adorn it; save the crown, which is threatened with irreparable injury; save the aristocracy, which is surrounded with danger; save the altar, which is no longer safe when its kindred throne is shaken. You see that when the church and the throne would allow of no church solemnity on behalf of the queen, the heartfelt prayers of the people rose to heaven for her protection. I pray heaven for her, and here I pour forth my fervent supplication to the throne of mercy, that mercies may descend on the people of this country, higher than their rulers have deserved, and that your hearts may be turned to justice."

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* 'Memoirs of the Court of George IV.,' vol. i., p. 31.

Events soon proved that the verdict of the people took no account of the question of guilt or innocence,[*] but expressed simply their generous commiseration with the injured and persecuted wife, mingled with a feeling that the prosecutor, in this appeal to the sanctity of the law, was the last man entitled to prosecute for breach of the marriage vows. There was abundant rejoicing, bell-ringing, and illuminations, in celebration of the break down in the trial, and numerous addresses of congratulation flowed in thick and fast for some weeks afterwards. But no popular support was forthcoming in aid of the queen's further ill-advised efforts to establish her right to be crowned with the king, of which, in due course, further mention will be made.

The session of 1821 began on the 23rd of January. The royal speech, delivered this time by the king in person, was marked by a subdued and crest-fallen tone, in marked contrast, considering recent occurrences, with the hard and unyielding language too commonly applied in those days to popular disquietude and opposition on the part of the masses to the policy of their rulers. The queen's name was mentioned, but only to recommend the settlement of an adequate income upon her in lieu of her former allowance as princess of Wales. A message from her majesty to the Commons, a few days later, expressed her unalterable determination to accept no pecuniary allowance until her name was restored to its place in the liturgy. Mr. Brougham and other Whig lawyers contended that her acquittal entitled her to be treated as if she had never been tried, a line of argument which drew from Lord Castlereagh the conclusive rejoinder: "I will grant she was technically acquitted, and may claim the possession of those privileges to which she has strictly a legal right; but the insertion of her name in the liturgy is not a matter of right; and when her character has been so far affected by the evidence produced against her, that one hundred and twenty-three against ninety-five peers pronounced her guilty, the crown cannot be advised to grant this or any other favour which depends on its pleasure to be granted or withheld. Toward the queen personally, I feel compassion; but since they who affect to be her friends have renewed the discussion, be theirs the odium and the mischief which must ensue." An allowance of 50,000*l.* per annum was secured to the queen by a bill. Her necessities left her no choice but to take the pension, although it was not awarded on the terms she had indiscreetly laid down as immutable.

Parliamentary reform came under discussion several times this year. Lord John Russell carried through the Commons his bill for disfranchising Grampound, and bestowing the two vacant seats thus obtained on the great manufacturing town of Leeds. The Upper House agreed to the disfranchisement, but differed from the Commons in the disposal of the seats Leeds had still to wait, but the county in which it stands gained the two additional members. In April, Mr. Lambton brought forward a motion for amendment in the representation, which occupied two days' debate, and was only negatived by a narrow majority of twelve. His scheme proposed to enlarge the area from which borough members were drawn, and to give one member to every twenty-five thousand inhabitants contained in the electoral districts obtained by such extension. All tax-paying householders were to have the franchise. The counties were to keep their separate representation, but the franchise was to be extended so as to include copyholders and certain classes of leaseholders, in addition to the freeholders. In the following month came the kindred debate on Lord John Russell's string of resolutions respecting bribery at elections, the disfranchisement of corrupt boroughs, and the assignment of seats thus gained to towns which had grown into consequence. The cause of reform was clearly looking up, but it was still unfashionable, though not so easily frowned down in good society as in the years of the regency and earlier. Sidney Smith had lately written: "All wise men should begin to turn their minds reform-wards. We shall do it better than Mr. Hunt and Mr. Cobbett. Done it must and will be." A series of free-trade resolutions found more favour than either of the motions on parliamentary reform. These paved the way for a thorough overhauling, in succeeding years, of many a time-honoured fallacy and for many a fruitful reform. The agricultural interest became again plaintive on the woes that spring from abundant harvests. But the groans of landowners were not on this occasion efficacious; government turned a deaf ear to lamentations on a fall in the price of bread, and declined, moreover, to remove the malt tax. Mr. Hume was now establishing his fame as the leading champion of economy in public expenditure. His calls for retrenchment in the estimates of this year were quite multitudinous, and not altogether inoperative. His detailed comparison of the peace expenditure for 1792, with that provided for in the estimates before the House, produced a deep sensation.

Mr. Plunket's bill for the removal of Catholic disabilities passed through the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. Canning, who had withdrawn from the ministry rather than bear part in the prosecution of the queen, was prominent among the champions of this bill, as was Peel among its opponents.

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[*] "How far had she the right to assert innocence? The virtual verdict of the Lords may justly be taken as equivalent to the sentence *Not proven.* Are we entitled to add *Not guilty?* A great authority allows us to record his opinion. The late lord chancellor (Lord Hatherley) as a very young man, was acquainted with Queen Caroline, of whose cause his own father (Alderman Wood) was the most strenuous supporter. His evidence, on this account, might be naturally regarded as open to question. But fifty years have now passed since the trial of Queen Caroline, and, on a calm review of the whole circumstances, Lord Hatherley unites his deliberate conviction with that of Lord Denman (fellow-advocate with Brougham in the defence), in the belief in her innocence."—*Note communicated by Mr. Palgrave.*

Foreign affairs afforded matter for several animated debates, and gave occasion for smart hits at ministerial leanings towards the wrong side in quarrels then waging between the people and their despotic rulers in several of the states of southern Europe. In 1820, Spain and Portugal wrung from their absolute governments the concession of free institutions. The example of their success stirred the Italian states, from Sicily to Venice and Piedmont, with fervent aspirations for constitutional government. The Neapolitan army took the contagion of liberty, and joined with the party of progress in wresting from their tyrannical sovereign a charter of representative government on the model of that set up in Spain. Early in 1821 Piedmont followed the example of Naples. But the triumph of liberal principles was of short duration. The leading members of the *Holy Alliance*, the despotic sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, came to the rescue of their weaker brethren. Austrian armies swarmed over Italy, and restored the old order of absolute governments. Spain and Portugal escaped similar intervention until the Bourbon king of France joined in the following year the league against representative institutions. Meanwhile an insolent warning went forth, threatening the vengeful visitation of the *Holy Alliance* on any continental state that should change its political institutions except under the unconstrained will of its king. The confederacy of despots now put forth without reserve the blasphemous pretension that they and all other lawful monarchs were the vicegerents of God on earth; and that inasmuch as they derived their power from him alone, every restriction on the exercise of their own unfettered free-will was an infringement of the divine purpose. The recent policy of the British government had laid it open to the suspicion of active sympathy with continental tyrants, and disfavour or ill-will towards nations that adopted forms of government akin to our own. Hence ministers were now taunted with favouring the *Holy Alliance*, despite their frequent assertions of dissent from the aims and practice of that league of tyrants. In a motion calling for copies of despatches to and from all foreign states respecting the late transactions in Italy, Lord Grey forcibly condemned the monstrous pretension of the three great military despots of northern and eastern Europe, who, in a recent circular to other governments, had in effect declared that they would put down every change in the political institutions of nations, except such as squared with their own arbitrary notions of fitness. He at the same time took ministers to task for withholding every form of countenance or encouragement to representative institutions abroad, of which their blank refusal to acknowledge the constitutional government established in Naples was a marked illustration. Lord Lansdowne subsequently moved an address to the king, asking him to remonstrate with the aggressive *Holy Alliance*. This, like the other motions on foreign affairs, was out-voted, but the debates checked the further exhibition of good-will on the part of the king and his Tory advisers towards the aims and practices of the league of continental despots.

On the 11th of July came the prorogation, and eight days later that great event of the year, the coronation, which delayed the usual rapid dispersion of parliament after the labours of a session. The ceremony was to have taken place a year earlier, but the queen's unexpected appearance on the stage of public life frustrated the first arrangement. The rare ceremonial was now performed with unexampled pomp and splendour. The king had set his heart on a gorgeous and dazzling pageant, and with a view to success, had made the coronation ceremonials, processions, and festivities of earlier reigns, the subject of his particular study. It is admitted that his own coronation surpassed in the superb magnificence of its spectacular effect all preceding or subsequent displays on similar occasions. Westminster Hall and the neighbouring abbey were the two great centres of the imposing ceremonial. These ancient historic edifices accommodated seven thousand privileged spectators, including both Houses of parliament, and other upper sections of the aristocracy, male and female, ambassadors and other representatives of foreign courts, and the front-rank men of every profession, naval, military, legal, clerical, scientific, literary, artistic, and mercantile. A covered platform, fifteen hundred feet long, traversed the space from the north door of the hall to the west entrance of the abbey, and was flanked on both sides with tiers of seats, enough altogether for an additional hundred thousand favoured spectators. The vast stone-flagged hall was on this occasion covered with a flooring of wood. Three tiers of galleries, richly-draped and decorated, sprang from the eastern and western side of the hall. On the elevated platform at the southern end stood the throne, the chair of state, and the principal table for the banquet that followed the solemnity in the abbey. Six more superbly-garnished tables, each fifty-six feet long and seven feet wide, and all freighted with a precious burden of gold and silver plate, extended their dazzling splendours far down the spacious hall. The sombre law-courts that open into the hall were on this occasion radiant with all the brilliant accessories of banqueting saloons: in them were feasted two thousand members of the royal procession or other favoured guests. The abbey was fitted with corresponding magnificence. All the neighbouring windows and house-tops were gay with banners and devices, and fitted with seats, which received throngs of gazers in holiday humour. Long before the earliest streak of dawn on that long summer day the streets converging on the hall and abbey were thronged with pedestrians and carriages, all wending toward the same centre of attraction. By five o'clock many happy possessors of the lord-chamberlain's or the earl-marshal's tickets had taken their seats. At nine the great court dignitaries and highest officers of the king's household, the peers of every grade, and others who were to fill places in the great procession, clad in the state robes appropriate to their several ranks and dignities, and not a few in the quaint and gorgeous costumes of mediæval times, were clustering in picturesque masses about the ample area of the hall, presenting, in combination with the dazzling ranges of galleries where rank and wealth and beauty set forth an unparallelled display, a scene which transcends the power of words to depict. All the privileged ranks being duly marshalled into the prescribed order, the king took his place in the procession precisely at ten o'clock, under a canopy of cloth of gold, and the cortége moved onward to the abbey, the trumpets sounding, the drums beating, and numerous choristers singing in parts the anthem, "O Lord, grant the king a long life." After the five hours' ceremonial, which included a prolonged religious service, the administration of the coronation oath, the homage of the peers, and many antique rites of mysterious significance, the procession returned to the hall, amid loud and prolonged acclamations of "God save the king," and greeted by the hearty cheers of the assembled multitudes. The banquet was signalized by the profuse magnificence and some of the curious ceremonial observances in vogue many centuries earlier in the serving of royal festivities. The first course at the royal table was brought in by a grand procession, copied from feudal times. A long array of clerks of the kitchen and gentlemen pensioners bearing dishes under silver covers, was headed by the duke of Wellington in his capacity of lord high constable, accompanied by the marquis of Anglesey as lord high steward, and Lord Howard of Effingham, who was deputy earl-marshal. The three chief dignitaries, in rich robes of office, were mounted on splendidly caparisoned steeds, whose prancings and caracolings added a lively feature to the scenic magnificence of the banquet. Then came the challenge of the king's champion, who was mounted on a splendid charger, and attended by heralds, trumpeters, esquires, and pages. It need hardly be told that no one ventured to accept the repeated challenges of this redoubted knight to contest with him in mortal strife the question of the king's right to the throne. Then were drinkings of sundry toasts, proclamations by the heralds of the king's titles, and sundry other ceremonials. On the withdrawal of the royal party, the other tables were promptly deserted by the sated feasters; but the hungry and thirsty guests, whose part had been that of spectators only, now came down from the galleries and made a speedy clearance of the unconsumed delicacies. Not content with slaking their thirst in choicest beverages, and staying their hunger with the large remnants of the banquet, hundreds of the feasters made spoil of the costly ornaments, and even of articles of plate, which they were not ashamed to bear away as trophies of their participation in the rare coronation ceremonial. Contemporary writers allege that ladies of rank shared in this unseemly snatching, and bore off the plunder in carriages emblazoned with heraldic devices, that pointed to illustrious names in the aristocracy. In order to lessen the rush of pedestrian sight-seers to the great spectacle at Westminster, amusements were provided to engage the attention of multitudes in other quarters of the metropolis. Hyde Park was the scene of the chief of these fêtes, including a boat-race on the Serpentine, a balloon ascent, and an exhibition of fireworks. All the theatres, too, were thrown open free of charge, so far as the actual play-goers on that occasion were concerned. Westminster Hall, with its fittings, furnishings, and decorations, became for three days the leading show in the metropolis, before it was denuded of its transient glories. The members of the House of Commons received each from the Speaker a golden commemorative medal, of the weight of a full ounce. The total cost out of the public purse of the coronation and its festive accompaniments amounted to 238,000*l.* The enormous expense, when announced, provoked much indignant comment, especially the fabulous outlay of 25,000*l.* on the mere coronation robes, which after one hour's wear were cast-off garments, never again to serve other use than that of reminding the beholders how huge were the squanderings of George IV. on mere pomp and pageantry. The more intellectual and refined tastes of succeeding reigns have suggested less costly yet not less gratifying celebrations of the sort.

The shows, fireworks, balloons, and other entertainments that drew throngs of people away from the vicinity of the great transaction of the day, were suggested by other considerations besides that of lessening the crush at the central attraction. There were serious grounds to apprehend that the smooth course of the day's proceedings would be marred, and even altogether frustrated, by the part the queen, backed by the populace, seemed intent on enacting for the further discomfiture of the husband who had disowned her. When the announcement first went forth fixing the day for the ceremony, the queen put in a formal claim to be crowned on the same occasion, like her royal predecessors. The case was duly argued before the privy council by her legal functionaries, Brougham and Denman, and the crown lawyers made rejoinders which were everywhere admitted to be conclusive against the claim. After three days' deliberation, the law lords gave judgment "that queens consort were not entitled of right to be crowned at any time, and that her majesty the queen was not entitled to be crowned at the time specified in her majesty's memorial." The lord chancellor thus recapitulates, in a letter written to his daughter while the case was going forward, the story of earlier coronations of queens. "I have been at the privy council all the morning, hearing Brougham argue the claim of the queen to be crowned. His argument seemed to most there to prove the very reverse of any such claim, as a right. She claims to be crowned with the king on the same day, and at the same place. William the Conqueror's queen was crowned two years after he was crowned; Henry I.'s queen, ditto; Stephen's queen, ditto; Richard I.'s queen, crowned abroad; John's queen not crowned with him, but alone; Henry III.'s queen not with him, but afterwards alone; Edward III.'s queen crowned alone; Henry IV.'s queen not crowned with him, but alone; Henry V.'s, ditto; Henry VI.'s queen not crowned with him, but alone; Henry VII.'s queen crowned long after him; Henry VIII., some of his queens crowned, some not crowned; Charles I., his queen not crowned at all; Charles II., his queen not crowned at all; George II.'s queen, or George I.'s, I am not sure which, not crowned at all."

Caroline of Brunswick bowed to no earthly authority, whether regal, legislative, or judicial, when its judgments contravened the suggestions of her lofty spirit. In defiance of the decision of the privy council, and of the notification that the king's ministers could not advise his majesty to give orders for her coronation, the queen announced to the government her fixed determination to be present at the ceremony, and demanded that suitable arrangements should be made for her reception. Failing to get a satisfactory reply from any member of the cabinet, she applied to the archbishop of Canterbury to crown her alone, if not on the same day with the king. The reply of the head of the church acknowledged with all humility her majesty's communications, and stated that his grace could take no step in the subject-matter thereof without the commands of the king. Still her resolve remained unshaken to force her way, an unbidden guest, into the sanctuary where the solemnity was to take place, and to mar, if she might not share, the appointed celebration. Accordingly she made her way, while hall and abbey were filling, to several of the entrances of each, accompanied by her chamberlain, Lord Hood, and a small suite. Denied admission at every avenue; deeply mortified at the proofs everywhere forced upon her that popular enthusiasm had deserted her cause; saluted with jeers and derisive laughter from some unmannerly persons, and with cries of "Shame! shame!" "Off! off!" by many other disapproving spectators of her attempts to pass into the sacred building, where her presence could only spoil a great public celebration; repulsed, discomfited, degraded in her own eyes by the averted looks of throngs of her own sex among those high-born guests at the festival whom she encountered in the avenues, Queen Caroline returned humiliated to her home, and finally disenchanted of the illusions that had heretofore sustained her in the unyielding struggle for her lost position. Her vital forces rapidly succumbed under the tension of excitement and strife that a due sense of her position should have counselled her to shrink from. She fell ill of an internal inflammation, ending in mortification, and died on the 7th of August, at Brandenburgh House, Hammersmith, in the 53rd year of her age. As the final hour approached, she told her attendants in mournful accents that she would quit life without regret, and had no wish to live. Her dying instructions directed that her coffin should bear the inscription, "Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured queen of England," and that the corpse should be conveyed to her native land, for sepulture with her ancestry. The king was on the way to Ireland when news reached him of her decease. He delayed his passage across from Holyhead to Dublin until the removal of the body from England, and remained in privacy a few days afterwards at Phœnix Park. Public sentiment had been shocked by the queen's claim to share in the honours of the coronation, and especially by the false step of her endeavour to force an entrance into the abbey, but a reaction of feeling set in at the sad close of her unhappy career. Multitudes thronged along the line of road which the funeral procession was expected to follow in the transit through London. The authorities endeavoured to send the hearse under military escort by a more circuitous route, to avoid the risk of unseemly popular demonstrations. In this they were baffled by surging masses of unruly people, who blocked up every turning where an inclination was shown or suspected to quit the direct way to the city. At Cumberland Gate a collision occured between the mob and the soldiery, when the latter, in self-defence, fired a volley, that killed two and wounded several more of the rioters. At Tottenham Court Road every avenue was blocked and roughly barricaded, except the way through Drury Lane to the city, which accordingly was followed as a preferable alternative to another bloody encounter. Loud and prolonged shouts of triumph proclaimed the great contentment of the rushing crowd as the funeral *cortége* and guard of honour followed submissively in the track thus marked out. The civic authorities attended the procession from Temple Bar to Whitechapel. Crowds of excited people continued to hang on the line of march as far as Romford. At Colchester there was a halt for the night, and next day the coffin was shipped at Harwich, and passed on by way of Holland to the home and the grave of the ill-starred family from which sprang the unhappy Caroline of Brunswick.

The king had started, as already mentioned, on an excursion of pleasure, before the short and fatal illness of the queen began. A few days after the coronation he undertook his long-premeditated visit to Ireland. The possibilities of rapid journeying, such as in later times enable the sovereign to traverse almost the entire length of Great Britain within the limits of a day and night, found as yet no place among the boldest conceptions of science or the wildest imaginings of the visionary. But although the locomotive engine had not yet been taught to move on land with the speed of the wind, and to haul with equal velocity a long line of heavily freighted trucks and carriages, its elder brother, the marine engine, was already entering on its first hopeful performances, urging wheeled ships through the seas, and liberating grateful travellers from the caprice of the winds or the tantalizing hindrance of tides. George IV.'s route to Ireland chanced to be by way of Holyhead, but his journey thither occupied a greater number of days than the hours now consumed in traversing the distance between the same spot and London. He went, however, by the devious watery way down channel, for the yachting season was on, and summer seas wore their most alluring aspect. The royal squadron learned off Anglesey the latest news from London, in consequence of which the visit to the Irish metropolis was put off until after the funeral of the queen. On Sunday, the 14th of August, the king went over by the steamboat from Holyhead to Howth, and after a few days of seclusion in the viceregal lodge at Phœnix Park, made his public entry into Dublin on the 17th. Never was monarch received with more rapturous heartiness and fervent loyalty than that which welcomed George IV. on this occasion, and indeed throughout the three weeks of his happy sojourn among his Irish subjects. For once the whole nation seemed to have attained to a happy forgetfulness of its woes, and to have entered on a very beatitude of universal concord. The chronic and irreconcilable enmities of hostile sects and parties were hushed and exorcised from the land; and the only rivalry that stirred the breasts of ancient foes was the emulous effort to outdo each other in generous forgetfulness and forgiveness of mutual antagonisms and inherited feuds, in order the better to join in worthily welcoming the first sovereign who had ever visited their land in peace. The address presented to the king in the name of the inhabitants of Dublin, just as he was quitting the Irish shore, stated, without much exaggeration, that at his approach discord ceased, every prejudice took flight, and that he had vanquished every bad passion in the hearts of his six millions of attached and devoted Irish subjects. The port of Dunleary, seven miles from Dublin, whence George IV. sailed for England, took thenceforward the name of Kingstown, to commemorate the visit. The day after the departure of the royal squadron there appeared in the Dublin papers a glowing official acknowledgment on the part of his majesty of the magnificent welcome that had greeted his first sojourn in Ireland. Lord Sidmouth, who was in attendance on the king through this journey, wrote, by royal command: "The testimonies of dutiful and affectionate attachment, which his majesty has received from all classes and descriptions of his Irish subjects, have made the deepest impression, and he looks forward to the period when he shall revisit them with the strongest feeling of satisfaction. His majesty trusts that in the mean time, not only the spirit of loyal union which now so generally exists will remain unabated and unimpaired, but that *every cause of irritation may be avoided and discountenanced*, mutual forbearance and goodwill observed and encouraged, and a security be thus afforded for the continuance of that concord among themselves which is not less essential to his majesty's happiness than to their own, and which it has been the chief object of his majesty, during his residence in this country, to cherish and promote. His majesty well knows the generosity and warmth of heart which distinguish the character of his faithful people in Ireland; and he leaves them with a heart full of affection towards them, and with a confident and gratifying persuasion that this parting admonition and injunction of their sovereign will not be given in vain." Too soon, alas, for the interests and happiness of Ireland, a vigorous growth of old discords sprang up, and offered another dismal commentary on the vanity of human wishes.

Foul weather overtook the royal squadron on the passage down channel. After five days' tossing about, the king was glad enough to get safely ashore at Milford Haven, instead of going round as first intended by the Land's End. Spending a few days in London, the royal tourist embarked on the 24th of September, at Ramsgate, on a visit to his continental dominions. He journeyed leisurely from Calais through Lisle, Brussels, and Aix-la-Chapelle, making a pilgrimage by the way to Waterloo. His ten days' sojourn among his Hanoverian subjects were crowded with a succession of festivals, rejoicings, galas, and various cordial demonstrations of the loyalty and delight of the people. The round of excitement included a tournament, a military review, a hunt on a most extensive scale, and a coronation, the latter ceremonial on a more modest scale of splendour than the celebration in London twelve weeks earlier.

Scarcely had the king returned to England, before his recent day-dreams of harmony and conciliation among his Irish subjects were suddenly dispelled. The town populations resumed their party strifes, and the peasantry in wide districts of the south broke out in destructive and bloody outrages against the gentry and farmers. Bands of Whiteboys, sometimes numbering more than a hundred, sallied forth in the night on expeditions of wholesale plunder, destruction of property, and murder. The disorders this time had no reference to religion or politics, but sprang entirely from disagreements about the tenure of plots of potato ground in the occupation of cotters. Farmers who could get neither rent nor labour from these under-tenants on their land, were naturally enough prone to clear their holdings of such unprofitable and burdensome encumbrances. Such clearances or evictions were frequently avenged with all the ruthless savagery of Red Indians. Thus in Tipperary, a few weeks before the session began, a farmer named Shea, together with his wife, seven children, and five faithful labourers, were burnt in the farmhouse by a band of miscreants, some of whom had been dispossessed of plots of ground held under him. Such of the shrieking victims as endeavoured to escape from the flames were thrust back by the surrounding gang of inhuman monsters into the burning ruin. To check such atrocities, the old Insurrection Act was revived and the Habeas Corpus Act suspended. These coercive measures became law on the sixth day of the session. The Insurrection Act interdicted the inhabitants of proclaimed districts from quitting their homes between sunset and sunrise. Powers of search were given to the authorities, and the severe penalty of transportation for seven years was affixed to the infringement of this law. The remedy seems sharp, but the disease was acute. Some changes in the Irish executive, made shortly before the meeting of parliament, had for their object to conciliate the Catholics by the show, if not the reality, of concession. A new viceroy, the marquis of Wellesley, friendly to their claims, took the place of Lord Talbot, one of the most unbending upholders of Protestant ascendancy. Mr. Plunket, the acknowledged successor of Grattan as the champion of emancipation, became at the same time attorney-general for Ireland, in succession to another staunch advocate of ultra-orange principles. Mr. Goulburn, however, the new Irish secretary, was decidedly anti-Catholic—the very ground on which he was chosen as a counterpoise to the viceroy. Both the great Irish factions were accordingly less disposed to thankfulness for benefits tendered to themselves than to grumblings on account of concessions made to their rivals. Neither side was satisfied under this system of giving with one hand and taking back with the other, but in the troubled sea of Irish politics plain sailing was rather a thing to be desired than attempted. There were further changes in the government beyond those merely affecting Ireland. Lord Sidmouth wisely withdrew from his post as home secretary at a time of comparative lull in his long career of unpopularity. He took credit for quitting his official bed only because it had ceased to be a bed of thorns and had become a bed of roses. Rating himself as a dutiful pilot who had unflinchingly weathered the storm, he took comfort in the thought that he might retire with honour now that the political atmosphere was cleared of the black clouds of sedition. Though he relinquished the cares of office, he remained somewhat longer a supernumerary member of the cabinet. The new home secretary was Mr. Peel, immeasurably the superior of Sidmouth in all the attributes of statesmanship, though at the time regarded as an official of the same stamp with the self-satisfied promoter and framer of gagging Acts, the patron of espionage, the cherisher of that Judas-like fraternity of spies and informers—Oliver, Castles, Edwards, and their compeers, who stirred up sedition that they might reap a harvest of Sidmouth's blood-money. The Grenville section of the Whig party now abandoned their half-hearted allegiance to the cause of progress, and received forthwith an earnest of good things to come under the sunshine of ministerial favour. Lord Grenville himself had withdrawn from active life years before, with the solace of a huge pension, so he claimed no share in the rewards that now fell to his followers on their passing bodily into the ministerial camp. The marquis of Buckingham, however, was lifted into a dukedom; Mr. Wynne was made chief of the Board of Control for India; and a third deserter received appointments to the value of four thousand a year. None of the party at this time was of any eminence in debate, so that government gained nothing but the votes of its new allies, against which was the set-off that the new support was notoriously not disinterested.

Mr. Canning had withdrawn from his post of president of the India Board at the commencement of the queen's trial, by way of wiping his hands of complicity in that proceeding. He counted upon being invited back when the affair was well over, in reward for his silent neutrality; but the resentment of his colleagues at his desertion was not yet appeased, so, to his deep mortification, he was passed over in these reconstructions. The East India Company now invited him to fill the great post just about to be vacated by Lord Hastings, that of governor-general of India. He accepted the brilliant prospect, though probably not without some of those hesitations and regrets natural to a man filled with the proud consciousness of his own fitness to play a great part at home, and convinced that the day was not distant when the highest prizes in the political world might be within his reach. Not to quit the field of his fame without making his old, and, perhaps, envious colleagues, smart under experience of his strength in opposition to them, he now brought forward and carried against them a motion on one of the salient points of their policy. He moved for leave on the last day of April to bring in a bill to restore to Catholic peers the right of sitting and voting in parliament. His speech on the occasion made a great impression, and marked a stage in the great controversy that had taxed beyond all other questions the resources of statesmanship from Pitt's time onwards. With a happy reference to the coronation, he enquired: "Do you imagine it never occurred to the representatives of Europe, when contemplating this animating spectacle—did it occur to the ambassadors of Catholic Austria, of Catholic France, or of states more bigoted in matters of religion—that the moment this solemn ceremony was over, the duke of Norfolk would become disseised of the exercise of his privileges among his fellow peers?—that his robes of ceremony were to be laid aside and hung up, until the distant (be it a very distant) day when the coronation of a successor to his present most gracious sovereign might again call him forth to assist at a similar solemnization?—that after being exhibited to the eyes of the peers and people of England, and to the representatives of the princes and nations of the world, the duke of Norfolk, highest in rank amongst the peers, the Lord Clifford, and others like him, representing a long line of illustrious ancestry, as if called forth and furnished for the occasion, like the lustres and banners that flamed and glittered in the scene, were to be, like them, thrown by as useless and trumpery formalities? That they might bend the knee and kiss the hand, that they might bear the train or rear the canopy, might discharge the offices assigned by Roman pride to their barbarian ancestors—

'Purpurea tollant aulæa Britanni,'

but with the pageantry of the hour their importance faded away? That as their distinction vanished, their humiliation returned, and he who headed the procession of peers to-day, could not sit among them as their equal on the morrow?" The Bill passed the Commons by a majority of five, but met in the Lords the customary fate of all measures for the removal of Catholic disabilities.

The landed and farming interests came again before parliament, as last year, with their budget of griefs. Corn was so abundant that importation had well-nigh ceased, so it was useless this time to talk of higher import duties. During the recess country gentlemen had borne a prominent part at many meetings where frugal government expenditure was strenuously demanded, and a flood of petitions now came into both Houses enforcing the same notion. It was therefore, thought the Tory chiefs, high time to appease, if possible, the irate country squires and their following, the agricultural folks, who talked at times of going over into the other political camp. The malt tax was accordingly repealed, and the landed interest got the further indulgence of government loans on the security of warehoused grain.

Lord John Russell essayed again, with no better fortune than before, to amend the representation of the people in parliament. He proposed this time an addition of sixty members for counties, and forty for the large unrepresented towns, the seats thus added being gained by taking one from each of a hundred of the petty constituencies endowed with dual representation. Canning, so lately the eloquent preacher of political righteousness in its application to the few peers excluded by their religion from the privilege of legislating for their countrymen, was not ashamed to rank among the most uncompromising upholders of political disabilities, under which Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and many other great centres of wealth and population, were deprived of sharing in the choice of representatives in the people's branch of the legislature. He denounced this moderate measure of reform as a dangerous scheme, replete with awful consequences to the national well-being; and conjured the House to give no countenance to theories of abstract perfection, impossible of attainment, but rather to uphold a system that had stood well the test and strain of long experience. The majority against the motion, though still considerable, was smaller than in previous sessions. When the votes were announced the defeated reformers hailed their growing numbers with loud and repeated cheers, that told of reliance on better days not far ahead.

Ireland filled a prominent place in the work of the session on other grounds than midnight murder and burnings that called for the vengeful arm of exceptionally stringent law. Famine and fever were rampant through large tracts of the southern half of the island during the spring and summer. Corn was not scarce, but the wretched peasantry had accommodated themselves to a scale of subsistence which excluded the use of bread, as too great a luxury. They depended chiefly on the potato crop, and this cheaper diet suddenly failed them. A wet season had rotted the root, and the yield fell short by one half the estimated crop. In April came the loud wail of distress from starving myriads, and parliament was called upon to make a grant for the purchase of food supplies. Half a million sterling was placed at the disposal of the lord-lieutenant, to be expended on public works, with the view to employing the able-bodied poor, or disbursed in doles of food to those who could not work. Private benevolence throughout England and Scotland proved scarcely less fruitful in its abundant offerings in mitigation of the calamity. This source alone furnished more than three hundred thousand pounds, the absentee landlords of Ireland figuring most discreditably for their very scanty contributions to the fund for the relief of that destitution which had the strongest claim on their purses. Their stinginess on this trying occasion was remembered against them sixteen years later, when legal provision was made for the destitute at the expense of the land.

The temper of the times on the question of retrenchment was not without its effect on the budget of the year. The total remissions of taxation amounted to three and a half millions. The lion's share of the remissions fell to the landed interest, in the abandonment of the malt tax, to appease their ravening cry. All succeeding finance ministers must have admired and envied that happy stroke by which in this session Mr. Vansittart wiped off nearly a million and a quarter of the annual burden on the public in the form of interest on the national debt. The high price of public securities tempted him to create a new four per cent. stock in lieu of the navy five per cents., the holders of the latter having the option of being paid off at par, or of taking the new stock with a small increase of capital by way of bonus. The hundred and forty millions of old five per cents. were successfully transformed on terms that gave the public the large advantage already stated. Another financial device of the same date effected a further large easement of current charges, but at the expense of posterity. The late war had left among its other encumbrances a heavy weight of naval and military half-pay and superannuation allowances. These outgoings, together with civil service pensions, were called collectively the dead weight annuities, because paid for services no longer available. They stood in the aggregate at nearly five millions sterling for the year 1822; but in each succeeding year, as the annuitants died off, there would follow a corresponding decrease. It was a matter of simple life-assurance calculation to find that a fixed yearly payment of 2,800,000*l.*, extending over forty-five years, formed the equivalent for liabilities beginning with nearly five millions in the first year, but gradually dropping off to nothing on the death of the last annuitant. Such accordingly was the scheme of conversion propounded by the chancellor of the exchequer, who got the Bank of England to take upon itself the obligation of paying off the dead-weight annuities, on condition of receiving each year until 1867 the fixed sum of 2,800,000*l.* from the exchequer. There was no novelty of principle in this operation; it was merely one of the tricks of the trade by which the race of financiers in all countries shunt the burdens of their own time on to the future. Some minor retrenchments in current expenditure were forced upon ministers by the co-operation of not a few thorough-paced Tories of the old school with the regular opposition. Motions were carried for dismissing some superfluous place-holders, including one of the two postmasters-general and two of the seven lords of the Admiralty. An assault was next made on the overgrown diplomatic establishments, but the foreign secretary succeeded in winning back the lost or wavering allegiance of his followers by threatening a resignation of the cabinet, in the event of the vote being carried against them. On this cry of alarm a large majority came to the rescue; but opposition extracted from ministers a return that exposed in most damaging light the hidden springs of action that operated in all similar ministerial emergencies. Without reckoning the seventy-nine members who held naval or military commissions at the pleasure of the crown, there were no fewer than eighty-nine members then sitting in the House who were tied to the maintenance of things as they were, by the possession, actual or else in reversion, of offices or pensions under the crown, of the aggregate yearly value of 170,343*l*. It need hardly be added that the citadel of corruption was too strongly garrisoned to be carried by escalade. The tedious process of undermining was, however, not neglected by the hopeful besiegers, whose labours were not in vain, though the day of victory was yet undiscernible through the hazy vista of the future. Free trade gained this year, in the passing of several bills to relax the old and foolish navigation laws, an earnest of coming successes against the vicious system of monopolies and prohibitions. Sundry ancient statutes enacted for the encouragement of British shipping, but which it was now felt were more honoured in the breach than the observance, were swept away; and British colonies obtained an instalment of direct intercourse by their own shipping with foreign nations.

The vexed question of the fittest standard of values, and the reasons of the fall in prices of commodities since the return to cash payments, came in this year for an ample share of parliamentary sifting. The leaders in the discussion were Western and Attwood on the side of corn as the standard of value, against Peel, Huskisson, and Ricardo the formidable trio who stood by gold.

A new marriage act figures among the noteworthy legislation of the year. Under a previous statute all marriage of minors were void, unless contracted with the consent of parents or guardians. The bill now passed provided that such irregular marriages should no longer be null, but only voidable at the suit of those whose consent the law required, and that no action to invalidate such marriages could be instituted after both the parties were of age. The amendment now brought about in the law of marriage was said to have grown out of the case of a young Irish nobleman, the marquis of Donegal, whose younger brother claimed to be heir to his property and title, to the exclusion of the issue of his marriage with a Miss May, the daughter of a money-lender, with whom the marquis had business transactions of the kind well known to thriftless heirs. The brother sought to have the marriage set aside, and the children under it declared illegitimate. His claim under the old law would certainly have been sustained, but the new law was made retrospective, and thus the children of the money-lender's daughter were secured in their rights of succession to the marquis, their father. The disappointed brother, the expectant to the title and estates, was the type of a class in whose behalf the sturdy old chancellor, Lord Eldon, took up the cudgels in his most vigorous style. He and his brother, Lord Stowell, accused the peers of sanctioning robbery by those parts of the new law which related to property which was pledged under the old law to a line of descent outside the line of the irregular marriages which were now to be legitimated. To these great legal pundits the fate of certain windfalls of property, forfeited by infractions of a bad law, seemed of higher moment than the establishment by statute of a higher morality in the obligations growing out of the most important of all social contracts. The angry chancellor exhausted his powers of scolding and brow-beating to stay the passing of the bill, but to his deep mortification it was carried by a majority of two to one, in that august assembly which had too often hitherto meekly submitted to his dictation in thwarting the amendment of ancient abuses. "Ten days ago," said Lord Eldon, at the final stage in the passing of the bill, "I believed this House possessed the good opinion of the public, as the mediator between them and the laws of the country. If this bill pass to-night, I hope in God that this House may still have that good opinion ten days hence. I have but a short time to remain with you, but I trust it will be hereafter known that I used every endeavour in my power to prevent this bill being passed into law."

Some incidents in the conflict then raging between the Greeks and the Turks furnished matter for an animated debate out of which grew important after-consequences. The Greeks were in insurrection against their oppressors, and it was urged in their behalf that the influence of the British government ought to be brought to bear at Constantinople to stay the inhuman massacres, the exterminating ravages, and the wholesale executions with which the Turks were avenging the outbreak against their barbarous rule. The Greeks were fighting for independence, not without reasonable expectations of help from their co-religionists, the Russians. The Turks, in their first exasperation at the daring defiance of their power on the part of their degenerate hereditary bondsmen, seized the patriarch of the Greek Church, and hanged him in his pontifical robes with every accompaniment of contemptuous indignity. This was in the summer of 1821; in the succeeding year other bishops were similarly put to death, and massacres of Greeks occurred in most of the cities under Turkish rule in Europe and Asia. Where their numbers admitted of retaliation, the Greeks were not slow to avenge the atrocities under which their compatriots were elsewhere destroyed. The feelings of the English public were naturally enlisted on the side of the oppressed Greeks, and there was a wide-spread desire throughout Europe that the descendants of an illustrious and heroic race should emancipate themselves from the thraldom of ages, and resume their place among the family of independent nations. The governments of Europe were, however, all more or less indisposed to countenance an uprising of the people against their rulers, however barbarous the rule and however grievous the oppression that provoked insurrection. Recent events in Italy, and a coming intervention in Spain and Portugal, showed a stronger inclination to curb all aspirations for freedom than to encourage the emancipation of the oppressed. Our own rulers at this crisis were more in unison with the aims of the confederate despots of the continent than in harmony with the generous instincts of their own countrymen in reference to the assertion of independence by the Greeks. Questions put in parliament with reference to the slaughter of a number of Greek hostages by the Turks, who held them in durance, elicited from the foreign secretary a most flippant and unconcerned response. He expressed his belief that the report about the massacre of the hostages was correct, and coolly justified the crime on the plea that the other side also had committed barbarities. Sir John Macintosh thereupon plied him with the further searching and nowise complimentary queries whether "despatches had been received from our ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, from which it could be ascertained whether any of those persons who had been murdered by the barbarous tyrants at Constantinople had been under the protection of the British minister, Lord Strangford, or had surrendered themselves to the Turks under any pledge, promise, or assurance of safety from that nobleman? and whether it was mentioned in any of his recent despatches that the markets at Smyrna and Constantinople were filled with amiable Greek ladies and children, offered to the caprice of barbarous Mahometan voluptuaries?" The answer of Lord Londonderry—more familiarly known by his earlier name of Castlereagh—expressed his further belief "that eighty or ninety individuals had been recently executed, but that they could not be considered under the protection of the British government, or in such a situation as to require interference on that ground." Not a little indignation was felt and expressed at the supercilious indifference, mingled perhaps with lurking hostility to the Greek cause, which such language betrayed. Public meetings were held to express sympathy and condolence, and subscriptions were raised in behalf of the patriots in most of the large towns in England. Other countries, including the United States, followed the example, and the wide-spread sympathy passed in several instances from the people to their governments, and took effect in ultimate intervention of the kind for which the voice of our own people first spoke out.

The session ended on the 6th of August, leaving most of the leading questions of the day still unsettled, though marked progress towards a definite solution had certainly been achieved in respect to several of them, particularly the Catholic question, reform in the representation, the currency and fiscal science generally, free trade, and some highly important social and legal ameliorations.

Scotland was this year gratified by a similar mark of royal favour to that bestowed on Ireland and Hanover in the previous year. In times when the sovereign of the British empire is accustomed to pass prolonged periods in the remote seclusion of a highland residence, amid primitive wilds far north of the Grampians, and to pass often, without the encumberance of state ceremonial, through the great highways joining the north and south of the island, it is not quite easy to enter into the wonder and delight that stirred the whole population of Scotland when the announcement went forth that the king was about to visit the ancient capital of that portion of his dominions. No prince of the blood since the days of the Stuarts had journeyed north of Tweed, save that royal duke, the victor at Culloden, who long bore among the people there the uncomplimentary name of the Butcher Cumberland. The rarity of a royal progress, and the almost equal rarity of journeyings to the capital on the part of the middle and humbler ranks of the distant provincials before the times of rapid and cheap travelling, sufficiently explains the glowing enthusiasm with which a loyal people welcomed the visit of their sovereign. George IV. embarked at Greenwich on the 10th of August, and after a four days' passage in his favourite yacht, arrived at Leith. On the morning of the 15th he was escorted from the landing-place into Edinburgh, a distance of two miles, by a magnificent procession, in which the military element and highland costumes formed the prominent feature, but which included also the high official magnates of the northern kingdom and the civic authorities of its ancient capital, in their robes of office. Besides the teeming myriads of townspeople, throngs of eager visitors from the surrounding country filled the streets and crowded the housetops, enhancing the animation of the scene by their ringing cheers of welcome and their unanimous expressions of loyal greeting. The picturesque procession was devised and directed in all its details by Sir Walter Scott, who stood confessedly without a rival in his mastery of all the curious lore of chivalry, pageantry, ceremonial splendour, and regal pomp. The general voice of his countrymen concurred in putting into his able hands the arrangements for giving the king a magnificent and memorable reception. The ancient palace of Holyrood grew once more gay and animated in the sheen of gorgeous decorations, and the crush of the sole presentation of Scottish nobility and gentry to their sovereign held within its walls since the far-off days of the Stuarts. This historic residence of a long succession of kings was, however, not now on the accepted level of accommodation for a regal lodging, so the king partook of the hospitalities of the duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith Palace. The fortnight's stay in and about the grand old capital of his northern kingdom was enlivened by a succession of splendid entertainments, including a great banquet in the old parliament house, and a military review. The heartiness of the reception everywhere given to him gratified the king immensely, nor was he slack in giving utterance to the delight with which it impressed him. The brief but pleasant sojourn ended on the 29th of August, when the royal party returned by water to Greenwich, arriving there on the 1st of September. Both at the setting out from London and the return thither, the throngs that gathered in the streets, or filled the innumerable boats that enlivened for many a mile the surface of the Thames, greeted the king with loud cheers and other reassuring tokens of reviving loyalty in quarters where that feeling had of late been at a low ebb.

The echoes of a mighty change in the world of politics at home and abroad travelled from London to Scotland while the king was journeying coast-wise thither, and before stepping ashore at Leith he was startled with tidings that must have tempered his seeming mirth in many a festive gathering. On the 12th of August the ministerial leader in the Commons, the master spirit though not the nominal chief in the too durable cabinet of unmitigated Toryism, put an end to his life in a fit of mental aberration. Lord Londonderry—better remembered by his previous name of Castlereagh—had been perceptibly failing in health through the last weeks of a session that proved more than usually rife in vexations and worry to himself. He astonished and alarmed his colleagues by incredible stories of the snares and plots with which he imagined himself encompassed. He believed that secret enemies dogged his steps; he talked of waylayings in the park by night, in which he was encountered by conspirators against his reputation and his life. Under these morbid fancies he sought repose at the close of the session at his country seat in Kent, preparatory to taking his place at a congress of European powers to be held in the autumn at Verona. The tension of an overwrought brain had, however, been too long continued. While his medical advisers were meditating and faltering on the proper treatment for incipient madness, he perished under a self-inflicted stroke, severing with a penknife his carotid artery. A letter from the king to the lord chancellor, written while the shock of the suicide was echoing through the land, recalls the misgivings with which his last conversation with the foreign secretary had inspired him. "Friday," says the king, "was the last time I saw him. My own mind was filled with apprehensions respecting him; and they have, alas! been only too painfully verified." To the same effect runs a letter of about the same date from Lord Eldon, who tells: "I learn upon the best authority that for two or three days he was perfectly insane, and the medical men attribute that fact to the operation upon his head of the unceasing attention to business which the last harassing session called for." Other causes than overwork are assigned as the springs and fountains of those morbid fantasies and ever-present terrors that sought relief in self-destruction. In his function as foreign secretary, Castlereagh was the connecting link by which England was associated in an unnatural harmony with those despots whose great aim was to stay the growth of institutions akin to her own. His career had gained for him among the nations the character of a friend of tyrannies and the enemy of popular rights—the staunch upholder of despots in all issues between their subjects and themselves. Hence the party of progress at home and abroad held him in abhorrence. The growing hate of mankind, of which he knew himself to be the object, inspired his soul with those imaginings of conspiracies which ultimately overpowered his nervous system and shattered his reason. The reality and depth of the disgust with which the departed statesman was regarded by the peoplewas exemplified on the occasion of his funeral in a manner that conveyed a painful yet perhaps a salutary shock to the narrow governing classes of the day. As the coffin was being conveyed into Westminster Abbey, for sepulture between the tombs of Fox and Pitt, the assembled throngs outside raised a shout of exultation that rang through aisles and cloisters. Lord Eldon, a man after Castlereagh's own heart, as a steadfast opponent of popular principles of government, thus describes the painful incident: "The concourse of people between St. James's Square and the abbey was very great, the bulk of them behaving decorously, some behaving otherwise. But I protest I am almost sorry to have lived till I have seen in England a collection of persons so brutalized as, upon the taking of the coffin at the abbey door out of the hearse, to have received it with cheering, for joy that Londonderry was no more." This unseemly demonstration by a London mob was not the only form of rejoicing called forth by the event. The tidings spread undisguised satisfaction among the masses of our home population, and among nations on both sides of the Atlantic where the rights of the million to a voice in the shaping of their own government were deemed to have a better foundation than the soaring pretensions of monarchs to be the sole arbiters in questions of change in political institutions. The Tory party saw in the event a calamity not limited to the three kingdoms. "Our own country and Europe," wrote the sympathising and sorrowing chancellor, "have suffered a loss, in my opinion, irreparable." The loss was, however, quickly repaired in a way that on the whole contented the nation and gave immense satisfaction abroad; though some high and mighty members of the conclave of continental despots shared Lord Eldon's deep regrets on the fall of one of the most solid buttresses of high-handed government, and the sturdiest of barriers against all political changes in the direction of liberalism. Canning was on the eve of sailing for India, to enter on a new career as viceroy of our eastern empire, when this sudden gap in the front rank of the administration presented a yet more alluring field to his ambition. He was on a farewell visit to his constituents at Liverpool, where he was the guest of Mr. Gladstone, father of the future statesman, when as if by general consent he was invited to fill the void in the cabinet. He had incurred the royal displeasure and the aversion of the chiefs of the cabinet by relinquishing the post of president of the Board of Control rather than share the odium of the queen's prosecution; but the range of choice was too limited to admit further resentments on that score, so the king sulkily fell in with the proposal of the premier, Lord Liverpool, and on the 8th of September Canning became foreign secretary, taking with that post the leadership of the House of Commons. His earlier positions in the government had not carried with them the influence which now fell to him in shaping its measures, but from this date forward the impress of his mind marks the general policy of the reconstructed cabinet, and the old chiefs, Liverpool and Eldon, fell rapidly into the shade, soon to disappear from the scene. Huskisson, the representative man in the new and rising school of free-trade policy, and Robinson, a financier of the new school of economists, were now advanced from inferior positions to places in the cabinet. The former was made president of the Board of Trade, and the latter chancellor of the exchequer, in succession to Vansittart, who, under the title of Lord Bexley, was removed to the less important post of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. These changes, the signs of a better time now dawning, were distasteful in the extreme to the unbending old chancellor; and as it was certain he would be no party to them, he was nowise consulted in the whole transaction. He vents his testy objections to them in his letters with an amusing querulousness on his own waning importance as a pillar of the state. On learning for the first time, from an announcement in the papers, that Huskisson was made a cabinet minister, he breaks out, in a letter to his brother: "Really this is rather too much. Turning out one man and introducing another in the way all this was done, is telling the chancellor that he should not give them the trouble of disposing of him, but should, not treated as chancellor, cease to be a chancellor. What makes it worse is, that the great man of all [the premier, Lord Liverpool, is thus indicated] has a hundred times most solemnly declared that no connections of certain persons should come in. There is no believing one word anybody says; and what makes the matter still worse is, that everybody acquiesces most quietly, and waits in all humility and patience till their own time comes." Canning's accession to a leading post in the cabinet marks the dawn of that new order of affairs which king and chancellor and old-fashioned Toryism had long and sturdily withstood, but which has given to later rulers and ministers veritable beds of roses in comparison with the couches of thorns made for themselves by George IV. and his advisers. Passing occurrences of great moment to the future of Europe gave instant scope to Canning's genius; and his first essay in the expression of England's voice on continental affairs secured for him an immediate popularity, not only in his own country, but in Europe and America. Henceforward there were no further misgivings as to the tone of British diplomacy in its intercourse with the crowned conspirators whose bond of union was a common hatred of popular principles in government and a common purpose of strangling in its birth the aspiration for representative government that was now stirring the nations of southern Europe. From the close of the great war onward till Canning became foreign secretary, England through her king and government had expressed again and again a cordial sympathy with the aims of the "holy alliance," and had only declined formal membership therein on the ground that constitutional restraints tied the hands of her monarchs from such autocratic action as was vested in the persons of his brother kings. Now, however, her representative in the congress of Verona was unsparing in remonstrances and protests against that proposed intervention in Spanish affairs which aimed to undo the recent change from absolute to limited monarchy. The part played by England in this congress provoked, on the side of the league of despots, the spiteful expression of their regrets that she should now stand forth as the champion of revolutionary principles, and the protector of Jacobins in all parts of the world. The tone and bearing of British representatives at previous congresses of the "holy alliance" had never provoked remonstrances of this sort. But there was a cause operating, beyond the mere change in the chiefs of our foreign office, to uproot the old cordiality between our government and the cabinets with which it had so long cultivated an unnatural affinity. Now that the long war which had given them a common interest was an affair of the distant past, distrust of progressive principles, however dominant in continental governments, was not a policy that English ministers could avow with impunity. While it was commonly thought that Castlereagh was going, as on previous occasions, to represent England at the congress, he had in fact decided to stay away, and thus avoid belying his earlier utterances in the same circle by the expression of sentiments more in accordance with public opinion among his countrymen. He actually drew the instructions for the guidance of his substitute, the duke of Wellington, and they are distinctly tinctured with the tone of the debates in the last session. In several prominent questions awaiting solution Canning's leanings were no more progressive than those of the most antiquated type of Tory statesmen who had held sway in the preceding hundred years. His irrational horror of the moderate schemes of parliamentary reform which were gaining ground each session, and which were mere instalments of those more sweeping measures afterwards to find acceptance at the hands of his party, is difficult of comprehension on any hypothesis that credits him with entire and unalloyed sincerity. But with all his hostility to parliamentary reform, and to the placing of dissenters on an equal footing with churchmen in the enjoyment of civil and social privileges, he was nevertheless liberal and progressive in comparison with the stolid set that filled high places in the cabinet from the dawn of the regency onwards. His place as a politician was between the altitudes of Toryism, represented by his principal colleagues, and the middle region of moderate Whigs, but with a constant tendency to closer fellowship with the latter. This medium station, aided by profound political ability, and the charm of rare powers as a debater, gave him a hold on both sides, and marked him out as the statesman peculiarly suited to an era of transition, such as had begun when the course of events and the voice of his countrymen called upon him to play a great part on the stage of domestic and foreign politics.

The year 1823 opened auspiciously, and its after progress was in keeping with the commencement, as regards the prosperous state of trade and manufactures. The cotton mills were overflowing with orders; woollens and silks shared the demand for export; the hardware and cutlery trades recovered from the depression that had beset them through the seven years of peace; and the shipping interest participated in the general revival. Agriculture, however, was still depressed under the low prices consequent on abundant harvests, so farmers and landowners still bemoaned as a calamity that cheapness of bread which formed a main ingredient in the prosperity and consequent contentment of the wage-earning masses. In January, no fewer than sixteen county meetings were held to discuss the grievances of landowners and farmers. At these meetings resolutions were passed, and petitions to parliament adopted, of a character indicating a wavering if not a lost allegiance among the ranks hitherto the staunchest supporters of Tory government. A reform of the House of Commons, the remission of taxes, and the conversion of church lands and tithes to the uses of the state, were among the proposed remedies. Resolutions in keeping with these views were on the point of passing at a meeting at Norwich, on the 3rd of January, of farmers and others concerned in agriculture, when Cobbett, the evil genius of ministries as composed in his day, proposed by way of amendment a form of petition to parliament asking yet more sweeping remedies, and his amendment was carried amid rapturous plaudits. The Norwich petition urged the sale of crown and church lands, and the appropriation of the funds thence arising towards the payment of the national debt; it further asked a reduction of the army, the abolition of sinecure offices and undeserved pensions, and the repeal of all remaining duties on malt, hops, and sundry other commodities. This petition asked besides that all processes at law for the recovery of rent and tithes should be stopped for one year,—a proposal analogous to several projects entertained for the relief of the poorer class of Parisians after the Prussian siege of their city in 1870. The same sort of discussion occupied a great gathering of freeholders at York, where, however, the conclusions arrived at, though favourable to parliamentary reform as a prime means of enforcing a thrifty use of the national resourses, were yet wide of the Cobbett programme of wholesale confiscation.

At the opening of parliament on the 4th of February, 1823, the king's speech dwelt with satisfaction on the prosperous state of the country in all departments of manufacturing and trading enterprise, but lamented that agriculture had not yet shared in any marked degree in the general improvement. The paragraph that dealt with the recent proceedings of the "holy alliance" elicited hearty approval for its outspoken condemnation of the meddling then going forward in the affairs of Spain. France, under her restored Bourbon ruler, was about to send a hundred thousand troops across the Pyrenees, to enforce the sentence pronounced by the congress of Verona against the popular constitution which the Spaniards had constrained their faithless king to grant, after a delay of ten years since his first promise to make such a concession. The other three great continental powers were in hearty accord with France in this business, and were nowise disinclined to send their armies also, if needed, for the reinstatement of the hated royal bigot, Ferdinand, in that absolute sovereignty of which his subjects had deprived him. This meditated crusade against liberty in Spain stirred up in England energetic protests against the tame tone which it was thought must have been adopted by the British government in the late congress. The question was again taken up in April, when both Houses were put in possession of the correspondence and papers throwing light on the affairs discussed at the congress, and some subsequent negotiations at Paris. By this time the invasion was consummated, and in the course of a few months the reactionary party in Spain, sustained by all the power of France and countenanced by the other great powers in the background, gained an easy mastery over the constitutionalists. While these transactions were in progress motions were brought forward in both Houses, reproaching France and the powers that countenanced her new aggression on her neighbour, and censuring the feeble conduct of the British cabinet, as exemplified in their failure to stay the armed interference. Several speakers contended that ministers had betrayed a culpable lack of earnestness and energy on behalf of the constitutionalists in Spain, and had thus furnished conclusive proof against themselves that their sympathies were on the side of the crowned conspirators against representative government. Canning's speech, on the third and last night of the debate, proved conclusively that every means short of war had been exhausted in efforts to ward off the attack on Spain. He added that government had striven to hinder, and not unsuccessfully, the impress of a joint character from being affixed to the war, if war there must be with Spain; to take care that the war should not grow out of an assumed jurisdiction of the congress, and to keep within reasonable bounds the meddling and domineering confederacy which aspired to control every European state. The vote of censure was rejected by a large majority.

The new president of the Board of Trade, Mr. Huskisson, made a statement to the House of a very reassuring character in respect to the flourishing condition of commerce. After a brief retrospect through some of the trade statistics of each year since the close of the war, which told a dismal tale of continuous falling off until the dawn of 1821, he gave the cheering intimation that in the year just ended the exports exceeded those of any year from the outbreak of the great war onwards. The aggregate export trade of 1822 showed an increase of twenty per cent. over that of 1820, and of seven per cent. over that of 1821, despite a large loss on the importation of sugar into Russia, through the operation of a prohibitory decree on the part of the government of that country.

Close on the heels of this satisfactory picture of the thriving condition of most branches of industrial enterprise, followed a budget more palatable to tax-payers than had fallen to the lot of a finance minister to unfold within living memory. The prosperous condition of all but the landed and farming interests had sent up the receipts from customs and excise far above the estimated level. Income from all sources exceeded 57,000,000*l.*, while outgoings fell below 50,000,000*l.*, leaving the large surplus of more than 7,000,000*l.*, five of which were dedicated to the redemption of debt, and two to remissions of taxation. The odious tax on daylight, as the window-tax was appropriately nicknamed, gained on this occasion the largest share of easement. The cumbrous machinery of the sinking fund was now swept away, and financiers ceased henceforth to entertain the old delusion which had duped Pitt and a score of notabilities in statesmanship with promises impossible of fulfilment.

The first faint rumblings of the question of disendowment of the Irish Church began this session, in the form of a resolution brought forward by Mr. Hume, which affirmed the right of parliament to dispose at its discretion of the revenues of the bishops and ecclesiastical corporations in whose keeping such property had been lodged by the state. Peel and Plunket made short work of what was then generally regarded as an unwarrantable assault on inalienable rights of property. The motion was summarily thrown out without a division.

On the 17th of April came the yearly marshalling of Catholic disabilities. The cause had this year the great advantage that several of its most distinguished advocates were now eminent members of the government. Plunket, attorney-general for Ireland, followed up the presentation of numerous petitions for relief of the Catholics by a motion for a committee on their claims. This was shelved by the device of a motion for adjournment of the House. The debate, or rather the discussion on the previous question, was marked by a heated and acrimonious quarrel between Brougham and Canning. The question being an open one, the ministerial leader was called to sharp account for not throwing in the full weight of his new position in furtherance of the cause which he had advocated with amazing power before he came into office. Several speakers had accused the new secretary of state of compromising his opinions for the sake of office. Brougham followed up the attack with a torrent of irritating taunts, mingled with bitterest invective, and culminating in a climax that represented Canning as being reprieved from the doom of transportation to India on the condition of hard labour at home in doing the behests of Lord Chancellor Eldon, and of being doomed to the disquiet of a divided cabinet—"sitting with his enemies and pitied by his friends; of succumbing to Lord Eldon, and exhibiting the most incredible specimen of monstrous truckling, for the purpose of retaining office, that the whole history of political tergiversation could furnish." Wincing under this yet unfinished lashing, Canning stayed his tormentor with the startling interruption: "I rise to say it is false!" A pause of hushed astonishment, lasting through a painful interval of two minutes, that seemed much longer, ensued before the Speaker broke silence with the rebuke which his office obliged him to administer, and the usual demand for a withdrawal of the phrase so irreconcilable with parliamentary etiquette. But the irritated minister refused to retract, and there was a talk of calling the serjeant-at-arms to take both the wrathful members into custody. At this awkward crisis Sir Robert Wilson dexterously interposed with a suggestion that smoothed the way for small mutual concessions, and the quarrel ended without the expected resort to pistolling. A resolution designed to pave the way for the emancipation of slaves in the West Indies passed smoothly through the Commons in May, and formed the groundwork of immediate instructions to the colonial authorities "for bettering the condition of the negro population."

Sir James Macintosh raised afresh the question of reform in the criminal code. His proposals this time, however, were set aside to make way for government measures introduced by Mr. Peel, under which several classes of malefactors became subject to penal servitude instead of the death sentences which judges and juries were always glad to evade on any colourable excuse. A private member carried a bill to abolish the barbarous statute which sentenced the corpse of a self-murderer to burial in the crossing of two roads, and the fixing it in its dishonoured grave by means of a stake driven through it. Private burial at night in the unconsecrated portion of a churchyard, without any religious ceremonial or service, became thenceforth the usage.

Lord John Russell renewed his motion of the previous year, "that the present state of representation required serious consideration," but was defeated with even greater facility than on some earlier occasions. The glaring sham of an electoral system under which members for Scotch counties were returned to parliament by constituents who purchased the privilege of voting in open market, as the patron of a church living buys or sells his right of presentation, and who were under no obligation of residence in the counties where they held these so-called superiorities, was again gibbeted for the edification of the House, but with no other result than to help forward by cumulative evidence the slowly-growing conviction that reform in the whole representation of the country was inevitable. Canning's standing plea for adhering to things as they were—that "the system worked well"—exposed him this time to the insinuation that it worked well indeed for his own greed of the sweets of office, however ill it might abide all other tests of fitness.

The enormous charges incurred on the coronation pageant two years earlier, and only now submitted to the sanction of parliament, furnished a text for one of Mr. Hume's most trenchant commentaries on the profligate extravagance of ministers. He reproached them with breach of faith towards the parliament, in spending more than twice the large sum originally asked. The chancellor of the exchequer had promised that the total outlay on this pageant should not exceed 100,000*l.*, whereas the bills now presented for payment exhibited an aggregate expense of 238,000*l.* The items—27,000*l.* for his majesty's robes; 111,000*l.* for the decoration of Westminster Hall; and 3000*l.* towards publishing an account of the ceremony, were specially singled out for animadversion. The motion for a committee to investigate the outlay beyond the sum sanctioned by parliament was negatived by a substantial majority. Another financial reformer met with no better success in his attempt to ease the Leeward Islands from the burden of a series of pensions drawn from imposts upon them, for the benefit of collateral branches of the royal family and numerous aristocratic personages in England. An easy clue to such failures of successive assaults on gross jobbery and reckless waste of public money is found in the following analysis, taken from a parliamentary paper of the previous session, showing the votes given for and against ministers on leading questions disposed of in that session:—

	For	Against
40 counties of England . . .	25	37
89 cities and boroughs, open election .	59	107
99 close boroughs and cities . .	151	12
33 counties and 55 burghs of Scotland	25	11
32 counties of Ireland	24	14
33 cities and boroughs of Ireland .	21	7

Such a revelation of the springs of unswerving fidelity on the part of ministerial majorities, and such impudent denials of justice where the public was the victim, lent their aid towards ripening the national sentiment in favour of parliamentary reform. The cause of mercantile reform thrived as conspicuously as the other attempted reforms, political and financial, failed in the course of this session. Under guidance of Huskisson began in earnest that emancipation of trade which in its ultimate completion, a quarter of a century later, has brought incalculable blessings to every home in the British islands, and to every community of mankind above the condition of aboriginal savagery. Government and the country were not yet stirred, as in later stages of the free-trade controversy, under earnest prepossessions for or aversions against unrestricted commerce, but a misgiving was gradually cropping up as to the benefits of protection. Already there were general yet very vague notions that trade rather suffered than benefited under the props, and bands, and supports invented for its furtherance. But amid the general drift of opinion towards a more liberal commercial policy, each interest had its own fears of its inability to run alone, and its own grounds of belief that free trade was suited to every other interest except itself. The Yorkshire clothworkers were dead against the free export of wool, but petitioned for the removal of import duties on that commodity. On the other hand, the home growers of that raw material of manufacture were equally intent on the removal of all hindrances of access to foreign markets, and in favour of the continuance of duties on foreign wool. The silk manufacturers in Spitalfields sought relief from the trammels of old statutes that empowered magistrates to fix the amount of wages payable to the journeymen; for under that impediment they were running an unequal race with Macclesfield and other towns, where no such restriction or bargain between capital and labour was in operation. The weavers, on the other hand, though themselves advanced free-traders when corn was in question, made earnest supplication for the continuance of that statutable meddling which was driving the masters into other fields of enterprise. Manufacturers, traders, and all classes of consumers already felt the benefits of cheaper freights that sprang from the previous year's relaxation of the old navigation laws; but ship-owners were loud in their outcry against the competition with foreign bottoms to which they were now exposed, and conjured up doleful visions of the speedy ruin of British maritime interests. Such are samples of the economic controversies that now began to exercise the thought of all ranks, from responsible advisers of the crown down to the journeymen earning a scanty hand-to-mouth livelihood. The London merchants were efficient pioneers in the new movement. Their petition, three years earlier, set forth in a variety of arguments that the best rule of trade for a nation is identical with the maxim that regulates the business of each merchant in his individual dealings, the maxim to "buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest." Their petition was fraught with teachings that statesmen were now taking to heart and reducing to practice. It stated the case against protection with a clearness and strength of argument that have hardly been surpassed in the many able treatises of two generations of writers who have since fixed the attention of the public on their exhaustive expositions of economic science. Huskisson's speech in support of the Reciprocity Act, which he carried through parliament in this his first year of office as president of the Board of Trade, is charged with the same clear grasp of free-trade doctrines that marked the petition of the London merchants. But he tempered the conclusion which had no terrors for his own mind by arguments calculated to soften the objection of his hearers to the reception of truths somewhat hard to bear in their first apparent opposition to the interests of the nation that adopts them. He was content for the time to bring his hearers to the half-way house of reciprocity, assured that in the end they would pluck up courage. for the remaining half of the wide track between protection and free trade. The shipping interest raised a howl of distress at the proposal to put home and foreign craft upon an equality in the ocean carrying trade. They maintained that the application of free trade in shipping must end in no trade for British shipowners and shipbuilders. To such objections Huskisson responded that "It was high time, in the improved state of the civilization of the world, to establish more liberal principles. Those who have the largest trade must necessarily derive the greatest advantage from the establishment of better international regulations. When England abandons her old principle (that of confining as far as possible the carrying trade of the world to her own shipping), the other powers who are now prepared to retaliate will gladly concur in the new arrangement (that of a reciprocity of shipping dues). I am prepared to hear from the other side that the proposed alteration will be prejudicial to the British shipping interest. In this observation I cannot concur. I think, on the contrary, that the shipping interest of this country has nothing to apprehend from that of other nations. When the alteration in the navigation laws was first projected, similar unfavourable prognostications were made by part of the shipping interest, but these anticipations have proved to be entirely unfounded. The shipping of Great Britain is perfectly able to compete with that of other countries. It is quite time to get rid of the retaliatory principle, which, if carried to the extreme of which it is susceptible, must injure every species of trade. One sort of shipping would be carrying the trade of our country, and then returning without any equivalent advantage, to make way for the countervailing regulations of another power, or else to return in ballast. What would be thought of our establishment of a waggon which should convey goods to Birmingham, and afterwards return empty? The consumer would, it was probable, be little satisfied with such a way of conveying his merchandise. The consequence would be that there would necessarily be two sets of waggons to do that work which was now performed by one, at a considerable increase in the price of the raw material." The carrying trade between England and the United States, from the close of the war of independence down to 1815, was conducted on the wasteful system pointed at in this illustration of the double set of waggons, each of which carried its paying load one way only, and charged proportionately high freightage to compensate the idle voyage the other way in ballast.

Three or four European states were now putting pressure on our government for concessions in their favour like those given by treaty to the Americans. Prussia urged the sensible conclusion, "that reciprocal commercial restrictions were reciprocal nuisances, prejudicial to all nations having reciprocal interests, particularly to those engaged in extensive commerce;" and that her policy would be that of substituting reciprocal facilities in the room of reciprocal prohibitions. Such arguments and remonstrances were clenched by increased dues on British shipping visiting Prussian and Dutch ports, and even our much indebted ally, Portugal, adopted the same process. It was therefore high time, in the interest of all the great industries of the country, to make further concessions to foreign shipping, despite the clamours of British shipowners, who strained every nerve to keep up the old monopoly. This necessity found expression in the Reciprocal Duties Bill, which offered the immediate removal of prohibitions or high duties against the shipping of every nation that would consent to similar concessions in our favour; but reserved in the hands of the king in council the power of continuing or reimposing restrictions with respect to powers that maintained hostile tariffs against us. Parliament was not yet educated up to that higher level of political economy which sees in reciprocity of restrictions a suicidal attack by both sides on the capital and industry which each deludes itself into the notion that it is helping, when it is in reality only hindering. It was not yet clearly seen, except by a small minority, that our restrictions would not be the less prejudicial to our own capital and industry because maintained against governments which persisted in keeping up unwise prohibitions.

The session ended on the 19th of July, with a congratulatory royal speech on the abatement of agricultural distress, and the highly prosperous state of every other industrial and commercial interest throughout the country. The remainder of the year was unmarked by striking incidents at home, but the continued French occupation of Spain in order to stamp out liberalism provoked much indignant notice. Canning grew highly popular by his notification to the French government, that whereas England desired to adhere to a neutral policy in the Spanish question, there were limits to the forbearance on which France was presuming, and that any attempt of the French to recover for the king of Spain his revolted colonies would be opposed by an armed British force. This spirited protest was promptly followed by the appointment of consuls to the chief commercial towns in Mexico, Columbia, and the other states that had thrown off that tyranny which French armies were now reinstating in the mother country. Full and formal recognition of the independence of the new republics was soon afterwards made; treaties of commerce were concluded with most of them in 1824. Two years afterwards Canning referred with pardonable pride to these transactions; but in language several removes from the modesty befitting a constitutional minister, accountable to parliament, and never acting in his own name in transactions with foreign states. "Contemplating Spain such as our ancestors had known her," said the foreign secretary in his place in parliament, "I resolved that if France had Spain it should not be *Spain with the Indies.* I called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." In the autumn of 1823 he made the oft-quoted simile which likens England, under her moods of apparent indifference to foreign transactions, to her own dismantled and quiescent fleets in the repose of her harbours. He was at Plymouth, attending a banquet given in his honour, when he thus appropriately turned to account the familiar sight of the huge floating castles anchored in the waters of that chief seat of the British navy in times of peace. Addressing the sympathetic auditory of such a place on such an occasion, he remarked: "Our present repose is no more a proof of our inability to act, than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town, is a proof that they are devoid of strength, and incapable of being fitted for action. You well know, gentlemen, how soon one of those stupendous masses, now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness, how soon, on any call of patriotism or necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion; how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage, how quickly it would put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength, and awaken its dormant thunder. As is one of these magnificent machines, when springing from inaction into a display of its might, such is England herself; while apparently passive and motionless, she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion; but God forbid that that occasion should arise! After a war sustained for nearly a quarter of a century, sometimes single-handed, and with all Europe arrayed at times against her, or at her side, England needs a period of tranquillity, and may enjoy it without fear of misconstruction. Long may we be enabled, gentlemen, to improve the blessings of our present situation, to cultivate the arts of peace, to give to commerce, now reviving, greater extension, with new spheres of employment, and to confirm the prosperity now generally diffused throughout this island."

The lively interest and warm sympathy of the middle and upper classes in the hopeful struggle of the Greeks to free themselves from Turkish oppression, and in behalf of liberal political institutions in Spain, found expression in several great meetings in London in the course of this year. Magnificent subscriptions were raised in aid of the patriots in both countries. The common council of the city of London voted 1000*l.* to each of these interesting causes, and the offerings of many private persons vied in liberality with the munificent gifts of the corporate bodies. The poet Byron, then at the height of a world-wide renown, which, however, was greatly tarnished by his baneful misuse of a brilliant genius, engaged with the utmost ardour in the Greek cause. His glowing and soul-stirring verse aroused and enlisted the generous feelings of myriads in favour of the descendants of a heroic race. His own devotion to the cause was testified in other forms besides resplendent poetry. He gave his own personal service and his fortune to the furtherance of the patriotic movement, and may further be said to have given to it his life also. He died at Missolonghi in the spring of 1824, while yet only in his thirty-sixth year, of a cold taken through exposure to wet and inclement weather while in the performance of his duties as leader of a band of Greek volunteers.

The year 1824 teemed to overflowing in the manifold forms of manufacturing and commercial prosperity. Even agriculture enjoyed a respite from its perennial distresses, and landowners ceased from their accustomed wailings on depressed corn markets. Almost every rank of society in the British isles seemed to participate in the lavish bounties of a new era of plenteousness, and the yield of imperial taxation, despite last year's remissions, passed the bounds of the most sanguine expectations. Capital that had lain dormant through the prolonged period of commercial and industrial stagnation now found scope for fruitful activity. In the course of this and the next year the nation passed under the influence of one of those periodic manias that have before and since converted the blessings of an abounding prosperity into active instruments of widespread distress and desolating misfortune. Sober and sensible enterprises brought rich rewards that stimulated a host of other undertakings, on the joint-stock principle, by which cunning projectors duped the unwary into an eager rush for wealth and lured them on to ruin. The opening up of new fields for commercial, manufacturing, and mining enterprise, in vast regions of North and South America hitherto jealously veiled from the observation and intercourse of all except Spaniards, gave a large and disastrous impulse to the speculative spirit that now stirred all ranks. The bitter harvest of blighted hopes belongs, however, to a somewhat later season, to which the year now under notice stands in the relation of fruitful and joyous seed-time. Scores of projects big with promise were starting into existence every month; all was hopeful, animated, and in outward seeming thriving throughout the year now to pass under review. The king's speech at the opening of parliament on the 3rd of February told of the good things which were diffusing contentment among the people and adding to the resources of the state. The background of the glowing picture was somewhat clouded by the subject of negro agitation and outrages, for the slaves in Demerara and the West Indies generally had got the idea that parliament had decreed their liberation, and that the continuance of their bondage in defiance of king and parliament was the fault of the local authorities, against whom there were several formidable outbreaks. These uprisings of the slaves were punished with merciless severities, that kindled the indignation of people at home, and led to very damaging disclosures of the hostile attitude of the slave interest towards every movement designed to raise the moral and spiritual condition of the human chattels employed in the culture of tropical produce.

The earliest and liveliest debates of the session turned on Spanish affairs and the relations to be now established with the new republics of the western world. Sharp reproaches, as in the two previous sessions, were heaped on the supposed tame submissiveness of tone in recent diplomatic intercourse with France, of which the fruits appeared in an utter failure to ward off the blow that had now overwhelmed the party of progress in Spain and put back for an indefinite period the prospect of better government for other nations of the continent. Canning, however, carried with him the sense of the House in his vindication of the country from the onerous responsibility of entering the lists against every crowned evil-doer. It was felt and acknowledged that the bold and prompt threat that England would fight, rather than permit foreign interference between Spain and her late dependencies had effectually stifled a scheme of European interference in Spanish affairs across the Atlantic as well as in Spain itself.

The budget reflected the thriving aspect of the country. There was again a surplus of nearly seven millions, five of which were given to the liquidation of debt. Renovations at Windsor Castle claimed 300,000*l.*; a half million was devoted to the building of churches in new and populous localities; and the commencement of a national gallery of pictures absorbed 60,000*l.*, most of which was spent in the purchase of the thirty-eight pictures known as the Angerstein collection. A full million represented new remissions of taxes, making a total of not less than twenty millions of remissions since the war. Among the income of the year figured a repayment by Austria of two and a half millions, which were accepted in full and final satisfaction of a bad debt of 30,000,000*l.* lent to that monarchy during the great war. A further considerable easement of the national burdens for scores of years, and possibly centuries to come, was achieved by an extensive operation on the national debt. A new three-and-a-half per cent. stock was created in lieu of the 75,000,000*l.* of four per cents., the holders of the latter having the option of being paid off at par or of taking as much and no more of the new stock as they held of the old. The operation proved an entire success, and resulted in a yearly saving of 375,000*l.* in interest payable to the national creditor. A further though less substantial saving offered irresistible attractions to the political economists who now ruled the fiscal policy of the cabinet. This was in the stoppage of subsidies or bounties to certain manufactures and fisheries. A note of warning now went forth, bidding these favoured industries take heed that their future thriving must not be at the expense of the national exchequer. Better still than even these opportune savings, was the removal of restraints which had for generations cramped the growth of national wealth, checked the prosperity they were intended to promote, and choked the springs whence flows the stream of revenue into the public exchequer. A committee of the Commons, with Mr. Hume for its chairman, instituted a scrutiny into the working of the laws relating to artisans and machinery. The report of this committee led to the immediate emancipation of artisans from restraints which barred their natural right to carry their labour to the best market. The old combination laws, too often instruments of oppression in the hands of employers, were swept away, and a more equitable measure substituted.

Strikes among the operatives at Glasgow, from August onwards to the close of the year, brought to light some weak points in the new statute, and occasioned further legislation in the ensuing session, by which the rights of masters and men were yet further guarded and secured. Strifes between capital and labour have certainly not ceased in consequence of this useful law, and the second half of the nineteenth century has been more than often enough marked by unsuccessful attempts to solve the difficult problem which was only half worked out in 1824-5.

Other salutary reforms affecting large sections of the manufacturing classes date from the same era. Silk-weaving in England had hitherto been among the most petted of all industries which were thought to have a claim to fostering aid at the public expense. There were laws to exclude the products of foreign looms, and premiums on the export of silks of home manufacture, yet no other industry was so frequently paralysed, or made so many piteous appeals to the compassion of parliament and the public for the alleviation of its chronic distresses. It was now discovered, but not by the silk trade itself, that "protection," the pretended friend of the weavers, was nothing but a baneful imposture. In the absence of the wholesome stimulus of competition, British silk goods lagged behind those of France and Italy in finish, colour, and design. Monopoly had worked out its usual result of indifference to improved processes. That protective legislation which the trade hugged as its beneficent genius had in truth extinguished its zeal and stifled its ingenuity. On these grounds, and in the interest of all who wished to use foreign silks without breaking the law, Mr. Huskisson decided to take away the crutches on which the home silk trade leaned, and to teach it to run alone. Great was the consternation among masters and operatives when his intention got wind. The journeymen weavers of London, to the number of 23,000, petitioned parliament that the prohibition of the importation of foreign-wrought silks might not be removed. Most of the masters shared the alarms of their workmen, but there were some among the manufacturers in London who favoured the removal of restrictions. These fearless free-traders came to the conclusion, expressed in their petition to government, that the worst evils with which their trade had to contend were produced "by laws which prevented it from attaining that degree of prosperity which under more favourable circumstances it would acquire." Then, glancing at the unlimited resources under the several heads of supply of raw material, the skill and industry of the workmen, and the enormous capital at the command of the home manufacturer, in comparison with the limited advantages enjoyed by their continental rivals, these hopeful petitioners "hesitate not to express their conviction, that by judicious arrangements our silk manufacture might be placed in a condition ultimately to triumph over all foreign competitions, and that silk, like cotton, might become one of the staple commodities of the country." In tenderness to the alarms which agitated the multitude of operatives and the bulk of their employers, the old prohibitory law against the importation of foreign silk goods was permitted to remain in force until July 1826, after which wrought silks were to be admitted at a duty of thirty per cent. on their value. Among the reasons pleaded by masters for this delay of more than two years, was the hope that opportunities would be granted of getting out of the trade before the day of ruin arrived. The frightened operatives "thanked the House and the chancellor of the exchequer for the postponement of the day of their destruction till 1826, and prayed that it might be further postponed till 1829." A substantial set-off against future competition took effect immediately in the reduction of duty on raw and thrown silk. A uniform rate of 3*d.* per lb. on the raw material took the place of the former heavy impost of 4*s.* on silk from India and 5*s.* 7½*d.* per lb. on silk from other countries. Before these changes the silk trade had been the most protected of all industrial enterprises in the British dominion, and had thriven the least. In the absence of competition the manufacturers were indifferent to improvements which they could no longer disregard when their monopoly ceased.

Not the least strenuous among the advocates for the old prohibition of foreign silks were the dealers in contraband products of French looms. On the same side, too, was the distinguished free-trader, Mr. Baring, who, to gratify his constituents at Taunton, made the best of a bad case by insisting that the admission of silk goods from the continent would simply stop the looms of this country, where dearer labour, inferior raw material, and worse machinery placed the manufacture at a disadvantage that could only be redressed by closing the home market against foreign silk goods. So advanced a free-trader, measured by the standard of his day, must have taken no little comfort from the defeat of the interest which he thus consented to uphold. No one could better see through the veil of flimsy pretexts which on this occasion it was his uphill work to bring against a measure that commended itself on its merits to the acceptance alike of ministerialists and opposition. A rapid expansion in the home manufacture of silk followed forthwith. Lord Dudley, in moving the address in answer to the king's speech at the beginning of next session, made a telling use of this fact. "All the complaints," he reminds the peers, "of the decay of our manufacture from the change of system have proved fallacious. We no longer dread the rivalry of the foreigner in our markets; we can undersell him in his own. The silk manufacture, since it was freed from shackles, has increased almost as fast as the cotton, which has been always free from them. We have now been fully taught that the great commercial prosperity of England has arisen, not from our commercial restrictions, but in spite of them." Wool came next after silk for a revision of the high import dues with which the raw material was weighted. The manufacturers asked a free importation of foreign wool, with an entire stoppage of export of British wool. The home growers, on the other hand, claimed every encouragement on the export of native wool, and the continuance of high duties against wool from abroad. Steering a middle course between these contrary interests, Mr. Huskisson carried a measure which at the time satisfied neither, but which quickly turned out abundantly fruitful in benefit to both. Exports and imports of wool were placed on the same footing of 1*d.* per lb. duty on the better qualities, and half as much on the inferior sorts. The manufacture had been declining under the injurious policy of recent years, which raised the price of wool in the British market and lowered it abroad. Lost ground was forthwith recovered to an extent that, within a year and a half of the experiment of the new system, enabled its author to tell parliament: "Instead of our manufactures being ruined, instead of the fulfilment of the assurances that all the British wool would be exported, to the utter destruction of our manufacturers, and that from their destruction the foreign wool would no longer be wanted in this country—what has been the real effect of this measure? Why, that since the removal of the restrictions on the export, we have sent abroad the amazing quantity of one hundred thousand pounds weight of British wool; while, of foreign wool, we have imported no less a quantity than forty million pounds weight. This is not speculation. It is practice and result against speculation. We removed the restrictive and prohibitory duties, and the consequences were that we exported, comparatively, none of native growth, because we had a better market for it at home."

In the five years preceding the low duties on the raw material, the average annual export of manufactured woollen goods was one million sixty-four thousand four hundred and forty pieces. The next five years showed the improved average of one million two hundred and twenty-eight thousand two hundred and forty pieces, and the succeeding term of five years yielded the yet larger average of one million five hundred and six thousand.

The home consumption of woollen goods for the same period cannot be stated with any approach to accuracy, but more than a proportionate increase was unquestionably maintained in that direction as contrasted with the augmented demands of foreign markets for British woollen fabrics.

Such were the promising first-fruits of a partial adoption of that free trade policy which in its after developments was destined to expand enormously the wealth of the nation, and give that real relief to every industry which had in vain been sought from a system of restrictions, prohibitions, bounties, and the other delusive expedients of "protection."

Among the incidents of the negro insurrection in the previous year, a missionary in Demerara had been condemned to death by the colonial authorities on the charge of inciting to revolt. He died in prison pending the decision of the home government on his case, and before the pardon which was extended to him could arrive. The abolitionists brought the case before parliament, impeaching the sentence as illegal and unjust, and denouncing the faltering policy of government on the emancipation question. A small ministerial majority defeated a motion, founded on this case, in condemnation of the judges who had doomed the missionary to death. The event marks a stage in the progress towards emancipation, which was accomplished ten years later. It was announced during the debate that henceforth the condition of the slaves was to be further ameliorated, preparatory to conferring that absolute freedom for which it was supposed they could only be fitted by gradual approaches. From this time forward the evidence of slaves was made valid in courts of justice; their property was placed under protection of the law; the separate sale of members of the same family was made illegal; the use of the lash was abolished in respect to females, and placed under restrictions in the case of males. Provision was also made for the religious instruction of slaves by ministers of the established church.

The speech from the throne at the close of the session on the 25th of June, reflected afresh the buoyant and prosperous aspect of national concerns at home and abroad. Mingled, however, with felicitations on the prevalent well being, were some regretful allusions to certain Irish affairs which will presently demand attention, since they figure prominently among the vexed questions in home politics through the remainder of the reign.

Two small wars with barbaric states, one in Africa and the other in Asia, furnished employment for sections of our combatant forces in 1824. One of these petty conflicts was alike discreditable in its origin and disastrous in its progress, reflecting heavy disgrace on the authorities who exercised the powers of the crown and misdirected the resources at their disposal. This was the war against the Ashantees, a nation occupying a large territory that extends from the confines of Sierra Leone, Cape Coast Castle, and the other British possessions, far into the interior of the continent. These were formidable enemies from their numbers, their steadfast fighting qualities, and a familiarity with the use of arms, which placed them almost on a level with the Moors and Algerines. Sir Charles Macarthy, at that time the governor of our possessions on the Guinea Coast, miscalculated the amount of reliance to be placed in his native allies, a tribe in whose cause he entered on the war, and underrated the courage and resources of his antagonists, into whose toils he rushed with an infatuated rashness. He set out in January on a march intended to lead to Coomassie, the capital of the Ashantees, situated two hundred and fifty miles inland. Major Chisholm, with another small force on another route, was to effect a junction with the governor far in the interior of a difficult country, devoid of roads, and for the most part covered with tangled bush. The expedition encountered numberless hardships, most of them the result of mistakes and ignorance of difficulties which ought to have been foreseen. Before the intended junction could be effected ten thousand warlike and ferocious Africans suddenly beset and nearly exterminated the few hundreds of British troops and their barbarian allies, Governor Macarthy being among the slain. Emboldened by this success, the Ashantees swarmed down coastwise and made several persistent and formidable attempts to conquer the British settlements. Three months passed before an adequate force could be mustered to confront the bold marauders, who meanwhile carried off or destroyed the crops of maize, yams, and other produce in all the country not swept by the guns of our forts and ships. But in the course of the summer the new governor, Colonel Sutherland, ably seconded by Chisholm, made head against the foe, and inflicted on them a succession of heavy chastisements that taught them caution. Two years later, after many demonstrations of an intention to repeat their efforts at conquest, the Ashantees sustained a crushing defeat, and the war then abruptly ended.

The Burmese war of 1824-26 was forced upon our Indian government by the increasing audacity of the Burmese authorities in each succeeding dispute that grew up between the occupants of the border territory where the two powers came into contact, on the eastern frontier of Bengal. Since the beginning of the century, the policy of British viceroys had been to stave off as long as possible the conflict which it was foreseen must come sooner or later. It was customary to assume that the occasional depredations of Burmese within the boundary of the Company's territory were not authorized by the king of Ava. While the Mahratta war was raging in 1818, the governor of the Burmese frontier provinces sent his son with a written demand to the British governor-general, insisting on the surrender of Chittagong, Dacca, Moorshedabad, and Cassimbazaar, districts which the insolent missive declared to belong of right to the king of Ava, now that his conquests covered the rest of the native dominion of which these places once formed part. Hostilities were to follow a refusal of compliance. The occasion which tempted this movement of the Burmese was the war which they supposed to be still raging in central and southern India, but the Mahrattas and Pindarees were already crushed while the Burmese envoys were yet on their journey to Calcutta. Lord Hastings avoided war by the ruse of treating the despatch as a forgery, and returning it to the king of Ava as a document which it was impossible his majesty could have authorised. Similar acts of forbearance before and after misled the court of Ava into the supposition that its power was dreaded by the government of British India. Under this impression its insolence redoubled.

Tens of thousands of the natives of Arracan and Assam had in recent years fled from the oppression of their Burmese conquerors and found refuge in eastern Bengal, or in neighbouring states under British protection. To reclaim these fugitives the Burmese sent a military force across the boundary, and some native troops in our service were killed in opposing the invasion. It was impossible to overlook or misinterpret this aggression, coupled as it was with signs of a more formidable inroad to follow. War was therefore declared, and in May, 1824, a mixed naval and military expedition set out from Calcutta and Madras, not for a mere border war on the confines of the two empires, but to carry decisive hostilities into the heart of Burmah. The total number of fighting men sent out on the first campaign slightly exceeded eight thousand, half of them British soldiers and sailors, and the remainder Sepoy troops and Lascar boatmen. With the naval section of the expedition was included the first steam craft ever seen in Asiatic waters. Rangoon, the chief seaport of Burmah, fell into the hands of the British commanders on the 11th of May. A few broadsides from the frigates silenced its fort, and its inhabitants betook themselves to the jungle. The warfare continued for nearly two years longer, in the course of which the troops and their naval coadjutors fought many considerable battles, and scores of minor actions, sometimes against eight or ten times their own numbers, and never unsuccessfully. But the difficulties of the country, its deluges of rain through a prolonged season, its scorching torrid heats, its tangled jungle, and miasmatic swamps, made the war a weary and wearing service. Prome and other towns up the great river Irrawaddy were taken without much damage to the invaders from the arms of their antagonists. Sundry overtures for peace were made in the name of the king of Ava, as our forces neared his capital, but these were mere devices of Asiatic cunning, plied over and over again to gain time for further preparations to annihilate the invaders. At length, when our army was within forty-five miles of the capital, the Burmese officials manifested an unfeigned earnestness for terms of accommodation. A treaty of peace was signed on the 3rd of June, 1826, under which the king of Ava ceded Arracan and other extensive territories adjacent to Bengal, and engaged to pay a substantial indemnity towards the cost of the war. Assam and three other border provinces were at the same time freed from Burmese rule, and became protected states under the East India Company.

While these Ashantee and Burmese wars were running their course on widely separated regions of the old world, the cabinets of Washington and London were often interchanging communications on a question that threatened to end in a greater war, the echoes of which might soon have resounded in the other continents and on other seas. The Americans claimed, under the loosely-drawn boundary treaty which followed their war of independence, a line of demarcation in the far west of their continent, which would have given them the Columbia river and Vancouver's Island, thus bringing their limits so close to the Russian possessions, that British vessels passing in and out of British territory on the Pacific shore of America would be hemmed in by the insular territory of the United States or of Russia. The joint high commission of 1818 left this vexed Oregon boundary question nowise advanced towards a settlement, beyond agreeing to leave the disputed lands open to occupation by Americans or British for ten years, after which the question was to be reopened, and the nationality of the actual inhabitants was to become a principal element in solving the question of ownership. Meanwhile every movement on either side was scanned with jealous and angry eyes on the other; and though neither party could then foresee the magnitude of the issues involved, mutual irritations were constantly endangering the peace which mutual interests counselled both sides to maintain unimpaired. Mr. Rush, the American minister, proposed at length, as a great concession from his point of view, to acknowledge the sovereignty of England over Vancouver's Island on condition that on our side all claim on the Columbia river should be finally and formally renounced. Mr. Canning declined the offer, but exerted all his powers of conciliation to soothe the susceptibilities and restrain the jealousies of both sides.

The session of 1825 opened, as the previous one closed, with a royal speech beaming with satisfaction on the highly prosperous condition of the realm generally, yet clouded again, as at the end of the last session, by regrets and misgivings on Irish affairs. Agrarian outrages had ceased in Ireland, and the mass of the people there were in a more thriving condition than in recent years. It was, therefore, the king's speech added, the more to be regretted that associations existed "irreconcilable with the spirit of the constitution, and calculated, by exciting alarm, and by exasperating animosities, to endanger the peace of society, and to retard the course of national improvement. His majesty relies upon your wisdom to consider, without delay, the means of applying a remedy to this evil." The mischief to be grappled with was a new and formidable political organization, then threatening to override the authority of the state, and to set up, so far as Ireland was concerned, the action of a national assembly in Dublin in lieu of the imperial parliament at Westminster. This was the Catholic Association, a representative body embracing the whole of Ireland in its operations. It held in Dublin regular "sessions," appointed committees, received petitions, directed a census of the population of Ireland to be taken, and levied from every parish throughout the country a contribution, under the name of the "Catholic Rent," to defray the cost of its operations. All grades of society from nobles to peasants were included in its long muster rolls, and the priests were among its most active and efficient agents. Its debates were published in every newspaper; its exciting appeals to the passions of the multitude were read from the altars of all Catholic chapels. The Association dated from 1823. It was the handiwork of Daniel O'Connell, who for ten or a dozen years previously had been a prominent figure in the history of Ireland, and had now attained to a pre-eminent popularity among his countrymen. Thenceforward to the close of a long career he wielded a magic power over the heads and hearts of unreasoning millions, whose generous but infatuated devotion he turned to profitable account in his own behoof. As Miss Martineau has aptly noted, he never kept his eye off the money-bags freighted with the tribute called Catholic Rent, drawn from scrapings of the earnings of the poor to furnish him an income. The professed aims of the Association were sober and legitimate enough; namely, the furtherance of all political and social interests of Irish Catholics. But the modest purposes set out in the programme never, from the outset, limited the aspirations of hot-headed agitators, lay and clerical, who vied with each other in reckless biddings for popularity among audiences not gifted with self-command. Mr. Plunket, the Irish attorney-general, speaking under the responsibilities of his official position, and with the authority attaching to his intimate acquaintance with the national temperament and social characteristics of the various ranks of his countrymen, exposed with telling force the workings and the dangers of the new machinery for raising political whirlwinds and social tornadoes. Glancing at samples, out of a wide range of the questions with which the Association concerned itself, such as the distribution of church property, the repeal of the union, and the adjudication of the courts of law in causes affecting Catholics, he frankly admitted the right of discussion and of associated efforts aiming at amendment. Next, however, came the further question of the means employed, and on this he entertained no doubt that the Association was alike dangerous to the public tranquillity and unconstitutional in its working. "They have associated with them," said Plunket, "the Catholic clergy, the Catholic nobility, many of the Catholic gentry, and all the surviving delegates of 1791. They have established committees in every district, who keep up an extensive correspondence through the country. Consisting originally of a few members, this Association has now increased to three thousand. They proceeded to establish a Roman Catholic Rent, and in every parish of the two thousand five hundred parishes into which Ireland is divided, they appointed twelve collectors, which makes an army of thirty thousand. Having this their army of collectors, they brought to their assistance two thousand five hundred priests, and the whole ecclesiastical body. Thus provided, they go about levying contributions on the peasantry." To avoid the appearance of invidiousness, the Orange societies and other similar bodies, whose business was the fomenting of political and religious animosities, were all included in the bill now brought forward to amend the law relating to unlawful societies in Ireland. This bill prohibited the levying of contributions for the redress of grievances,—the permanent sitting of societies,—the exclusion from membership on the score of religious profession,—the administration of oaths,—the appointment of committees beyond a certain time,—the establishment of branch associations, and the maintenance of correspondence with other societies. The bill encountered determined resistance from some leading promoters of the Catholic claims, who urged, with great force of logic, that ministers should stay agitation by redressing grievances rather than seek to quell it by choking full discussion. Brougham and Macintosh warned ministers that the only effectual method of quashing the secret government which arrayed against them the energies of five-sixths of the Irish people was the removal of that glaring wrong, the inequality of civil and political rights between Protestants and Catholics, which nourished undying disaffection and maintained a standing menace to the peace of the country.

The perilous condition of Ireland, however, and the certainty that the question of relief to the Catholics was not yet ripe for settlement, secured in support of the bill the votes of great numbers of declared friends of emancipation; but, in deference to their objections, the operation of the bill was limited to three years. The debate was signalized by several memorable speeches, among which, on the fourth night's discussion on the second reading in the Commons, was Canning's intensely earnest and highly eloquent vindication from the charge that he had betrayed and deserted the Catholic cause. Scanning rapidly the past history of the question from the opening of the century, and enumerating in connection with it sundry incidents in his own public life, he concluded in the impressive peroration:—"I have thus shown, that in 1812 I refused office rather than enter into an administration pledged against the Catholic question. I did this at a time when office would have been dearer to me than at any other period of my political career; when I would have given ten years of life for two of office; not on account of any sordid or selfish purpose of aggrandisement, but for other and higher views. Nor is this the only sacrifice I have made to the Catholic cause. From the earliest dawn of my public life, ay, from the first visions of youthful ambition, that ambition was directed to one object, before which all others vanished comparatively into insignificance; that object, far beyond all the blandishments of power, beyond all the rewards and favours of the crown, was to represent in this House the university at which I was educated. I had a fair chance of accomplishing it, when the Catholic question crossed my path. I was warned, fairly and kindly warned, that my adoption of that cause would blast my prospect. I adhered to the Catholic cause, and forfeited all my long-cherished hopes and expectations; yet I am told that I made no sacrifice! that I have postponed the cause of the Catholics to views and interests of my own! * * Never, till this hour, have I stated, either in public or in private, the extent of this irretrievable sacrifice; but I have not felt it the less deeply. It is past; I shall speak of it no more."

The bill passed quickly through all its stages by large majorities in both Houses. The Association thereupon ostensibly disbanded itself, but only to reunite immediately afterwards under conditions which in outward seeming respected the law, while to all intents and purposes they set its aims at defiance, especially in the matter of the money-tribute for the support of the arch-agitator. The new Association, like its predecessor, was framed by the astute O'Connell. It professed to have for its objects the promotion of education and charitable purposes, but the same violent and defiant language as in the time of the original society marked all its discussions. It complied certainly with the letter of the law, or made cunning pretences at compliance, while its proceedings became more insolent, defiant, and offensive than ever. Nor could the law have been made effectual except by such restraints upon the liberty of speech and of public meetings as government would have found parliament indisposed to sanction except under pressure of actual insurrection. The forbearance of government in the face of further threatening agitations brought upon them the reproaches of the ultra-zealous Protestant party, who attributed to fear what was really only a merciful reluctance to begin a bloody collision with masses of the people who were ready for any conflict into which their leaders might care to plunge them. But O'Connell was sufficiently careful of his skin to avoid a contest with the military; so peace was maintained, but Ireland remained virtually under the rule of the Association and its dictator.

While yet the ministerial bill to dissolve the Catholic Association was in progress, another measure to secure the removal of the worst grievances of Catholics was carried through the Commons. This was Sir Francis Burdett's bill, substituting for the oath of supremacy an oath which would admit Catholics to seats in parliament, and regulating the intercourse of Catholics with the see of Rome. The numerous and spirited debates on this bill were marked by the avowal on the part of many members of their conversion to the cause of equality of civil rights to all religious communions. In the Upper House, however, the bill met the same disfavour that had been invariably shown to its many predecessors. It was thrown out by a majority of forty-eight. In presenting a petition against the bill from the dean and chapter of Windsor, the duke of York, then heir-presumptive to the throne, uttered the memorable declaration, clenched with a solemn oath, that to the close of his career, whatever his future station might be, he would never be a consenting party to the removal of Catholic disabilities. Twenty-eight years, he said, had elapsed since the subject was first agitated; that its agitation had been the source of the illness which clouded the last ten years of his father's life; and that, to the last moment of his own existence he would oppose, so help him God, a concession which he "held to be repugnant to the principles of the constitution."

Mr. Huskisson contrived to give effect in the course of this session to numerous minor applications of his free-trade policy. Many of the restraints which confined the trade of our colonies to British shipping were abandoned. Colonial ports were now thrown open to the trade of all friendly powers, and the colonies were permitted to establish a commerce on their own account with countries whose products they had hitherto received only through the shipping of the mother country. Fees levied on the commerce of colonial ports were abolished. Canadian corn was admitted to British markets at a fixed and moderate duty. Sundry other import duties, levied with the view to favouring home and colonial industries at the expense of consumers, were reduced; such as those on sugars from Mauritius, cotton and linen fabrics, paper, books, glass, metallic substances—particularly iron, copper, zinc, and lead—and the raw material required in several manufacturing processes, including oils and rape seed. Consular establishments, hitherto maintained by onerous fees on shipping and trading transactions, were now placed on salaries drawn from the public purse. The old monopoly of the Levant Company, dating from the reign of James I., was swept away this year. The corn-laws came under discussion; the manufacturers maintaining that food products should no longer be kept artificially dear now that so many industries had to fight against unrestricted foreign competition. But the landed interest was slow to believe in doctrines boding reduced rent-rolls, and remained for many a year longer strong and compact enough to defeat every movement in the direction of lowering the price of breadstuffs. The unabated confidence of ministers in the growth of revenue, despite the remissions now to take effect on a considerable range of imported commodities, was exhibited in the yet larger reductions announced in the budget of the year. The revenue of the past year having yielded a surplus of a million beyond the estimate, tax-payers were again gratified with more remissions. The articles selected for lower duties were coffee, wine, spirits, cider, hemp, and other commodities, representing a total reduction of a million and a half. Among minor financial reforms, the sale of offices in courts of justice, hitherto one of the sources of income of the judges, was abolished. In lieu of fees, fines, and other fluctuating sources of income, the fixed salaries of the judges were augmented up to 10,000*l.* for the chief-justice of the King's-bench; 8000*l.* for the chief-justice of the court of Common-pleas; 7000*l.* each to the master of the rolls and chief-baron of the Exchequer; 6000*l.* for the vice-chancellor; and 5000*l.* for each of the other twelve judges.

When the prorogation came, early in July, the king's speech told afresh that great and growing prosperity continued to pervade every part of the kingdom. The few who discerned signs of a great reverse of fortune in the early future, or pointed to the tokens of an impending crash, were discredited and put down as timid alarmists. Their warnings fell on unheeding ears; for the nation at large was revelling in soothing visions and golden prospects, too soon to be cruelly dispelled. A season of epidemic speculation was now making one of its periodic visits, and myriads were falling under the contagion, as in the days when the disastrous South Sea scheme filled the place of leviathan among a swarm of ruinous delusions and impostures.

The two years of constantly-increasing briskness in workshops, factories, foundries, potteries, mines, docks, and warehouses, and the large profits falling to merchants and manufacturers, stirred the dormant energies of speculation after the dreary eight years of torpor through which enterprise had languished. Money lying almost idle in the hands of bankers, or locked up in mortgages and other investments yielding small returns, had now a wide choice of operations promising quick and large profits. In prompt response to the yearnings of stored-up capital for productive employment, joint-stock companies sprung into existence in bewildering profusion. No project seemed too wild to draw investments. The friendly relations cultivated by our government with the new transatlantic states raised in the public a confidence in and a sudden partiality for the shares in mining and commercial speculations which looked to those newly-opened regions as inexhaustible fields of wealth. Then each new-born state and embryo government just struggling into existence, together with several older members of the family of nations, were all at this time competing in the London loan market with their rival baits and blandishments. More than eleven millions sterling were sent out of England in 1825 as instalments of loans to Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Greece, Naples, and Denmark, and further cash payments exceeding six more millions were paid on shares in mining ventures and sundry commercial speculations that covered most of the western continent within the range of their intended operations. Projects for home enterprises whose name was legion were meanwhile enlisting throngs of supporters from multitudinous ranks hasting to be rich. In the session of 1825 the private acts of parliament empowering the formation of railways, canals, docks, tunnels, lines of river and ocean steam-ships, and the like, were nearly three hundred in number. So great was the pressure of business of this sort, and the want of accommodation for the unprecedented emergency, that eight distinct committees sat occasionally at the same time in the smoking-room of the House of Commons in the month of May. The aggregate nominal capital of the joint-stock companies formed in 1824 and the early weeks of the following year stood at 174,000,000*l.* Of these multifarious undertakings twenty-three were banking, twenty-nine insurance, thirty-three canals and docks, forty-two gas, forty-eight railroads, twelve lines of steam navigation, eight water supply, thirty-eight mining, two sea-water bathing; besides these there was a curious medley of such enterprises as milk-and-egg, steam-laundry and steam-oven companies. The newspapers of the time are curiosities in their way for the variety and throng of projects set forth in their advertising columns. The shares of some of these companies, especially those for mining ventures in South America, went up in most buoyant style before the actual commencement of working. Not a few of the so-called companies were from beginning to end the merest gambling speculations, and never worked the properties that figured in their share lists. One mining association sent out two ship-loads of miners and machinery to Buenos Ayres; but the manager, after many fruitless, though persevering, researches, failed to discover the field of operations he was commissioned to work, or any likely spot for mining; so the expedition returned, and the company was thereupon dissolved, its losses exceeding 50,000*l.* Manufactured goods were shipped to South American ports with reckless indifference to the probable demand, whether as respects kind or quantity. A large consignment of skates and warming-pans is said to have been despatched from Birmingham to Rio Janeiro, a tropical city, that disperses its imported commodities through a region where frost is never seen, and where cool beds are in request throughout the year. The quantity of Manchester goods consigned to the same port in that single season was reckoned at twenty-fold the previous average yearly demand. Imports of foreign commodities were on a more lavish scale, if possible, than exports. Eager speculators overshot the mark in all directions. Warehouses were crammed to overflowing. Traders who had pushed their credit to the utmost were the first to suffer. Forced sales at ruinous prices was their only resource in meeting engagements that could be staved off no longer. That process, when the markets were everywhere glutted, afforded but a short reprieve from bankruptcy. The collapse of a few involved the speedy fall of many connected businesses, with a consequent panic that brought down creditors in shoals upon their debtors.

The banks had already, for the most part, gone beyond all bounds of prudence in accommodating their customers, and thus were in the worst possible plight to meet the run upon them which now began. Several great City banks and about seventy country banks stopped payment. Consternation swept like a whirlwind through all the channels of trade, and paralysed half the industry of the country. Thus closed in gloom and panic the year 1825; and at the opening of the new year, 1826, almost every household in the kingdom was suffering its share of privation consequent on this overwhelming revulsion in commerce—the punishment of overtrading on baseless credit. The new joint-stock companies, in whose schemes nearly eighteen millions had been subscribed, were almost all swept away in the flood of bankruptcies. The "Gazette" exhibited one hundred and eighty-three failures in November, two hundred and twenty in December, three hundred and twenty-one in January, three hundred and eighty in February, and three hundred and fifteen in March. In the latter month the shares of the Real del Monte mining company, lately the first favourite on the stock exchange, and which had, a few months earlier, fetched a premium of 1200*l.* each, fell to a discount of 20*l.* per share. The prodigious depreciation of every kind of stock carried irreparable loss beyond the circles engaged in commerce. Retired professional men, widow ladies, and thousands of folks in easy circumstances, who had been drawn into the vortex of speculation when their neighbours were making rapid fortunes by skilful buying and selling, were now bereft of the means of living or reduced to pittances that made life a burden. As for the working classes, they were threatened for a time with absolute starvation, for there was no employment for vast numbers of them. In their deep distress they wreaked their vengeance, as in bygone years of stagnation to their industry, on the machinery which they supposed to be the cause of glutted markets and stoppage in manufacturing operations. More than a thousand power-looms in Lancashire were destroyed in such attacks by riotous bands of destitute mill-hands. Glasgow, Carlisle, Norwich, Trowbridge, and other places where the factories ceased to afford employment became the scenes of similar turbulent demonstrations, in which the plundering of provision shops and stores formed the usual accompaniment. Forty years later, when a terrible cotton famine afflicted another generation of sorely-tried operatives with long-enduring dearth of work and a destitution akin to starvation, the patient suffering, the entire forbearance from lawless violence, the respect for property, and the absence of all irritation against machinery, capitalists, or the government of the country, triumphantly attested the value of the multiform educational and civilizing agencies which had done good work among the people in the period between the panic of 1825 and that great war on the North American continent which imposed on myriads of homes in the British isles privations and agonies not less keen than were felt through New England and Maryland.

The short session of 1826, extending from the 2nd of February to the 31st of May, had for its most prominent matter of debate the recent convulsion in the commercial world. The outcome of many discussions seemed to be in effect that the bitter lessons of an experience not soon to be forgotten, offered a better security against a recurrence of the late calamity than any meddling on the part of parliament with the self-acting course of trade. To lessen, however, the risks of a future crash of the sort, provincial banks were now permitted to have an unlimited number of partners, instead of being tied down, as hitherto, to a maximum of six. Concurrently with this strengthening of the foundations of country banks, those establishments were deprived of the privilege—which they had enormously abused—of issuing paper-money of the value of one and two pounds. Under government sanction the Bank of England filled for a time, by an issue of one-pound and two-pound notes, the gap caused by the suppression of small country notes. This, however, was merely a makeshift until coin was forthcoming in sufficient abundance for all the smaller transactions of rural trade, and thenceforward no note under the value of 5*l.* was to circulate in England. Scotland, however, where no bank had collapsed in the recent crisis, made out a good case for exceptional treatment, and was accordingly allowed to retain its favourite small note circulation. To the urgent pleas advanced for some extraordinary help from government to enable merchants to tide over the crisis, the premier stated his deliberate conviction that it would be unwise in ministers to encourage the trading interest to look elsewhere for assistance but to themselves and the banking establishments. He added—and the judgment of the House sided with him—that "nothing justified the interference of the government in mercantile embarrassments unless the distress occasioned by some great public calamity, inflicted by the hand of God, or some political event of a very extraordinary nature."

To set commerce and labour going, and thus give to the unemployed a livelihood of their own earning, the Bank of England engaged temporarily in a sort of pawnbroking business with merchants and manufacturers, lending such customers cash on the security of their stocks of goods or such other tangible property as the plant of their businesses. This aid, reinforced by the passing of resolutions by the bankers and great merchants, to the effect that the foundations of commercial credit and monetary operations remained unimpaired by the shock of the late groundless panic, soon restored confidence to the timid and reinvigorated all the springs of productive industry. A season of drought, however, came most inauspiciously in the wake of commercial troubles, and threatened to add the aggravation of high-priced bread to the extensive slackness of employment that depressed the condition of the operative ranks. Before parliament separated, the risks of a bad harvest, and of that turbulence which commonly grew in those days out of privation among the wage-sustained classes, warned ministers to seek parliamentary sanctions to the admission of foreign grain on easier conditions than those of the law then ruling our corn markets. Despite the risk of scarcity and suffering, with too probable accompaniment of lawless outbreaks, the champions of the farming and landlord interest made a stout fight against opening the ports to cheap breadstuffs from abroad, and they succeeded in limiting the quantity of foreign corn under the exceptionally easy temporary tariff to half a million quarters.

The silk trade shared the derangement and depression under which most other industrial and mercantile interests were suffering; but taking no account of the real causes of stagnation, masters and men raised afresh the outcry against the bill passed in 1824, under which foreign silks were now on the eve of admission to British markets at an *ad valorem* duty of thirty per cent. Mr. Ellice, member for Coventry, moved that the petition praying for a repeal of the late act be referred to a select committee. Thereupon ensued a two nights' debate, in which the free-trade leanings of ministers encountered abundance of hostile criticism, but Huskisson and Canning came out of the ordeal with flying colours, defeating their opponents by a majority of one hundred and eighty-two.

Canning made a telling retort to the bitter comments of some advocates for a return to old-fashioned monopolies, describing them as a sect who thought all advances towards improvement were backward steps towards Jacobinism, and who imagined that under no possible circumstances could an honest man endeavour to keep his country on a line with the progress of political knowledge or adapt his course to the varying circumstances of the world, all such attempts being branded by these foes to reason and philosophy as proofs of a design to sap the foundations of the country's greatness. Scarcely were the champions of ancient monopolies in the silk trade put out of court, before the shipping interest brought afresh its indictment against those changes which, in recent years, had abridged its privileges. Huskisson met the challenge by a masterly vindication which carried with him the sense and sympathy of the House. Such attacks and defence, siftings and scrutinies, of the first advance towards free trade rendered infinite service in breaking ground for those larger applications of the system which were never dreamt of by the docile band of country squires whose votes sustained Huskisson's first instructive experiment.

Brougham, Denman, and other advocates of negro emancipation, brought forward abundant illustrations showing how the wishes of parliament and the instructions from the home government for improved treatment of the slaves in our West Indian possessions were utterly disregarded by all the local authorities, whether legislative, magisterial, or judicial. Nothing, however, was done beyond the uttering of further warnings of that strict account to which parliament would have to call the defaulters on further continuance of their contumacious bearing.

Mr. Peel carried a bill to amend the law of felony, and generally to simplify and improve the administration of criminal law. A similar bill, covering kindred branches of the subject, made some progress, but had to be withdrawn in view of the shortening of the session for convenience of the forthcoming general election. The same consideration stayed the progress of reform in the working of the court of chancery. During the past three years frequent disclosures had come before parliament, by petitions of suitors and otherwise, setting forth the terrible evils of the law's delay and costliness. One of the petitions presented in the previous year set forth the case of a widow, who, sixteen years before, had 1400*l.* left to her by her husband, subject to the payment of his debts. The creditors claimed 300*l.*, and, although their claims were not contested, the whole of the remainder was swallowed up in fees and charges, besetting the case at every turn in those dreary years of hope deferred that finally left the unhappy woman penniless and a pauper in the Greenwich workhouse. Scores of other cases, scarcely less scandalous, and some of them covering a yet longer term of years before they emerged from the terrible ordeal of a suit in chancery, were matters of notoriety and angry comment at the time. Mr. Williams, afterwards one of the judges of the court of Queen's Bench, raised discussions in succeeding sessions from 1823 onwards, out of which grew a large reform, but the end was not yet. His motion in 1824, for a select committee of the Commons to inquire into the complaints made against the court of chancery, was countermined by the offer of government to appoint a royal commission for the same duty.

When the session of 1825 was drawing to a close, and it became known that the commission had not yet prepared a report, the temper of the baulked law reformers found expression in an order recorded in the journals of the Commons on the 30th of June: "That there be laid before this House a list of all causes that have been heard by the lord chancellor during the last eighteen years, wherein judgment has not yet been given, specifying the time when heard; comprising all petitions in cases of bankruptcy already heard but not decided." Great was the wrath of Lord Eldon that his colleagues had permitted this order to pass. They, however, had clearly made up their minds rather to throw him overboard than face another such angry storm as had assailed them in the debates of three following years on this question. When the date for the opening of the session of 1826 was drawing near, Lord Liverpool wrote the chancellor: "The report of the commission of inquiry must be ready and be laid before parliament immediately upon its meeting. * * Let me entreat you, therefore, to spare no effort for the completion of this report without further delay. It is really become a question of vital importance, and there is *no inconvenience* that ought not to be incurred for the attainment of this object. Independent of the complaint of neglect and of the suspicion which the delay in making the report occasions, the report is really necessary to enable ministers in the House of Commons to resist effectually the unjustifiable attacks daily made upon the court of chancery. * * * I hope

I do not appear to press this matter with too much importunity: but I am so deeply sensible of its importance, that I should not do my duty if I did not urge it in the strongest manner. Let us but have the report and all other difficulties may be fairly encountered: but without that, no person, in the present heated state of the public mind upon the subject, can answer for the consequences." The report made its appearance in time to avert the impending storm, or rather to break its force, for further petitions from victims of delay and sufferers from outrageous costs again supplied texts for stinging comments at the expense of the judge and the court over which he presided.

A government measure, founded upon the report of the commissioners, and giving effect to the major portion of their very numerous suggestions for expediting and simplifying proceedings in chancery, was now promised. The attorney-general redeemed this pledge by carrying through its first reading, on the 18th of May, a Chancery Reform Bill. There was, however, no time left for the discussion of a measure of such importance, for the dissolution was at hand, and members' heads were crowded with thoughts appertaining to the near approach of a general election. The question was now, however, fairly before the country, and government was irrevocably committed to advance to a conclusion at the earliest convenient season. The several attempts made in 1826 by the parliamentary reformers to advance their question a stage met with less than an average measure of success or encouragement.

The financial statement of the year was but slightly tinctured with the dark hues of recent depression in commerce and manufacture. Despite the late troubles and the haze on the outlook of the year before him, the chancellor of the exchequer had no expectation of any serious falling off in revenue. Income and expenditure were framed as nearly as possible on the lines of the previous year's budget. Mr. Robinson's budget speeches had been so uniformly fraught with glowing pictures of vast improvement in the condition of the people, and continual growth in the yield of taxes, notwithstanding the heavy remissions of recent years, that he had now acquired the nickname of Prosperity Robinson. His sanguine expectations invited and supplied ample matter for hostile criticism from opposition members, whose leader in such frays gained the equally appropriate sobriquet of Adversity Hume. Mr. Robinson held that the increased consumption of taxable articles, which in the last ten years had made up for reductions in taxation to the extent of twenty-seven and a half millions, proved a corresponding improvement in the material condition of the people. Mr. Hume on the contrary maintained that the condition of the people was constantly deteriorating, and that the growth of revenue was due solely to growth of population. The next census afforded proofs that both were right and both were wrong in their respective estimates; the exultations on the one hand and the forebodings on the other being out of proportion to the actual facts of the case.

The session closed on the last day of May, and two days later parliament was dissolved. For so brief a session much useful and solid work had been accomplished, and still more had been brought up to the point of taking action, the issues of which belonged to the early future, and were, indeed, expressly reserved for a new parliament to deal with.

The election came off in June, the chief tests in the choice of candidates being their views on the corn-laws, the slave trade, and Catholic emancipation. Measures rather than men were certainly uppermost considerations in the choice of representatives this time. The return of one hundred and thirty-three new members for England and Wales afforded substantial proof of large changes in the sentiment of the constituencies, and the early years of the new parliament showed that these were of an onward tendency. The helplessness of the Scottish electors was shown in the almost entire absence of contests for seats in the constituencies north of Tweed. In Ireland, one cry drowned all others,—Catholic emancipation. The priests marshalled their followers to the hustings amid excited throngs of non-electors, armed with cudgels, and shouting lustily for their church and country. The forty shilling freeholders, who had been set on foot in that capacity at the cost of the great rival families of Protestant landowners, turned against the local magnates who reckoned securely on their votes as a kind of family property. Seat after seat passed into the hands of strangers to the tenantry, but carrying the all-sufficing credential of the goodwill of O'Connell and his Association. Even the great family of the Beresfords, who had for generations enjoyed a sort of political omnipotence in Waterford, had this time to endure the mortification of seeing that county wrested from their keeping. In this discomfiture at the hustings they perhaps found some consolation in a goodly companionship of the best county families, whose traditional authority went for nothing in this election. Wholesale ejectments of defiant tenantry added a further ingredient to the social bitterness and embroïlment.

Parliament met in November, when the king read a speech that told again of distresses among the manufacturing ranks, and of precautionary measures beyond the strict sanctions of existing law which had been deemed necessary in the face of an alarming increase in the price of breadstuffs. The ports had in fact been opened to the admission of foreign grain earlier, and on less stringent conditions than the statutory powers given to ministers in the late session warranted, and for this sin against the corn-laws they had now to ask absolution. The plea of scarcity and the well-understood risks of popular ebullitions were of course accepted, though not ungrudgingly, and ministers engaged to revise the corn-laws, but not until after the Christmas recess. An attempt was made to bring to book some members of the late parliament for the part they had taken in not a few of the six hundred bubble schemes which had brought widespread loss and suffering upon all classes. It appeared that several members acting as directors of companies drew three guineas a day for the use of their names in furtherance of projects which had turned out to be the merest fraudulent impostures, and that they had pocketed besides large gains from traffic in the shares of such make-believe trading enterprises. But all home questions dropped suddenly into the background, for the nation was now aroused by an appeal to its honour; the faith of treaties called for warlike movements in behalf of an ally. The recently-established constitutional form of government in Portugal was viewed with jealousy and alarm by its absolutist neighbour, Ferdinand of Spain. France and Spain were promoting in Portugal a rebellion that aimed to get rid of the existing constitutional monarchy under the young queen, Maria Isabella, and to set up in its stead an absolute government under Dom Miguel, uncle of the queen. There were assembled on the frontier large bodies of Spanish troops, and the French government gave much cause for the belief that its armies, still in Spain, were destined to perform the same duty for Dom Miguel in Lisbon, as for King Ferdinand at Madrid,—that of ridding him of the trammels of representative government, and seating him on a throne of the approved "holy alliance" type. The government of Donna Maria, in apprehension of invasion to dispossess her of her throne, appealed to England, under terms of existing treaties, for help against foreign foes. The share France had taken in quelling Spanish liberty was not yet forgiven by the British government or people, nor could it well be forgotten while French armies still sustained in Spain a part hateful to English prepossessions in the direction of liberty. There arose, therefore, an instant and almost unanimous sentiment that war must forthwith commence to stem the extension of French interference from Spain into Portugal, and to overawe the Spanish government, which had gone yet greater lengths than the French, though certainly with the cordial approval of the latter, in active encouragement of the cause of the absolutist pretender to the throne of Portugal. Never was prompter or more decisive action taken by a constitutional government in a great emergency, than that adopted by our cabinet in dealing with the appeal for military aid against the threatened aggression on Portugal. The formal appeal was made by the Portuguese ambassador on Friday, the 8th of December. Next day the decision was taken, in which the king concurred, to send a combined naval and military expedition to the Tagus. On Monday, the 11th, the decision was announced to both Houses of Parliament; the debate thereupon followed next day, and resulted in an enthusiastic and unanimous vote (except three or four dissentients in the Commons) in favour of the resolve to defend Portugal from invasion. On the 13th a first detachment of five thousand troops was marching to the port of embarkation. On Christmas day Lisbon resounded with welcomes to these first regiments of defenders as they marched through the city, giving earnest of effectual aid to follow, and recalling to the memories of the inhabitants the stirring deeds of Wellington's army of liberators, and the seven years of friendly occupation of their city by British forces. Canning's speech on the message from the king, asking parliament to enable his majesty to fulfil his treaty obligations towards the oldest of his allies, was among his finest efforts of eloquence and the greatest triumphs of his genius as an orator. It carried the enthusiastic approval of a full House, and the general sentiment of the nation took its tone from the electrifying utterances of the brilliant parliamentary leader, in his vindication of his foreign policy and his exposition of the duty of England in the crisis. Disavowing at the outset any purpose of meddling in the internal concerns of Portugal, he held that the defence of that country from foreign invasion was an imperative duty, under the provisions of subsisting treaties. Nothing short of upholding the honour of the country could reconcile him to the thought of war; yet he dreaded war even in a good cause, not, however, from any distrust of the national strength and resources, but because he feared the next contest in Europe, if it passed beyond the peninsula, would be a war of the most tremendous nature, a war of irreconcilable political opinions. He added: "Although this country may enter into it with a desire to mitigate and control its horrors, yet she cannot help seeing under her banners all those who are restless and dissatisfied with or without cause in every nation with which she may be placed at variance. The consciousness of this fact, the knowledge that we possess such a tremendous power, forces me to feel as I now feel; but it is one thing to have a giant's strength, and another to use it like a giant. The consciousness that we have this power keeps us safe. Our business is not to seek opportunities of displaying it; but so to keep it, that hereafter the world may see we knew its proper use, while we shrunk from converting the umpire into the oppressor.

'Celsâ sedet Æolus arce,
Sceptra tenens; mollitque animos, et temperat iras:
Ni faciat, maria, ac terras, cœlumque profundum
Quippe ferant rapidi secum, verrantque per auras.'

The consequences of letting loose those passions which are chained up, may be such as will lead to a scene of desolation which no one can contemplate without horror; and such as I could never lie easy on my couch, if I was conscious of having by one hour precipitated. I would bear much, and forbear long. I would almost put up with anything that did not touch our national faith and national honour, rather than let slip the furies of war, when we know not whom they may reach, and where the devastation may end. Such is the love of peace which the British government acknowledges, and such the duty of peace which the circumstances of the world inculcate. In obedience to this conviction, and with the hope of avoiding extremities, I will push no farther the topics of this part of the address. Let us defend Portugal, whoever may be the assailants, because it is a work of duty; and let us end where that duty ends. We go to Portugal, not to rule, not to dictate, not to prescribe laws; we go only to plant there the standard of England, and where that standard is planted, foreign dominion shall not come." Brougham, who in a previous session had said "Great Britain was bound over in recognizances of 800,000,000*l.* to keep the peace," and therefore could not help the constitutional party in Spain, when French armies entered that country to reinstate Ferdinand in the full authority of an absolute king, gave in his hearty adhesion to the expedition now sent forth to Portugal. In supporting the motion, he declared that "the burdens of the country, however oppressive, would be borne cheerfully through the impending struggle, if war should be the result, for now the country was governed on wise, liberal, and truly English principles."

He added that while the government was conducted on such principles, no burdens would scare the people from coping with the world in arms; but that the day of such trial would not come, for the knowledge that such principles were acted upon would be a security against it. Canning's final speech, at the end of the debate, wound up with a clear and forcible statement, that the object of the armament then hurrying to the coast was not war, but to take the last chance of peace. "If England," said the eloquent minister, "does not go promptly to the aid of Portugal, Portugal will be trampled on, England will be disgraced, and then war will come; come, too, in the train of degradation." The debate and the prompt departure of the troops, with the hearty support of public opinion that greeted the spirited movement, worked an immediate, extensive, and lasting effect in the bearing of many of the governments of Europe in respect to the internal politics of other nations. The hopes of the party of progress in all lands were revived and invigorated in sympathy with the staggering rebuke thus administered to the meddling of absolutist governments in the domestic affairs of nations aspiring to free institutions. Portugal was immediately relieved from the threatened invasion, and forthwith settled her internal quarrel in a fashion that gratified our national predilections in behalf of a government modelled after our own; yet no part was taken by our troops in the strife that quickly closed in the defeat and submission of the absolutist party.

While this cloud of war, that for a time seemed black and threatening, was passing thus harmlessly overhead, home politics underwent some memorable shocks and perplexing transitions, that stayed for a year the current of useful legislation. The Irish elections, as before noted, had resulted in large accessions to the ranks of the supporters of Catholic emancipation. The gains of the party in Ireland were, however, more than counterbalanced by the gains of the opponents of that cause in England and Scotland. The duke of York's famous declaration, that in the event of his becoming king, he would at all hazards refuse concessions to the Catholics, exercised a palpable influence in the late elections. "The duke of York and no popery!" figured on huge placards in every direction. The phrase became the watchword of all expectants of court favour, and of the conscientious multitudes of good Protestants of all denominations who shared the duke's hostility to a measure then and afterwards deemed dangerous to the civil and political constitution of society. After the elections, the duke's anti-papal zeal prompted him to an extraordinary step. The influence attaching to him as next in the succession to the throne was brought to bear upon the reigning sovereign, whose sentiments on the exciting topic of that critical time were akin to those of his brother, though probably tempered with more regard to the obligations resting on a constitutional king. Late in the autumn the duke submitted to the king his notions of desirable changes in the cabinet, with a view to the defeat of any attempt in parliament to carry a bill for the removal of Catholic disabilities. His recommendations are thought to have included the dismissal of Canning. At any rate, Lord Eldon, who was in the secret, held that the duke's influence was of the highest national use in counteracting Canning's pronounced views on the Catholic question. But the duke had overestimated his chances of surviving his eldest brother. He fell ill of dropsy in the winter and died on the 5th of January, 1827, in the 64th year of his age. In the eyes of the high Tory section of the cabinet, represented by the premier and the chancellor, the death of this prince was an irreparable loss to the country, and it was certainly deplored by other ranks than those in which his many good personal qualities had made the late commander-in-chief a great favourite. His administration of the army during half his life gained him the good-will, not alone of that service, but of the public at large. He was diligent in the discharge of his official duties, and earnestly attentive to every circumstance affecting the comfort and the well-being of the soldier. His profuse extravagance, addiction to pleasure, gaming, and irregularities of another kind, the common vices of princely rank in his day, were readily forgiven in consideration of those better qualities of which he possessed a more than average endowment. His sudden disappearance from the field of English politics affected, as Lord Eldon was the first to remark, the political situation of every public man. It certainly furthered the ascendancy to which public opinion and the drift of events were rapidly advancing Canning in the counsels of his sovereign and the guidance of public affairs. The death of his royal highness was widely mourned, and his memory was soon honoured by the erection of one of the most conspicuous monuments ever raised in London as a tribute to departed worth. Few, if any, grieved that his prospect of filling the throne was disappointed, and to the nation at large it was certainly matter of congratulation that his sailor-brother, the duke of Clarence, succeeded to his rank as heir-apparent. His great official and administrative post of commander-in-chief of the army was appropriately conferred on Wellington, to the satisfaction of all classes. The new head of the army retained at the same time his former office of master-general of the ordnance, a post which carried with it a seat in the cabinet. Some murmurs and protests were raised against such intermixture in the same person of high ministerial with executive powers.

Parliament resumed work on the 8th of January. The duke of Clarence being now, through the decease of his brother, the presumptive heir to the throne, ministers proposed and carried an augmentation of his income, in consideration of the additional charges attaching to the more exalted position his royal highness had now attained. Before any other business of public importance came under debate, but just on the eve of a full and fair trial of strength on the critical question of Catholic emancipation, now fast ripening for settlement, the premier, Lord Liverpool, was smitten with a stroke of apoplexy, and his public life came to an abrupt close. The stroke prostrated his intellect and left him a mere shattered wreck of manhood, yet he lingered in that piteous condition of mental and bodily incapacity until December of the following year, when he died. He was in his place among the peers the 16th of February, the day before the fatal attack, in the best apparent state of health and cheerfulness. This outward seeming of cheerfulness was however misleading. His more intimate friends well knew that he laboured under a ceaseless and anxious sense of responsibility. He had not the faculty of laying aside his cares for a single day. He never, in the course of his twenty-five years of high office, fifteen of them spent in the premiership, approached the daily heap of letters awaiting his attention without painful forebodings that disaster lurked behind some of the unbroken seals. When it became known that his recovery was beyond hope, the extent of the loss the country had sustained seemed great in presence of the difficulties of filling the void; but when once the gap was occupied, a feeling of wonder succeeded that a man of such moderate, commonplace, and merely respectable abilities, should so long have kept the post of prime minister in stirring and eventful times. In earlier life, under his first name of Mr. Jenkinson, and afterwards with the title of Lord Hawkesbury, he was a prominent though nowise brilliant partizan of Pitt's policy, and won his advancement by that service; but, unlike Canning, his fellow disciple in the same school, he imbibed little if any of the broad and philosophic statesmanship of his illustrious chief. He derived from his father a taste for commercial and monetary questions. To extensive acquisitions in this direction he afterwards added a wide official experience in important employments, and thus gained a useful training in public and parliamentary business. Though his faculties as a debater ranked far below the average among his distinguished contemporaries, yet his tact, temper, conciliatory manners, frankness, and practical wisdom gave him large influence. In a period when the main concern of the governing and privileged classes was to resist as long as possible the changes which the advancing thought of society demanded, Lord Liverpool was the right man for the work. His prolonged premiership was marked chiefly by a stolid inertness, in which a few instalments of reform were yielded only when resistance was no longer the best method of serving his party. He was quite conscious that the time for further yieldings was at hand. He was accustomed to speak of some of the proposed changes which he always stoutly opposed, as affairs that would soon press for settlement with a force not to be resisted. The Catholic question was among those on which he entertained the conviction that a surrender must soon come, but he purposed to withdraw before the heat and burden of such a day arrived. His adroit management of a composite cabinet, in which one section represented stagnation and the other movement, was a marvel. The incongruous assemblage of creatures, caged together in a state of unnatural harmony, which street showmen exhibit to the gaze of astonished schoolboys, had its counterpart in the "happy family," of which Eldon and Wellington on one side, with Canning and Huskisson on the other, were drilled into a most edifying mutual forbearance and co-operation, under the soothing and persuasive discipline of a keeper gifted with the faculty of dovetailing such discordant elements into a working administration.

Inwardly hating and despising each other, the members of this gathering of contrarieties abstained from quarrels, and got through their several shares of a common task on decent outward terms, solely by virtue of the controlling force exercised over their instinctive antipathies by a very commonplace sort of master, who never quarrelled and never permitted quarrels. He gave scant encouragement to the small legal and commercial reforms, and the liberal foreign policy which redeemed the last five years of his premiership from the odium that clung to it through the years of the regency and onwards to the death of Castlereagh. Lord Liverpool's private character was above reproach. His place among statesmen is not a high one. It is that of a safe and prudent plodder in beaten paths; a man endowed with tact and judgment in the choice of near cuts back to the old track, when small deviations became indispensable. He was neither an original genius nor a brilliant parliamentary leader, yet he swayed his party with marvellous success, and brought it through many a threatening difficulty under which abler men might have succumbed without disgrace. His age at the date of his disappearance from the stage of public affairs was barely fifty-seven, but he survived for nearly two years the stroke that bereft him of mental and bodily powers.

While a spark of hope remained of the stricken premier's recovery there was a natural reluctance to fill his place. Even after the faintest prospect of his restoration to health had faded away, the void was not filled until all the alternatives besides the single fit choice had been discussed and discarded by the king and a few select advisers. Canning's eminent public services and popularity, combined with his actual leadership in the Commons since 1822, placed him at the head of all possible competitors for the premiership. No other statesman since the days of Pitt had filled so prominent a place in home politics, or gained so great a fame in the world at large. But the governing classes, or at least a powerful section of them, disrelished the thought of a prime minister wanting in the attributes of hereditary rank or aristocratic connection. Possessors of ancestral estates and honours, Whigs as well as Tories, had not yet laid aside that traditional sentiment which required candidates for high political office to be members of the great territorial families. The practice since the Revolution onwards, with few exceptions, had accorded with this unwritten law, and the politician or statesman wanting in the credential of high family connection was stigmatized by the disparaging epithet of an "adventurer." Canning's detractors found a malicious pleasure in harping on what they termed the lowness of his origin. They rated him as an adventurer, because he belonged to no aristocratic house. Years before the greatest prize of political life stood within his reach, the taunts and scorns levelled at him on this score provoked a rejoinder which was not soon forgotten or forgiven in some elevated regions of society. He told his constituents at Liverpool, after his election in 1816, "There is yet a heavier charge than either of those which I have stated to you. It is, gentlemen, that I am an adventurer. To this charge, as I understand it, I am willing to plead guilty. A representative of the people, I am one of the people; and I present myself to those who choose me only with the claims of character—be they what they may—unaccredited by patrician patronage or party recommendation. * * * I am sure it is not in this place that I shall be expected to apologise for so presenting myself to your choice. I know there is a political creed which assigns to a certain combination of great families a right to dictate to the sovereign, and to influence the people. * * * To this theory I have never subscribed. If I depend directly upon the people as their representative in parliament; if, as a servant of the crown, to lean upon no other support than that of public confidence; if that be to be an adventurer, I plead guilty to the charge; and I would not exchange that situation, to whatever taunts it may expose me, for all the advantages which might be derived from an ancestry of a hundred generations."

Canning, unfortunately for his comfort, was by no means indifferent to the disparagements thus rebuked in his Liverpool speech. He, on the contrary, attached an exaggerated importance to the good-will of great families. In courting that influence he had too often appeared as the advocate and the apologist of abuses which great families were interested in perpetuating, but which the people were interested in abating or abolishing.

When, at length, in the fulness of time, the public voice and a summons from the king called upon him to fill the void which no other political chief could occupy consistently with the requirements of the crisis, seven of his late colleagues, viz., the duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, Lords Eldon, Melville, Bathurst, Westmoreland, and Bexley, sent in their resignations so closely together as to favour the suspicion that the movement was a combined or concerted affair, in the nature of a *strike*. Three other less conspicuous members of the government, and four occupants of high positions in the royal household, also resigned soon afterwards, thus making a total of fourteen withdrawals, all being in the nature of protests against the new chief of the administration. Peel was the only one whose secession was much regretted, but in his case at any rate, personal dislike or prejudice of social *caste* had no share in urging the determination to stand aloof. His post of home secretary gave him an especial responsibility in respect to Irish affairs, and he conceived that with views on his own part diametrically opposed to Canning's leanings towards Catholic emancipation, the chances of harmonious co-operation between them were hopeless.

In a letter written during the ministerial crisis to his late colleague Lord Eldon, he asks: "Can I see the influence of the office of prime minister transferred from Lord Liverpool to Canning, and added to that of leader of the House of Commons, without subjecting myself to misconstructions with respect to my views on the Catholic question? Can it be transferred without affecting my particular situation as secretary for the home department, and my weight and efficiency in the administration of Irish affairs? It is with deep and unaffected regret that I answer these questions in the negative." The many gaps in the ministry were filled up in a style that entirely changed its character. The new men were some of them downright Whigs, such as Mr. Tierney and Lord Lansdowne, and some of them moderate and liberal Tories, approximating almost to an identity in politics with the Whigs, such as Lords Dudley and Lyndhurst. Most of the deserters were of the straitest sect of antiquated Toryism. Mr. Canning, like some earlier premiers, filled the conjoint offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. His late post of foreign secretary was now given to Lord Dudley. Mr. Bourne, in the first instance, and soon afterwards Lord Lansdowne, took the home secretaryship. Mr. Huskisson retained his old seat as president of the board of trade. Lord Lyndhurst proved a most acceptable substitute for Lord Chancellor Eldon, who had encrusted into a sort of curiosity as a living petrification of old-world politics. The marquis of Anglesey succeeded Wellington as master-general of the ordnance. Lord Palmerston, after long official training in subordinate positions, was now transferred from his old rear-rank station to a place in the cabinet as war secretary. The leadership in the Upper House fell to Viscount Goderich, secretary for the colonies, heretofore better known as Mr. Robinson, chancellor of the exchequer.

Overtures were made to Mr. Brougham with the view to securing his services in the new administration, but he preferred to give an independent support than to accept the post offered, that of master of the rolls. His aim was really fixed on the chancellorship, and he deemed it better policy to bide his time for that great stake than to accept an instalment which might rather bar than lead to the full fruition of his ultimate hopes. Sir John Leach became master of the rolls; the new attorney-general was Sir James Scarlett; the solicitor-general Sir N. Tindall; the successor to Mr. Goulburn as secretary for Ireland was Mr. Lamb, afterwards Lord Melbourne. The ancient office of lord high admiral was now revived, and placed in the hands of the heir-apparent, the duke of Clarence, a prince of popular sympathies, and whose nautical tastes and training offered credentials for the orderly and efficient administration of naval affairs not inferior to the recommendations commonly brought to the discharge of the functions of first lord of the admiralty. This last appointment, made at the instance of the king himself, was an express and designed rebuke to that narrow jealousy on the part of Canning's aristocratic detractors. The extent of the change was significantly denoted when the explanations customary in such cases were offered at the reassembling of the Commons on the 1st of May, and the Lords on the 2nd, after a prolonged Easter recess. Tierney, Burdett, Brougham, and other notabilities in the old opposition, were now seen ranged on the ministerial benches, in token of the general approval of their party of the liberal measures in domestic and foreign policy with which the new premier was identified; and several speeches declared the intention of the Whigs to lend their strength to the new administration, against any attempts of the extreme Tory section of the late cabinet to resume the direction of affairs.

The general drift of the explanations given by the high Tory seceders from the reconstructed ministry took the form of a common profession of distrust of the tendencies of the new chief. Each denied any concert with his colleagues, in the nature of a supposed cabal, to put constraint on the king's range of choice, and the plea was allowed to hold good; but with it followed the inference that there had not been in the late administration the ordinary and common intercourse which ought to subsist between members of the same government. Lord Lansdowne, in acquitting the seceders of conspiracy, remarked that from the slight intercourse which by their own showing had been kept up among them, no person would suppose that they were engaged in arrangements on the result of which depended the future fate of England.

In the House of Lords, meanwhile, the sudden elevation of liberalism to a pitch of predominance, on which the press was expatiating with glowing forecasts, excited a bitterly hostile feeling. It was the consternation of defeat which found expression in ceaseless revilings of the new administration, and rancorous onslaughts on its chief. The jealousy aroused by Canning's elevation cropped up beyond the Tory ranks, where it was to be expected. Even Earl Grey, the head of the Whig party, preferred to "stand by his order," rather than countenance the new premier. His unsparing lashings were acutely felt by Canning, and the more so as he could not personally answer them in the Lower House, while among the peers he had no fit champion. The Whig chief's indictment took the form of a recapitulation of Canning's past offences against the liberal cause, from which he deduced the conclusion of utter distrust in his administration.

The duke of Newcastle, a high Tory, in presenting a petition against the corn law, which was not sufficiently protective for his liking, called upon every honest man and every friend of his country to bear a part in driving from office "the most profligate minister that ever was in power." Lord Londonderry likened the cabinet to a building from which had been taken all the main pillars, leaving a structure composed only of rubbish. "The artificer," his lordship continued, "had shown great dexterity in forming it, nor could he have found out such a mass of rubbish in any other quarter, composed as it was of the two parties. He had made a dexterous effort to un-whig a portion of the Whigs, and to untory a part of the Tories." This very Irish simile drew from Lord King the appropriate retort: "Every person practically acquainted with building understands by the term rubbish, that portion of the materials which is *sent away*." The duke of Wellington, in his statement of reasons for withdrawing from the ministry, remarked: "Those who formed part of Lord Liverpool's cabinet knew well what it was to which they pledged themselves, for they knew that his lordship was conscientiously opposed to all changes in the existing form of government. But those who coalesce with the right honourable gentleman can have no idea how far this coalition may carry them. The right honourable gentleman is the most able, active, and zealous partizan of those changes with which the country is at present threatened. The principles of the noble earl were principles by which any man might safely abide; the principles of the right honourable gentleman fluctuate every day." The duke added, with reference to the surmise that he had held aloof from Canning under the promptings of an ambition to secure for himself the prize of the premiership, that he was "sensible of being unqualified for such a situation, and that to seek it would have argued him mad or worse than mad." Scarcely, however, had the echoes of this utterance ceased their reverberations in the press and in political circles, before the duke became the chief of an administration that carried through parliament two out of the three famous reforms that mark an era in our national history—reforms as much opposed to the earlier political creed of their new promoters as light is at variance with darkness. The period was one of transitions, and rife in memorable conversions. The drift of thought in the nation at large carried with it many who had through life withstood all change. It was a season when statesmen were to learn that the praise of political consistency may be too dearly bought; but the nerve and the brain of the soberest political pilots were to be sorely tried in the whirl and confusion of cross currents and eddies of old and new principles, mingling and contending for the mastery. It was well for themselves and the country that public men were not all the slaves of their earlier watchwords, and proof against the epidemic of political conversion that was abroad. The span of life remaining to Canning, when he reached the threshold of that better season which he was assisting to hasten in, was brief indeed, else he must have been found in the vanguard of progress in the days near at hand. He could never have lagged in the rear of Wellington and Peel, for when death overtook him he was already many stages ahead of them in taking to heart the lessons which they were soon to receive from the tutelage of time. Borne down by relentless aristocratic persecutors, exhausted by the toil, anxiety, and worry of his first parliamentary campaign as head of the government, he expired in the fourth month of his fatal exaltation, leaving unfinished, though not altogether unshaped, some great remedial measures with which his name will long be worthily associated.

In the two months' interval of suspense between the sudden failure of Lord Liverpool's faculties and the instalment of the new premier in his post, a new corn bill passed through all its stages in the Commons. This bill enacted the nominal duty of one shilling per quarter when the average price in the home market was seventy shillings or more, with an increase of two shillings duty on every shilling below seventy shillings in the price per quarter. The landed interest strove hard for better terms in the direction of propping up prices, but all amendments in their favour were thrown out by majorities of about three to one. After the reconstruction of the cabinet, the duke of Wellington headed an opposition in the Lords which defeated the very scheme to which he had been a consenting and approving party when it came from the hands of his late colleagues, Lord Liverpool and Mr. Huskisson.

Sir Francis Burdett brought forward a motion, founded on the Catholic petition which he presented on the 5th of March, declaring "the expediency of taking into consideration the laws imposing civil disabilities on his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects." Canning's last words in the cause which he had always ably advocated from his earliest novitiate in parliament were deeply earnest and highly impressive, though in point of stirring oratory not on a level with some of his previous bursts of eloquence on the same theme. He foreboded that the cause had lost ground in the House and the country since the last election, and the division showed that he had taken accurate account of the signs of the times; but he was firmly persuaded that a course which rested on foundations of right reason, justice, and humanity could not much longer fail to commend itself to the acceptance of Englishmen. After a two nights' debate, ending at five in the morning of the 7th of March, the motion was defeated by a narrow majority of four in a house of five hundred and forty-eight members.

Lord Lansdowne was to have brought forward a similar motion in the Upper House, but in face of the adverse vote of the Commons he deemed it better to move "that the order of the day for taking into consideration the Catholic petition be discharged," under fear of increasing, in the existing state of feeling in Ireland, the disastrous conviction that a majority of both Houses of Parliament was opposed to a consideration of the claims of their Catholic brethren. A general meeting of Catholics in Dublin with reference to these proceedings in parliament gave vent to "regret and awful forebodings" with which they viewed the vote of the Commons, and to the hope that "Britain would repent and relax before the oppressed, injured, and highly discontented Catholic millions were driven to despair." The repeal of the union now became a favourite subject of agitation, O'Connell and the other Catholic leaders maintaining that Pitt's pledges to secure relief from Catholic disabilities, though not inscribed among the formal articles in the bargain by which Ireland gave up her separate legislature, were nevertheless binding on England; and if not redeemed, left Ireland free to repudiate the compact.

The promised bill on chancery reform formed one among a series of the good intentions that fell short of actual performance in this session of abundant discussion, but stinted performance. Mr. Peel, in his capacity of a private member, continued the useful task he began while home secretary, of forwarding measures for the reform and consolidation of the criminal law. The cause of parliamentary reform received a considerable impulse from disclosures which came before the House with reference to several of the elections in the previous year. The corporations of Leicester and Northampton had spent large sums from the corporate fund in promoting the return of ministerial candidates. Mr. Peel was not ashamed to plead for the right of a corporation to spend its money on election purposes, but his opposition to a committee of enquiry proved unavailing. The Penryn and East Retford elections had both been carried by bribery so gross and notorious, that no member was hardy enough to excuse the enormities brought to light in the report of the committees charged with the sifting of these cases. Penryn had acquired an evil fame for the same offence at the elections in 1807 and 1819, so there was no resisting the infliction of punishment, the only question being one of degree. Instead of disfranchisement, as in the case of Grampound, government preferred to deal tenderly with this incorrigible borough, and to apply to it the Shoreham precedent, an increase in the number of voters, by the addition of the adjoining hundreds to the old constituency. Lord John Russell, however, carried an amendment disfranchising Penryn. The reformers were bent on transferring to Manchester the two seats thus secured. The bill dealing with East Retford proposed absolute disfranchisement, and there was an understanding that Birmingham would have the two seats thus gained. The opponents of innovation in the representative system would have best served their cause by satisfying the claims of Manchester and Birmingham at the the expense of Penryn and East Retford. Such a moderate concession to reasonable demand might have staved off for many years longer the agitation which their obstinacy in this and several succeeding sessions fanned into a flame, only to be subdued under a sweeping flood of concessions. The Penryn bill had passed the Commons, and the East Retford bill had made some progress there, when the close of the session stayed the action of both measures, only, however, to be revived and pushed with increased earnestness next year.

The budget of 1827–28, the first and last sample of Canning's work as a finance minister, was delayed until June by the many hindrances growing out of the changes in the cabinet. It presented no striking features, and was in fact a repetition in almost every particular of the previous year's budget. Great changes were, however, foreshadowed for the coming year, when the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to move for a select committee on finance. Almost his last official work was the issue of instructions, a few days after parliament separated on the 2nd of July, requiring from all the public departments full details of their expenses, with further information on their working arrangements. The returns thus called for were to form the groundwork of a great financial reform in the coming session, but the hand of death arrested in mid-career the operator who was to achieve the task. Mr. Canning had been much out of health before and during the late trying session. The cares and fatigues of the premiership, the desertion and enmity of his old colleagues, the over excitement and deep mortification occasioned by the bitterly hostile criticisms of adversaries who had lately been his friends, aggravated his ill health, and put a strain on his vital forces, under which they rapidly failed. First a mere cold, then feverish symptoms with rheumatism, and then an internal inflammation, came upon him in the best summer weather. He was staying with the duke of Devonshire at Chiswick, with the view to recruiting his health, when his illness took a fatal turn. He died on the 8th of August in the fifty-seventh year of his age. By a singular coincidence, the chamber in which he breathed his last was that wherein expired another illustrious statesman, Charles James Fox, twenty-one years earlier. The death of Canning was deplored by all except the extreme Tories as a great national misfortune. It broke in as a heavy disappointment upon a season of exhilarating hopes, in the realisation of which he was to have played a chief part. It fell as a blight on the fair promise of a good harvest, just as he had broken from that thraldom to the high Tory party to which the circumstances of his early life, rather than the set of his own mind, had linked him, and just when he had centred in himself the best hopes of the best men in the whole civilized world. The press of all nations re-echoed the regrets and praises which his countrymen bestowed without stint on the departed statesman. His foreign policy had gained for him abroad an unexampled popularity. His name was in many lands, and on both sides of the Atlantic, a very watchword of hopefulness. Despots and their abettors, who had quailed under the ascendancy of his genius, when his generous utterances warned them off from contemplated aggressions on the liberty of nations, were now elated under news that came as a calamity to the down-trodden, the struggling, and the oppressed.

The spot chosen for his grave was at the foot of Pitt's tomb, in Westminster Abbey. An apter choice could not have been made of a resting-place for the mortal part of the great disciple of a great master. Closely united in their lives, these illustrious dead keep fit fellowship in adjoining tombs. Sorrowing throngs gathered along the track of the funeral procession, and by their sympathetic grief with the nearer mourners paid a touching tribute of respect to the departed statesman.

It remains to note briefly a few salient points in that career which at its close gives Canning a character gilded with the glow of the world's best hopes, and presents him in the front rank among the great historic personages of the first half of the nineteenth century, George Canning was born in Marylebone in 1770. His father was a briefless barrister, with tastes inclining rather to literature than the law, but whose small success in both callings prompted to attempt the business of a wine-merchant. The last speculation ended in utter failure, and the broken-hearted man died on his only child's first birthday, leaving his accomplished young widow quite destitute. In this condition the mother of the future statesman turned her talents to account in the occupation of an actress, and married an actor. Her second husband also dying soon, she contracted a third marriage, and her improved circumstances enabled her to secure for young Canning the education of Eton and Oxford, where he mingled with the scions of aristocratic houses, and imbibed from the social surroundings of those places the class feelings and prejudices which warped his judgment in all questions bearing on the rights of the commonalty. Both at school and college he acquired a high repute for brilliant scholarship, shining abilities, and agreeable personal qualities, giving promise of future eminence. With such credentials, and aided by the friendship of his most intimate college associate, Mr. Jenkinson, the future Lord Liverpool, he found in Pitt an appreciative patron. He was encouraged by that statesman to devote his attention to politics, and to enter parliament. Under these promising auspices he gave up the law, which he was about to take up as his profession, and entered parliament 1793, for the government borough of Newport. Three years later his services as an effective partisan gained for him an appointment to an under-secretaryship of state, and from that date onwards he figures among the most able and brilliant supporters of Pitt's measures and policy. His services in the cause were not limited to speeches in parliament, but included also a series of contributions to the "Anti-Jacobin," a weekly publication of the satirical class, which aimed its pointed shafts of wit and ridicule against English sympathizers with French revolutionary principles. His marriage, in 1799, with a daughter of General Scott, brought him a fortune of 100,000*l.* The flashes of his pungent wit, the peltings of his pitiless sarcasm, and the discomfiting strokes of his potent ridicule, were long the torment of Addington. He dealt hard hits, too, with the same effective weapons, at the ministry of "all the talents." In 1804 he was appointed treasurer of the navy, and in 1807 secretary of state for foreign affairs in the ministry of the duke of Portland. His slighting estimate of Castlereagh's abilities, and his strivings to oust that colleague from the direction of the war in 1809, provoked a duel between these rivals. The pistolling fortunately proved harmless, and the antagonists were afterwards reconciled, but an under-current of ill-suppressed mutual dislike marked their future intercourse. The dissensions out of which sprang the duel were not limited to the two ministers who engaged in this passage of arms, but were so prevalent as to break up the administration. Then came the Perceval ministry, in which Canning filled the subordinate post of president of the Board of Control. Canning's popularity began with his withdrawal from office in 1820, in order to stand clear of any seeming complicity in the proceedings against the queen. Then came, with his return to high office on the death of Castlereagh, that spirited foreign policy which foiled the "holy alliance," and won for Canning the applause of the party of progress in every nation. The part he took in promoting the first advances in the practical application of free-trade principles, and subsequently his decided stand against the threatened interference on the part of France and Spain in the affairs of Portugal, but especially his shielding the newly-formed American republics from European interference, atoned still further for such old offendings as his contemptuous revilings of parliamentary reform and his zealous advocacy of the Six Acts.

His life-long services in the cause of Catholic emancipation, marked him out pre-eminently as the leader to bear that part which was afterwards assumed by the two most anti-catholic and anti-liberal members of the Liverpool administration. The dissenters and the parliamentary reformers must soon have had serious difficulties with him on two other kinds of emancipation to which he was opposed. In that period, however, of yielding, compromise, and startling conversions, who shall say that his growing tendency to liberal principles would have stopped short of the reforms in question? With the vanguard of progress occupied by Wellington and Peel, is it credible that Canning would have been found lagging in the rear? The tide of opinion must have moved him onward, in co-operation with the generous impulses of his own mind. He surely was not the only political leader of the period who would have set at defiance the progressive spirit of the times. When concession became the order of the day, he too must have waived his opinions. The moral atmosphere that crumbled harder materials must have softened his hostility to the repeal of the Test Acts; ballasted with the responsibility of office and placed at the helm, he must have gone with the wind and tide that were soon to set in the direction of a reformed representation of the people.

Within a few days of Canning's death, the king honoured his memory by conferring on his widow a peerage. Early in the next session a pension of 3000*l.* per annum was annexed to the title, with continuance during two lives. The eldest son perished by drowning before the death of his mother, so the title and pension passed in 1828 to the second son. This was that Viscount Canning who, after filling in succession several high posts in the home government, including that of secretary of state for foreign affairs, went in 1850 to India, to occupy the great position of governor-general, a trust which he discharged with eminent ability through the terrible crisis of the Indian mutiny of 1857. Subsequent pages of this volume show how worthily the illustrious son sustained the fame of his brilliant father.

Great were the perplexities of king and cabinet on the problem of filling the void created by the untimely death of Canning. The days of rampant, unmitigated Toryism had departed, but the time for a Whig government had not yet come; while the intermediate men, now that their chief was dead, were wanting in the strength and discipline that such a crisis demanded. There was an attempt to carry on the government as constructed by its late chief, with only a few such indispensable changes as the void in the premiership demanded. Lord Goderich, the ministerial leader in the Upper House, received the appointment of head of the government, with the usual office of first lord of the treasury. Mr. Huskisson passed from the Board of Trade to the Colonial Office, which was vacated by the new premier. The duke of Wellington, now that Canning was gone, again accepted the command of the army, but without a seat in the cabinet. Mr. Herries, secretary to the treasury, was advanced to the post of chancellor of the exchequer, after it had been declined by several more prominent men. This last-named appointment occasioned dissensions in the cabinet, which proved fatal to its stability. Mr. Huskisson and the Whig portion of the ministry, particularly Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Tierney, viewed the appointment as an intolerable grievance, inasmuch as Mr. Herries was one of the batch of high Tory place-holders who had so recently abandoned the public service rather than continue to act under the new chief, Mr. Canning. He laboured, too, under the serious disadvantage of being quite unknown to the public. No man of so little eminence or so little proved ability had ever before been placed in the great post of chancellor of the exchequer. Most of his colleagues withheld from him the consideration due to the office he held, and actually put upon him a series of marked slights, to which the premier was in a great degree a consenting party. It fell as matter of course to Mr. Herries, as finance minister, to take a chief part in the nomination of the committee, and particularly its chairman, for those financial investigations and reforms to which the administration stood pledged. But several of his colleagues coolly made the necessary arrangements, chose Lord Althorp as chairman, and gained the assent of the premier to what they had done, without acquainting him with a proceeding so closely connected with the work of his own department. Piqued at slights which were evidently intentional, he appealed to his chief for support, and failing to secure it, talked of resigning. The bickerings went on with increasing intensity through the autumn and winter, when rumours of sundry pending or threatened resignations filled the political atmosphere. Soon a conviction gained ground that the ministry was virtually without a chief, for Lord Goderich was manifestly incapable of quelling the feud among his refractory subordinates, or of impressing any unity of purpose upon the administration. There were risks, too, of serious complications and embarrassments in the foreign policy of the country, which threatened to grow out of a recent armed intervention, to be presently noticed, in the quarrel between Turkey and Greece. A domestic bereavement added at this juncture to the premier's perplexities. A thorough distaste for the responsibilities of office came upon him with overpowering strength. It was in this frame of mind that he left to several of his more energetic colleagues those arrangements about the promised finance committee which ought to have been settled by himself and the chancellor of the exchequer. Unable to compose the dissensions that grew out of this question, and oppressed by a sense of inability to cope with the difficulties of the coming session, Lord Goderich tendered his resignation a few days before Christmas. It was not, however, until the 8th of January that he formally relinquished the premiership, and handed the emblems of office to the king. As a subaltern he had uniformly shown ability and skill in the business of his department, until he was shifted from the House of Commons, and his old familiar ground in the work of finance minister, to the Upper House, and the work of the colonial office. As chief of an administration, he proved wanting from the first in force of character and faculty for command. His five months' premiership was a mere blank as respects legislative work, for he never once faced parliament during his tenure of the post of first minister of the crown, nor did he put before the country in any form a statement of intended measures and policy.

The duke of Wellington was forthwith commissioned to form an administration. Waiving all scruples arising out of his own recent declaration, that the office of prime minister was wholy beside his powers, the duke at once accepted the trust, to the surprise of many, the amusement of more, and to the supreme content of the Tories. Most of the members of the old cabinet, as it existed under Lord Liverpool, returned with the duke to office, in the room of as many Whigs who had filled places in one or both the succeeding administrations. Lord Eldon, however, to his own astonishment and deep vexation, but to the great satisfaction even of his friends, was not asked to resume his old post, nor indeed to take any position at all in the government. His croakings and prophecies of evil were redoubled under this slight, and he was soon acting a prominent, though scarcely an influential part, against his old colleagues. He remained yet a few years, retarding as much as might be any changes demanded by the better spirit of the age, maintaining antiquated abuses at their highest pitch, and thwarting with never-flagging energy every measure of concession to the claims of Catholics and Protestant dissenters. Mr. Peel became ministerial leader in the Commons, holding, as before, the home secretaryship. Mr. Goulburn, the former secretary for Ireland, was now advanced to the chancellorship of the exchequer; Mr. Herries retiring from that post to a rear-rank station as master of the mint. Lord Bathurst became president of the council; Lord Ellenborough, keeper of the privy seal; Lord Melville, president of the board of control; the earl of Aberdeen, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. On the invitation of the new premier, Huskisson, Palmerston, Dudley, Lyndhurst, and Grant, who now passed by the name of Canningites, remained at their old posts, not, however, without some damage to their reputations; for in the estimation of the public, their alliance with the set that had deserted and persecuted their late chief, and had little or no sympathy with their own principles, savoured too much of love of place for its profits and too little of faithfulness to liberal principles. Wellington had little liking for the Canningites, and a quarrel soon sundered the unpromising coalition. Even, however, as a weak and discredited section of the new administration, they exercised a large influence in shaping its most acceptable measures; and after they quitted office, the impress of their principles remained as a perceptible and vital force in moulding the legislation of many succeeding years.

Before entering on home affairs and the parliamentary proceedings of 1828, an occurrence in Grecian waters in the previous autumn, which became the leading topic of debate at the opening of the session, and occasioned much subsequent controversy, remains to be narrated. The barbarous character of the war between the Turks and their revolted subjects, the Greeks, had become a scandal to the civilization of the age. The mutual antipathies of the two races grew stronger as the strife proceeded. Turk and Greek could nowhere meet without fighting; assassination became the order of the day throughout the Levant, wherever men of the hostile races came across each other's track. The atrocities charged against the Turks, on the testimony of the insurgents and their friends, were doubtless much exaggerated. Nor can it well be denied that the savage retaliations of the Greeks were glossed over, or hushed up as much as might be, under the natural sympathy felt for a people who had filled a great place in history, and after suffering ages of oppression under Mahomedan tyranny, were battling courageously, though at fearful odds, for the recovery of their long-lost independence. Canning felt strongly that impulse in favour of the unfortunate race which classical culture was calculated to inspire in all generous natures. Under such promptings he was not slow to turn to account the chance that now offered for such a combined intervention of European powers as promised a speedy close of the struggle, and the freedom of the Greeks, with the least possible damage to Turkey. There were considerations which in a measure warranted the proposed interference, even in the interest of the Turks themselves. Russia professed the wish to befriend her co-religionists, the Greeks; but appearances at the time, and old memories of her craving for extended territory, warranted the suspicion that she was waiting and watching the chances of serving herself much, at the same time that she aided the Greeks a little. It seemed that she was only withholding her stroke until the desolating ravages of the Mussulman hordes should utterly crush the resistance of the patriots, when her interference on their behalf would the better shroud her own purposes, and even, it might be, sanctify in the eyes of Europe a movement called for in the interest of common humanity. Then, as in earlier and later periods, a dismembered Turkish empire was the pet vision of the Russian rulers and politicians; but their interest in such dismemberment was that of greedy expectants of the spoil to be secured, and not the wish to see the Greeks recover the long-lost heritage of their race. England and France on the other hand were concerned in sustaining the sultan against the encroachments of his northern neighbour, at the same time that they desired freedom for the Greeks. Canning brought these differing motives into harmonious co-operation under the terms of the treaty of London, dated 6th of July, 1827, whereby Great Britain, France, and Russia undertook to persuade, and if need be to compel, the combatants to cease fighting and come to terms of accommodation. The losses of their own subjects through the ruin of commerce in the Levant were put forward among the grounds of this high-handed peace-making. The treaty stipulated that the Greeks should become the possessors of the landed property within their own mainland and neighbouring islands, the Turks receiving from them compensation for property they were to be obliged to abandon. The Greeks were to pay a tribute to the sultan, and to remain nominally his subjects, like the Egyptians. If within one month of receiving notice of the terms of the treaty, the Turkish government refused its consent to the proposed pacification, the admirals commanding the naval forces of the three contracting powers were to impose an armistice on the belligerents, and prevent the transmission of troops and supplies from Turkey or Egypt to Greece. Actual fighting, however, was to be avoided, unless the Turks attacked the allied naval forces, or attempted to force a passage in defiance of them. The Turks met this menace of compulsion by a more merciless prosecution of the war both on land and sea. Whole villages were utterly destroyed and the inhabitants butchered. The very trees were cut down, and the vines and olives, the only means of subsistence to thousands, were uprooted. Such was the temper of the Turks when the allied fleets, under the command in chief of the English admiral, Sir Edward Codrington, entered the bay of Navarino on the 20th of October, to compel the sultan's officers to accept an armistice. The combined squadrons made a total of twenty-six ships, carrying one thousand three hundred and twenty-four guns. Turkish and Egyptian vessels of war, to the number of fourscore, and carrying two thousand two hundred and forty guns, were ranged round the head of the bay in the form of a crescent, under cover of formidable batteries ashore. There was an attempt at parleying before coming to blows, but the Turks responded to the courtesy of the English admiral by killing his messengers and then opening fire on his flag-ship, the "Asia," which led the allied line. The fiery salute was promptly returned, and the fight soon became general. The Turks fought hard while a ship or a crew remained available, never offering to surrender, as they might well have done without discredit, when their rapid losses of ships and men, and the continuance of unflagging broadsides from the undiminished line of their opponents, clearly showed how the day was going. The battle lasted four hours, and closed then because the Turks had no longer any ships remaining in a condition to prolong the contest. They lost about six thousand men in their stubborn but hopeless defence, and the remnant of their ships, after deducting those sunk, burnt, or stranded, were so riddled and shattered as to be no longer seaworthy. The allies made no attempt to secure prizes or take prisoners, but they rescued large numbers of their foe from drowning, and put them ashore. The bay and its shores were strewn with the wreck of the sultan's navy. The allies lost no ships, though some were badly damaged; their total in killed and wounded reached to nearly six hundred, half of which fell on the British, who bore the brunt of the action. After the lapse of a few days the Turkish military commanders accepted an armistice, and from that moment the Greeks were in effect freed from the oppression of their old masters; though no formal acknowledgment of their independence could yet be drawn from the sultan, and the Turks still clung for a time to the strong places, from which they were ultimately expelled by a French military force. Europe at large applauded both the treaty and the armed intervention, which closed the struggle between Turks and Greeks. In England, however, the battle of Navarino called forth mingled sensations. Regret for the ruin of the naval power of an old ally found expression scarcely less decided than the sentiment of satisfaction that Greek independence was at length secured. The Tories raised a loud outcry at what they called an act of perfidy, and a furtherance of the designs of Russia. The Goderich ministry, already torn by internal dissensions, quailed under anticipations of the odium which would be fixed on the event. They rewarded the officers who had achieved the victory with promotions and honours, yet exhibited misgivings of the merits of the transaction by despatching a commissioner to the Mediterranean, to sift all the circumstances leading up to the collision. But they sank into nothingness before the day of reckoning with parliament, and left to their adversaries the opportunity of putting in the king's speech a damaging estimate of the whole transaction.

The Wellington ministry was not completed until the 25th of January, 1828. To afford time for the needful ministerial readjustments, there had been a postponement of the opening of the session until the 29th. The king's speech, delivered by commission, lamented the conflict at Navarino as an "untoward event," but entertained a confident hope that the unfortunate embroilment with an old ally would not be followed by further hostilities, and would not impede an amicable settlement of existing differences between the Turks and the Greeks, to which it was their common interest to accede. The other topics of the royal speech were the improving prosperity of the country, the forthcoming return of the British regiments from Portugal, and the financial investigations which were to occupy a parliamentary committee—in redemption of Canning's pledge in his budget speech of the previous year. Not a word was said on the Catholic claims, nor on the corn duties, though great eagerness was felt to learn the course the new administration would follow on those anxious questions of the day. The single word "untoward," in its application to the victory of Navarino, became the text of vehement speeches in both Houses, the late government regarding it as a censure of their policy, and opposition generally treating it as a symptom of the hatred borne to Greece and her cause by the men now in power, and a fresh manifestation of the old indifference of the Tory party to the oppressions which continental nations may undergo from despotic rulers. The new cabinet, it was feared, would abandon that line of foreign policy which had lately centred in Canning the best hopes of the best men in every land. A discussion on the policy and character of the new cabinet came off on an early day of the session, in connection with the explanations tendered to parliament by the late ministers and their successors. Mr. Brougham used the occasion to express his objections to a military chief as first minister of the crown. He held it to be at variance with the spirit of a constitutional monarchy that a soldier, possessed at once of the confidence of the sovereign and an ascendancy with the army, should be the dispenser of the immense mass of patronage, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, which belonged to the office of prime minister. Such a wide range of influences in the hands of a man whose duty it was to convey constant and confidential advice to the king, carried on the face of it some risk of damage to the rights of the people. He added, however, that the progressive tendencies of the age reassured him against the danger which at first sight presented itself in the appointment of a great military commander to the highest political office under the crown. One of his phrases, showing that he entertained no serious misgivings on this point, passed forthwith into proverbial application as a watchword of trustfulness in the better times then dawning. "I have no fear," declared Brougham, "of slavery being introduced into this country by the power of the sword. It would demand a stronger man even than the duke of Wellington to effect that object. The noble duke might take the army and the navy, the mitre and the great seal—I will make him a present of them all. Let him come on with his whole force, sword in hand, against the constitution; the people will not only beat him by their energies, but laugh at his efforts. There have, indeed, been periods when the country heard with dismay that 'the soldier was abroad,' but such is not the case now. Let the soldier be ever so much abroad in the present age, he can do nothing. Another power has arisen; another person, less important, nay even insignificant in the eyes of some persons, has produced this state of things. The Schoolmaster is abroad! and I trust more to the schoolmaster, armed with his primer, for upholding the liberties of this country, than I fear lest the soldier, in full military array, should destroy them." The duke soon showed that incapacity for high political office, such as he had so lately charged himself with, was certainly not one among his disqualifications. With one memorable exception, his brief career as premier gave evidence that he had few equals in that unerring sagacity which discerns the signs of the times, and decides when to give up old preferences. It soon fell to him to carry measures for which he entertained a deep-rooted aversion, but a constraining sense of duty gave him an easy mastery over his own personal likings. On fitting occasions this rigid "iron duke" could be yielding as tempered steel. He bowed to the expediency of undertaking the premiership, within a few months of putting on record his sense of unfitness for the trust. He at the same time yielded to the necessity of asking the co-operation of statesmen whose progressive tendencies were his aversion. Soon after he had to meet his free-trade colleagues half-way in a corn-bill, which grated harshly on his own protectionist instincts. Then followed the concession to dissenters, the sweeping away of the Test Acts. Finally, even after all the liberal elements in his cabinet were displaced, he bowed to the expediency of Catholic emancipation, a measure which he carried, despite his own strong aversion to it as a question of principle, in obedience to his own honest conviction that the interests of the empire demanded the sacrifice. The leading Liberals saw grounds for supporting him in most of his measures with as much heartiness as they had stood by Canning. Some of the newspapers identified with their party took Burdett and Brougham to task on occasions for their Wellington worship, which it was alleged they had taken up with all the zest of their recent Canning idolatry.

The duke had difficulties with several of his colleagues in the early months of the session. His old habits of command, however, and unfaltering decision, carried him through these with flying colours. Mr. Huskisson used some indiscreet words in addressing his constituents at Liverpool, in excuse of what had been called his surrender of principle in order to cling to his place of profit. He had declared a few weeks after the death of his old chief in the previous August, and when the Goderich ministry was forming, that he would never act in the same administration with the men who had deserted and persecuted Canning. He now insisted that the words quoted against him, uttered when his wounds were fresh and green, were not to be held binding on him in all possible circumstances of the future. He had not, he said, taken office under the duke of Wellington without a "guarantee" for the continuance of the same policy to which he was committed by his earlier services in the Canning administration. This sounded as if a "pledge" had been exacted and given—an idea which the duke indignantly and contemptuously scouted. Parliamentary explanations had to be offered, in which the guarantee or pledge turned out to be, not certainly a bond or a promise from the chief of the administration, but the presence in the new ministry, as in its two predecessors, of a band of Canningites whose principles and character afforded the assurance that no departure would be attempted from the policy which had gained the hearty approval of the public. The squabble was set at rest for the time, but the duke chafed under the imputation that his policy was anywise under the dictation of the Canningites, while the fact remained patent to all that his ministry and its measures were a batch of compromises. Huskisson's character for consistency suffered seriously from the transaction. His tame submission to his angered chief, following quickly on the heels of stilted professions of independence, fixed upon him, for the few remaining years of a highly useful career, the reproach that his public conduct was accommodated solely to his personal profit, while his lofty utterances were mere hollow-sounding professions put forth for the sake of popular applause. The seeming reconciliation turned out to be only a temporary truce, instead of an abiding peace between the adversaries.

The legislative work by which the year 1828 is best remembered was the repeal of the Test Acts. These disabling statutes were framed in Charles II.'s reign, as a bulwark of that blended civil and clerical polity which followed the Restoration. In the period when they took their rise, dissent from the worship and communion of the church was looked upon as a sort of disaffection to the state and disloyalty to the throne. None but churchmen could fill any office of trust and authority on behalf of the public, whether in national or merely local concerns. Members of parliament, town councillors, magistrates, officials high and low, from lords-lieutenant and high sheriffs down to private soldiers, letter-carriers, constables, and the pettiest salaried officers in the service of corporate bodies, were ineligible for their respective trusts except on proof of membership with the church, by the outward sign of taking the sacrament in the form laid down in the book of common prayer. The Acts had failed from the outset in their main purpose, namely, that of bringing all Protestants within the pale of the church. The palpable absurdity of excluding men from their share in the defence of the country, and from other responsibilities and privileges of citizenship, on account of their religious opinions, coupled with the great inconvenience and heavy burdens which the strict operation of the law would have fixed upon the faithful members of the established church, led to early connivance in breaches of the law; and finally to the device of a yearly Act of Indemnity, which gave, as it were, a parliamentary absolution to all who in the previous year had sinned against the statute. It was commonly urged that the grievances of nonconformists under prohibitions which they were in a sense licensed to set at nought, were rather sentimental than real, and such to a large extent must have been their own view of the case, judging from the fact that they had permitted their cause to slumber for nearly forty years without any effort to gain redress. They nevertheless felt reasonable objections to the bare existence of statutes imposing upon them a badge of inferiority, and placing them constantly in the position of law-breakers, whose infringement of statutes of the realm had each year to be condoned by a special legislative pardon.

Lord John Russell now took up the cudgels on their behalf. On the 28th of February, this sturdy advocate of civil and religious liberty carried in a full House, by a substantial majority, the resolution for going into committee to enquire into the operation of the Test and Corporation Acts, with a view to their repeal. Ministers opposed the motion, but accepted their defeat with a good grace, and bowing to the wish of parliament, took charge of the bill which substituted for the sacramental test a declaration by persons entering on office that they would not use the power or influence of their office for the overthrow of the established church. One clause of the bill left to the crown the option of requiring or omitting to call for the declaration. The bill passed rapidly through the Commons, where it met with but a feeble resistance. In the Upper House, however, the ex-chancellor, Lord Eldon, gave vent to the bigotry of his nature in objections that figure among the curiosities of a bygone time. This sturdy champion of old fashion and orthodox assumption, denounced the ministry as a pack of cowards, who to their shame had "got the archbishops and bishops to support this revolutionary bill." He had heard, he said, of the march of mind, but he never expected to see it march into the House of Peers with the duke of Wellington and the bishops at its head. If he stood alone, he declared at a later stage, he would vote against the bill; "and were he called that night to render his account before heaven, he would go with the consoling reflection that he had never advocated anything mischievous to his country." In its finished state the bill was pronounced, by the same uncompromising opponent, "as bad, mischievous, and revolutionary a measure as the most captious dissenter would wish it to be." Under his discomfiture he describes himself as "hurt, distressed, and fatigued by what has lately been passing in the House of Lords." "I have fought," said the baffled yet candid bigot, "like a lion, but my talons have been taken off." With an accurate forecast of what must come after this concession to Protestant dissenters, Lord Eldon put on record during the progress of the measure his conviction that sooner or later—perhaps in the year then current, and if not, then certainly in the next—concessions to the Protestant dissenters must be followed by the abandonment of the oath of supremacy, through which Roman Catholics still remained under most of the disabilities imposed by the old Test Acts. The utterer of this foreboding would have been only too glad to see his prophecy falsified by the event, but the harder fate awaited him of seeing his prediction literally fulfilled, despite his bitter revilings of emancipation and its promoters. While the wrathful ex-chancellor was still fighting hopelessly against the cause of the Protestant dissenters, Sir Francis Burdett brought forward, on the 9th of May, a motion for a committee of the whole House, to consider the possibility of a conciliatory settlement of the Catholic claims. The debate occupied three consecutive nights, and ended in the passing of a resolution declaring that it was expedient to consider the laws affecting Roman Catholics, "with a view to such an adjustment as might conduce to the peace and strength of the empire." This was carried by the narrow majority of six only, in a full House; but in the previous year a similar resolution was thrown out by a majority of four, so it was clear that the set of opinion was again in the path of concession. It was observed by Peel, who headed the ministerial opposition, that the debates exhibited a decided preponderance of talent and influence on the side of emancipation. The Commons requested a conference with the Lords, to ascertain the likelihood of their concurrence in a measure to be founded on the resolution just passed. The peers assented to a conference, which accordingly came off on the 19th of May, and resulted in their agreeing to take the question into consideration on the 9th of June. Thereupon followed in the Upper House a debate of two nights, ending in a refusal, by the majority of forty-four, to concur in the resolution adopted by the Commons. The duke of Wellington based his opposition on the difficulty and danger springing from the church government of the Catholics being utterly unconnected with the civil government of the empire. His measured and guarded tone, and his regrets that the heated character of the agitation then afoot in Ireland stood in the way of that calm and rational discussion of the question which might lead to a satisfactory adjustment, impressed almost everybody with the opinion that he would not long refuse emancipation. Current events in Ireland, to be presently noticed, hastened that decision which he vainly hoped to reserve for a time of restored quiet.

Mr. Brougham was this year instrumental in procuring the appointment of two commissions for the promotion of further legal reforms. One of these was charged with inquiry into the state of the common law, and the other to take into consideration the law of real property. The speech in support of the motion for these investigations occupied six hours in its delivery, and fixed the attention of the House by the interest and variety of its details. Among the topics brought in review were the imperfections in the rules of court; the want of classification of cases, and their apportionment according to their subject-matter to the different courts; the incompetency of the privy council as a court of final appeal in colonial matters; the lack of qualification in the magistracy, and their excessive powers; the various and sometimes conflicting laws and customs in force in different parts of the country; the imperfections in the rules of evidence, which excluded the testimony of interested persons; absurdities in the forms of indictments and pleadings; and lastly, the oppressions and inequalities of the debtor and bankruptcy laws.

The corn bill, which, through Wellington's opposition, failed to pass the Upper House in 1827, was revived and passed this year, but with a modification in favour of the home growers; in other words, against the consumers. It established a graduated rate of duties on foreign corn, according to the average price of grain in the home markets; but the medium price or turning point in the ascending and descending scale was fixed at a higher level by four shillings the quarter than in Canning's bill. Mr. Grant, president of the board of trade, in introducing the scheme, made no better defence of its merits in comparison with that of the previous year, than that it was the best that could be framed in the existing conflict of interests and opinions. Mr. Huskisson condemned all restrictions on the free importation of grain, yet thought the duty could not be abolished in the existing state of affairs. "However expedient to prevent other evils, in the present state of the country," he said, "they are in themselves a burden and a restraint upon its manufacturing commercial industry." Mr. Peel—in opposing a resolution by Mr. Hume, "that the ports should be open at all times, and that the duty for the current year should be fifteen shillings, descending one shilling for each of the next five years, until the duty reached ten shillings, at which it should remain fixed"—remarked that Mr. Hume "had overlooked all the political considerations connected with the question, which were wholly distinct from the question of price. It was the constitutional policy of the country," said this future repealer of the tax on bread, "to maintain the aristocracy and magistracy as essential parts of the community." This plain speaking called forth in the press comments to the effect that it would be wiser to vote a yearly supply, in pounds, shillings, and pence, for the support of the ornamental part of the community of these realms, than to keep them by means of a tax on bread, which cramped the industry of the people. Let the aristocracy and the magistracy, argued some journalists, take their place in the estimates with the army and navy; let money be voted for so many lords and so many squires a year, and country houses be built, or fitted and found, like ships and barracks. If it be the duty of the people to take their masters into keeping, let it be done openly, and in a manner least detrimental to the interests of the whole community. "Let the wants of lords and squires be spread before us," said an article in the "Examiner;" "hounds, horses, claret, champagne, &c., and the estimates to supply them shall be regularly discussed and voted, like those of the army and navy. * * The principle is briefly this: to substitute a direct for an indirect tax on the nation, which tax may be applied to the support of the aristocracy and magistracy according to their occasions, in lieu of an indirect tax extremely prejudicial to the nation, and which indirect tax is not, and cannot be applied to the support of the aristocracy and magistracy according to their needs, but is reaped by those who do not need it at all, as well as by those who need it much." Hard hits of this stamp show how clear and precise had become the conceptions of free-traders, and how weak the defence of their opponents on the practical bearings of obsolete protectionist doctrines. Yet the fight had eighteen more years to run before the bread tax passed away into the limbo of time-honoured abuses and of the curiosities of selfish class legislation.

That finance committee, on the framing of which the Goderich ministry had drifted into irreconcilable differences, was set in operation in February, on a motion brought forward by Mr. Peel. In deference to its proceedings, the chancellor of the exchequer kept back his budget until near the close of the session, in order that he might be enabled to turn to account the researches and recommendations set forth in its report. The first fruit of the committee's labours came early in the session, in a bill to relieve the public from the obligation of selling annuities at a losing price. It had been found out years before by an eminent actuary, that government annuities were sold at rates which resulted in a loss to the public, reckoned at about 8000*l.* per month. Either the average length of life in England had been extended under improved conditions of living, or else the old tables setting forth the probable duration of a life after any stated age had started from an erroneous basis. The committee at once accepted this conclusion, and a bill was forthwith passed to stop the further sale of life annuities by the government, until a more reliable system, based on fresh researches, could be put in operation.

Another result of the committee's labours was a partial stoppage of the debt-clearing process then in operation. The actual yearly surplus of income over expenditure was adopted as the yearly contribution towards lessening the national debt, in lieu of the fixed sum of five millions per annum which had been attempted, but which experience had proved to be beyond the patience of the tax-payers to bear.

The Penryn and East Retford disfranchisement bills were brought forward again. The Liberals were for investing Manchester and Birmingham with the electoral rights which they held to be forfeited by the two delinquent boroughs. The cabinet decided to go half way towards such a disposal of the vacated seats. They would bestow on Manchester the seats taken from Penryn. They, however, resolved to counteract their act of grace to the town interest by handing over two of the four seats to country voters. The rural districts adjacent to East Retford were to be added to that peccant constituency, the two seats remaining nominally with that borough.

The Penryn Bill proceeded smoothly enough, in accordance with the ministerial compromise, almost to its final stage in the Upper House. When, however, the division came to be taken in the Commons, on the substitution of Birmingham for East Retford, Mr. Huskisson indulged his personal preferences in favour of the populous town as against the incorrigibly rotten borough. This, of course, was a breach of discipline for which he could only anticipate the severance of his connection with the Tory government. It must ever remain matter for regret that he did not frankly accept this consequence of a vote which on its own merits redounded to his lasting credit. He knew that he ought to resign, and he sent accordingly a letter to the premier, stating: "I owe it to you, as head of the administration, and to Mr. Peel, as leader of the House of Commons, to lose no time in affording you an opportunity of placing my office in other hands." He expected, however, that the duke would press him to remain at his post, despite his vote, but in this he was doomed to a disappointment that must have been severe indeed, inasmuch as it led him into pitiful efforts to gainsay the plain meaning of his letter. Friends and colleagues of the two statesmen made strenuous efforts to "explain" the unlucky communication in a sense that would unsay its palpable meaning. These attempts, however, proved abortive; the duke would listen to no accommodation, but met the officious interpositions on behalf of his late colleague with an emphatic denial that passed into proverbial use. "There was no mistake; could be no mistake; and should be no mistake." The duke had, in fact, long disliked Huskisson, and was nowise sorry to part company with the whole set of Canningites, who with one exception now retired from office with their friend. Lyndhurst remained as the solitary representative of the moderate but progressive party who filled a mid-way station between Tories and Whigs. The vacancies were filled up by men who were all at one with Wellington and Peel in thorough disrelish for changes, and a rooted mistrust of the popular element in governments. Lord Aberdeen succeeded Lord Dudley in the foreign office; Sir Henry Hardinge took Lord Palmerston's post as secretary at war; Sir George Murray succeeded Huskisson in the colonial office; and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, destined to an early and unenviable fame, took Mr. Grant's post as head of the board of trade. Changes in some of the secondary places also took effect, the substitutes in each instance being found in Tories of a harder, and as their chief thought, a truer type. The whole band of high officials was now, for the first time since the death of Castlereagh, of a uniform high Tory cast. The change was highly satisfactory to the king, who under recent experience of their feuds, and of the intrusions on his morose solitude occasioned thereby, had become a hearty hater of mixed administrations. He had at length got his heart's desire, a strong administration opposed to organic changes or even to any sort of change. His happiness in this thought proved, however, of the briefest continuance. His solid phalanx of unshackled advisers was swept along with the irresistible drift of events down the swift stream of progress. Wellington and Peel—the men least likely to swerve from the old paths—were soon to convince the king that there was no safety but in concession, no resource but in adopting the measure their party had always strenuously opposed. For rulers and statesmen, as for humbler folks, the path of duty lies at times wide of the direction whither inclination would lead. The king's speech at the closing of the session on the 28th of July made prominent mention of the war that had now broken out between Turkey and Russia. It spoke, too, of a revolution in Portugal that had swept away its liberal institutions and placed on the throne the perfidious Dom Miguel, uncle of the discarded young queen. These continental affairs, thus specially dwelt upon at the dispersion of the British legislature for a six months' recess, were certainly not the uppermost thought of either ministers or private members. The condition of Ireland was the anxious question of the day. The Act for the suppression of the Catholic Association was to expire at the close of the session of 1828, and the preparations afoot for the revival of the old machinery of agitation raised in the cabinet the question of the policy of renewing the Act. Lord Anglesey, the new viceroy, deemed it best to let the Association take its own course, under a persuasion that its undisguised movements and unshackled action offered fewer risks of real mischief than it would effect under the provocation of renewed restraints. "If we have a mind," said a confidential letter from the viceroy, "for a *good blaze* again, we may at once command it by re-enacting the expiring bill; and when we have improved it and rendered it perfect, we shall find that it will not be acted upon. In short, I shall back Mr. O'Connell's, and Sheil's, and others' evasions against the crown lawyers' laws." The Irish secretary, Mr. Lamb, was not less averse to a renewal of the enactment. He relied on the growing jealousy of the Roman Catholic prelates towards the Association, on account of its stretches of authority over the priests, as a likelier means of undermining its influence, than any fresh attempt at coercion by the civil power, which in order to be effective must interfere with the liberty of public meeting to an extent which parliament would probably refuse to sanction. The cabinet acted on these views, and the Association started afresh in all its branches of agitation, tribute collection, and schemes for controlling the parliamentary elections. Nor were its operations hampered in any appreciable degree by that counteractive jealousy on the part of the higher ecclesiastics on which the authorities had reckoned. Its formidable powers were significantly shown to the world several weeks before the expiry of that restrictive Act which had aimed to strangle its existence. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, one of the members for the county of Clare, had to present himself for re-election on his acceptance of the office of president of the board of trade. The Association decided to oppose his return, despite the fact that he was a pronounced emancipationist, and enjoyed the entire confidence and support of all the aristocracy and gentry, and was in full favour with the tenantry, Catholic as well as Protestant, of the county of Clare. The opposition to him which the Association now took in hand, was in effect a fight against the government in which he had taken service, rather than the expression of mistrust of his personal fitness. He was to be defeated because he was a member of an administration, the chiefs and most of the members of which were hostile to the claims of the Catholics. To mark yet further the character of the resistance of the Association to the policy of Wellington and Peel in respect to emancipation, it was resolved to put up a Catholic, and a declared foe to the ministry, as a rival to the new president of the board of trade in the forthcoming election. The oaths against popery exacted from members of parliament had hitherto served their purpose of barring the candidature of Catholics. But Daniel O'Connell, the champion selected to enter the lists on the part of the Association, with his habitual effrontery and small concern for the truth or falsity of his sensational utterances, assured the electors that if they returned him as their representative he could claim the right to sit and vote without taking the oaths. Intense interest was felt throughout the kingdom in the progress and issue of the election. The announcement that O'Connell had come off victorious in the contest caused a profound sensation. The priests carried their candidate by a large majority, despite all the exertions and the influence of the county families. The forty-shilling freeholders—peasant voters who had never before dreamt of setting at defiance the local influences which had hitherto controlled their votes—ranged themselves to a man, under the leadership of their spiritual guides, on the side of that redoubted agitator whose highest merit, in their reckoning, was his hostility to the law and hatred towards the government that administered it. Flushed with their victory in Clare, the agitators now put forth all their energies, and stirred the masses of the people to a pitch of passionate excitement that threatened to convulse the country with insurrection. Lord Anglesey, the viceroy, writing on the 2nd of July to Lord Francis Leveson Gower, the newly appointed secretary for Ireland, gives the following account of the state of affairs while O'Connell's election was still going forward: "I begin by premising that I hold in abhorrence the Association, the agitators, the priests, and their religion. * * * Such is the extraordinary power of the Association, or rather of the agitators, of whom there are many of high ability, of ardent mind, of great daring (and if there was no Association, these men are now too well known not to maintain their power under the existing order of exclusion), that I am quite certain they could lead the people to open rebellion at a moment's notice; and their organization is such, that in the hands of desperate and intelligent leaders, they would be extremely formidable. The hope, and indeed the probability, of present tranquillity, rests upon the forbearance and the not very determined courage of O'Connell, and on his belief, as well as that of the principal men amongst them, that they will carry their cause by unceasing agitation, and by intimidation, without coming to blows. I believe their success inevitable; that no power under heaven can arrest its progress. There may be rebellion—you may put to death thousands—you may suppress it, but it will only be to put off the day of compromise; and in the meantime the country is still more impoverished, and the minds of the people are, if possible, still more alienated." The writer then discusses the several alternatives open to the choice of government, and expresses his decided preference for conciliation. This, be it remembered, was the counsel, not of a timid civilian, scared by the furious hubbub then resounding throughout Ireland, but of a fearless and eminent military commander, one of Wellington's most distinguished companions in arms at Waterloo. "I do most conscientiously, and after the most earnest consideration of the subject," said the viceroy, "give it as my conviction that the first moment of tranquillity should be seized to signify the intention of adjusting the question, lest another period of calm should not present itself." A few weeks later he acquaints the premier that disaffected myriads were amply organised for insurrection, and that it was more than probable stores of pikes were secreted in readiness for an outbreak. He still thought, however, that the leaders had no inclination to put their cause to the test of arms. The priests at this time were assiduously working upon the Catholics of the army, and it was by no means easy to prevent or to counteract their operations. Some of the least reliable regiments were removed, and their places filled by Scotch or English troops. But in the combustible state of national feeling, movements of this sort were not unattended with danger. There was serious risk of a military mutiny, which the priests might call forth under an all-absorbing sense of religious obligation. The forbearance of the authorities from active measures of military repression excited loud clamours on the part of the Irish Protestants, who, under expectation of a rising, were nowise more cool or moderate than their rivals. Orange lodges and Brunswick clubs, in which were banded all the fiery zealots opposed to concession, again sprang into existence; and by the defiance and provocations which they launched against the other side, multiplied the risks of an explosion that might at any moment have wrapped the country in the flames of civil war. The chiefs of the cabinet, meanwhile, were painfully pondering the problem which had now pressed for a settlement since the very dawn of the century. In at least one session of each parliament, and in several sessions of some parliaments from 1807 onwards, majorities in the Lower House had come to decisions favourable to the Catholics. The last division had shown an almost even balance of sentiment, but the turn of the scale was on the side of conciliation. It was indispensable that a remedy should be forthwith applied to the scandalous anarchy into which Ireland was drifting. The old laws had proved inefficient to stay a movement that was fast transferring the control of the people from the constituted authorities to the dictation of the agitators and the rule of the priests. It was not to be expected that the House of Commons, in which the prevailing sentiment leant towards pacifying Ireland by reasonable concession, would willingly pass such statutes as would be required to uphold a contrary policy. This consideration, taken in connection with the actual condition of affairs, with Ireland on the verge of rebellion, decided both Wellington and Peel to a course which was utterly at variance with their own personal leanings. After having spent years in withstanding the Catholic claims, they were driven to the conclusion that public duty required them to set at naught all the pledges of their previous lives, and to perform a work which belonged of right to their political adversaries. The duke of Wellington recorded the current of his own anxious ponderings on the subject in a memorandum from which the following extracts are culled: "The government, if it should determine under existing circumstances to maintain the statutes excluding Roman Catholics from power, must ask for new laws, the old ones having broken down. They must bring in a bill requiring candidates for seats in parliament to take at the hustings the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; otherwise they could not prevent Roman Catholics from contesting every vacant county and borough in the United Kingdom, and from becoming *ipso facto* members of parliament, should constituencies see fit to elect them. Practically speaking, there might be small risk that either in England or Scotland this result would follow, at least to any extent. But what was to be expected in Ireland? That every constituency, with the exception perhaps of the university and city of Dublin, and of the counties and boroughs of the north, would, whenever opportunity offered, return Roman Catholics; and that the members so returned being prevented from taking their seats, three-fourths at least of the Irish people must remain permanently unrepresented in parliament. Was it possible, looking to the state of parties in the House of Commons, that such a measure, if proposed, could be carried? For many years the majorities in favour of repeal had gone on increasing, session after session. Even the present parliament, elected as it had been under a strong Protestant pressure, had swerved from its faithfulness. * * * Ministers might ask parliament for power to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and to place all Ireland under military law. To ask for less would be ridiculous, because the Act against unlawful assemblies had failed, and on account of its helplessness was suffered to expire. Now, would parliament grant such extensive powers to any government, merely that the government might be enabled to bar his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects a little longer from enjoying equal political privileges with Protestants? The issue was very doubtful; perhaps it was not doubtful at all. Parliament would never grant such powers. But assuming the powers were given, what must follow? A general insurrection, to be put down after much bloodshed and suffering, and then a return to the state of sullen discontent, which would render Ireland ten times more than she had ever been, a millstone round the neck of Great Britain." The memorandum goes on to trace the wretched prospect offered to each successive government which should have to deal, by coercive measures only, with the incurable disaffection of a third part of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. Such reasoning was of course the prelude to the duke's surrender. The memoirs of his colleague, Peel, furnish an ample store of similar reasonings, that bring in review the state of political parties; the discussions of recent years in parliament; the results of the Clare election and the issues to be expected therefrom; the earnest representations and the weighty words of warning from the viceroy; the interminable divisions in the cabinet; the evils, always increasing, of conflicting decisions in the two Houses of Parliament; the distraction of imperial counsels, and the utter impossibility of maintaining permanently a policy of coercion, even if it were wise. All these aspects of the question are handled by the home secretary with a masterly logic, leaving on the mind a feeling of astonishment that the statesmen who could pour forth so copious a flood of eloquent and most persuasive argument in favour of yielding to the demands of the Catholics, nevertheless looked upon emancipation rather as a concession to the hard taskmaster, political expediency, than as a form of loyal homage due to the eternal principles of equity. The two chiefs of the administration experienced severe uphill work in overcoming the king's disrelish for concession. When that almost insuperable hindrance was at length removed, the scruples of the bishops proved to be still more unbending, though, happily, less obstructive to final success.

Rumours got abroad, as they always do, respecting the intentions of the cabinet. The instinctive fears of the Tories, founded on the dubious utterances of the premier in the last session, formed the groundwork of many such whisperings. But so closely did the two chiefs of the cabinet keep their own counsels, until the king had been induced to relent, that many of the principal officers of the government learned for the first time the secret of the forthcoming concession about ten days before the opening of the session. This extreme reticence had its uses. It staved off a "No popery" cry, which would have been echoed far and wide by many a hot-headed zealot. But it led to a dissension between the chief of the government in Ireland and the first minister of the crown. Interpreting for himself the signs of the times, yet acting without that exact knowledge to which his high official position entitled him, the frank and generous Lord Anglesey indiscreetly gave utterance to words that embarrassed, or at any rate tended to complicate, the position of the cabinet. The duke of Wellington kept up a correspondence with Dr. Curtis, the Catholic primate of Ireland. In one of his letters to the prelate, the duke expressed an earnest desire for an early settlement of the Catholic question, and stated that he should not despair of a satisfactory result if only the excitement and agitation then rife could be stayed. This letter was communicated by Dr. Curtis to the viceroy, who in a written opinion, which soon got abroad, recommended that anxiety should continue to be manifested; that all constitutional means should be adopted to forward the cause, consistent with the most patient forbearance and submissive obedience to the laws; that the Catholics should trust in the justice of their cause, and to the growing liberality of mankind, but should not desist from *agitation.* For this advice, and for other forms of outspoken sympathy in the same line, and perhaps also, as was surmised at the time, because the duke would allow no one in Ireland to share his victory, Lord Anglesey was recalled.

At length, on the 5th of February, 1829, the king's speech plainly indicated the policy of the government. The suppression of the Catholic Association was marked out as a first step to be taken, by way of clearing the ground for the favours to be conceded. It was recommended by the royal speech that parliament should take into deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland, with a view to the removal of such disabilities as affected Roman Catholics; but under safeguards for the security of existing establishments in church and state. The premier in the Upper House, and the home secretary in the Commons, met the demands of the occasion by straightforward acknowledgments of change in their old views. A preliminary bill, giving power to the lord-lieutenant to disperse by force any meetings deemed dangerous to the public peace, disposed of the defiant Association. As it was known that this bill was a prelude to granting emancipation, little or no obstacles were offered in parliament to its immediate transit through all its stages. In Ireland, too, no protests were raised. The Association disbanded itself in good humour, with the concurrence of the Catholic prelates, two days after the first reading of the bill for its suppression. Immediately after the act of rigour came the act of grace. The Catholic Association Suppression Bill received the royal assent on the 5th of March, and on the same day Mr. Peel moved in a crowded House the resolution to go into committee on the laws imposing disabilities on Roman Catholics. His four hours' speech on this memorable occasion, in exposition of the intentions of government, and in vindication of the bill about to be submitted to parliament, went a long way towards carrying the measure. The hushed stillness of an eager auditory was again and again broken by ringing cheers of applause that reverberated through Westminster Hall. He made no pretence at preferring the changes he was recommending. His whole speech was a reluctant yielding to the call of an irksome but imperative and irresistible duty. With outspoken sorrow that the world of politics could not be made to stand still, Peel told the House: "I have for years attempted to maintain the exclusion of Roman Catholics from parliament and the high offices of the state. I do not think it was an unnatural or unreasonable struggle. I resign it in consequence of the conviction that it can no longer be advantageously maintained; from believing that there are not adequate materials or sufficient instruments for its effectual and permanent continuance. I yield, therefore, to a moral necessity which I cannot control, unwilling to push resistance to a point which might endanger the establishments which I wish to defend." Then followed the argument making out his case for the change of policy which the united cabinet had felt constrained to recommend to the sovereign and the legislature. Affairs could not be kept in their existing position. The evil of divided counsels in the cabinet, and clashing decisions among the three branches of the legislature, had been of long continuance, and threatened to be as lasting as the policy of exclusion. A united government must choose one of two courses. They must concede more privileges to the disaffected third part of the population, or they must retract those already given. To deprive the Catholics of the privileges they possessed would be more perilous than to grant them more, and no House of Commons would assent to an abridgment of their present liberties. The evil was not casual and fleeting, but permanent and inveterate. Having demonstrated at great length these and other propositions, all tending to the same conclusion, Peel submitted a statement of the provisions to be embodied in the bill. There was to be an oath by which Catholics entering parliament, civil offices in the state, or corporate bodies, would pledge themselves to allegiance to the crown, and to abstain from all attempts against the Protestant institutions in church and state. All important offices, with few exceptions, were to be open to Catholics. The only exclusions were from the offices of regent, viceroy, lord chancellor, and appointments in Protestant universities or colleges. There were to be checks on the increase of monastic establishments. Displays in the public streets of the insignia of Roman Catholic worship were to be prohibited. Adverting to the hindrances in the way of the proposed emancipation bill, Mr. Peel asked: "What great measure which has stamped its name on the era of its adoption has ever been carried through without objections insuperable, if they had been abstractedly considered?" He added: "Our difficulties may be great, but they are as nothing compared with those which obstructed the great measure which united in one whole the two separate and hostile kingdoms into which this island was divided. We must contemplate the measure now proposed in the same spirit in which our ancestors acted under similar circumstances; we must look to the end to be achieved and the danger to be avoided. We must be content to make mutual sacrifices, if they are essential to the attainment of a paramount object, and withdraw objections to separate parts of a comprehensive scheme, if by insisting on those objections we shall endanger its final accomplishment." Sir Robert Inglis, who had just succeeded Mr. Peel in the representation of the University of Oxford—a trust which the latter resigned in deference to the anti-Catholic sentiments of his constituents—made the best speech on the side of opposition. But it was narrow and soulless in contrast with that against which it was aimed. The main argument of every opposition speech was peril to the Protestant character of the institutions of the nation, and to the liberties secured under them. With this staple objection were mingled abundant taunts on the falling away of ministers from what their alienated adherents called the safe old path—the solid ground of right—their new policy being defined as "the selfish and tortuous path of expediency—the pretext of so many crimes." The old leaders in the controversy on the side of concession left the bulk of the speaking to their new allies, and contented themselves with brief congratulations on the assured and immediate triumph of their cause over the weakened and discredited ranks of their opponents. The resolution for going into committee was carried by three hundred and forty-eight against one hundred and sixty votes; and the after resolutions submitted to the committee, approving the provisions to be incorporated in the forthcoming bill, were accepted without a division. Then followed, on the 10th of March, the first reading of the Catholic Relief Bill. Streams of petitions flowed in against the measure, for despite a growing conviction that equality of civil rights could no longer be withheld, it is pretty certain that an absolute majority of the voters in the United Kingdom disrelished the thought of concession. In all purely political questions, popular sentiment favoured unmistakably the progressive and liberal side. But where religion formed, as in this instance, an element in the controversy, the alarms of the timid sided with the jealousies of the sticklers for old exclusiveness. The Brunswick clubs, and other ultra-Protestant associations, were loud in doleful forecasts of political dangers coming again upon the nation, as in days when the exclusion laws were first framed. Before, however, this counter-agitation could get into full play, the bill had been hastened through all its stages. The second reading in the Commons was taken on the 18th of March, and resulted in a majority of one hundred and eighty in a full House. Several amendments were proposed, all tending to diminish the completeness of the concession, but these were easily defeated. The third reading was carried, on the 30th of March, by three hundred and twenty against one hundred and forty-two votes.

On the same day Mr. Peel, accompanied by an imposing escort of members, carried the bill to the bar of the House of Peers. Hitherto that august assembly had rejected by substantial majorities every similar measure sent up to them by the representatives of the people. Now, however, under the tutelage of events, and under guidance of a leader of unparallelled personal influence and ascendancy, they passed the bill through all its stages, and by towering majorities, in the brief space of eleven days from its first introduction. Wellington's arguments were less elaborate, and his speeches in behalf of the measure much briefer, than those of the home secretary. They were, however, marked by a deep earnestness and straightforwardness that were not less persuasive than the most forcible logic, and not less effective than the most ambitious flights of eloquence. One of his most memorable utterances was the declaration: "I am one of those who have probably passed more of my life in war than most men, and principally, I may say, in civil war too; and rather than a country I loved should be visited with the calamities which I have seen, with the unutterable horrors of civil war, I would make any sacrifices; I would freely lay down my life." The opposition was more strenuous, and the reproaches for lost consistency yet more bitter among the peers than in the Commons, but equally abortive. Every attempt to graft amendments on the bill detrimental to its full and free gift of civil equality was decisively overborne. Lord Eldon's doleful lamentations, and his passionate railings against the measure, which he deemed "the most dangerous that had ever been brought before parliament," occasioned the comment in a newspaper of the day:—"What a consistent career has Lord Eldon's been! the ever-active principle of evil in our political world! In the history of the universe no man has the praise of having effected so much good for his fellow-creatures as Lord Eldon has thwarted." The ex-chancellor clung up to the latest moment to the hope that the royal veto would be brought into play to correct what he deemed the deplorable mischief worked out by the cabinet, and fortified by great majorities in a deluded parliament. In his own words, he trusted "the king would do his duty at the last," by withholding his assent to the bill. His memoirs present long conversations between the king and himself at this anxious time on the critical question—could his majesty draw back despite his permission for bringing in the bill? The royal assent was, however, given on the 13th of April, and thus finished the great reform which stamps on the year 1829 the mark of a memorable era in the history of civil and religious liberty. Supplementary to the Catholic Relief Bill was the enactment disfranchising the Irish forty shilling freeholders—that plastic material which in effect placed at the disposal of the priests the control of every election where the Catholic element predominated. It had been laid down in Peel's first statement, before bringing in the relief bill, that this security should be given for preserving at least a portion of electoral power in the hands of Protestant landowners, as a set-off against their forfeited ascendancy. The disfranchising bill encountered but a feeble opposition. The qualification for the county vote was now placed at 10*l.* and upwards, instead of forty shillings. Among the few protests raised against it was Brougham's declaration, that he reluctantly accepted it "as the price —the almost extravagant price—of emancipation." Macintosh called it "a tough morsel," which nauseated in the swallowing. Even O'Connell and Sheil, forgetful of their obligations to their "faithful forties," acquiesced almost silently in the degradation of the rank and file of their army of vassals. The restrictive code of laws swept away by the emancipation bill of 1829, included statutes dating from the dawn of the reign of Elizabeth, two hundred and seventy-one years before, when the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity came into being. The oath of supremacy was not, however, applied to the peers until 1677, when the exclusion bill, aimed chiefly at the duke of York, the heir-apparent, disabled all Catholics, whether peers or commoners, from sitting in the English parliament, and the jealous restriction remained intact after the absorption of the legislatures of Scotland and Ireland in the imperial parliament.

The success of ministers in carrying the Catholic Relief Bill was achieved at the cost of some painful sacrifices. Whole ranks of ultra-Tories stood aloof from leaders who had renounced a prime article of their old political creed, and ultra-Protestant associations bemoaned the "lost consistency" of the statesmen heretofore trusted as the unfailing barriers against popery. There was much talk, too, in parliamentary circles, as elsewhere, of treacherous designs afoot to sap the foundations of the constitution. Lord Winchelsea, one of the most ardent anti-papal peers, wrote a letter—which appeared in one of the daily papers—containing a charge of this sort. The name of the premier had recently figured as patron of a newly-established institution, King's College, in the Strand, destined by its founders to enter the lists, on the part of the established church, as a competitor against the rival pretensions of London University College, in Gower Street, which opened its portals to every religious communion. On the disclosure of the ministerial policy the earl of Winchelsea, himself a promoter of the new establishment, spoke of the duke's patronship "as a blind to the Protestant and high church party;" aiming, "under the cloak of some show of zeal for the Protestant religion," to carry out a deep-laid scheme for "breaking in upon the constitution of 1688," and "the introduction of popery into every department of the state." These expressions, coming from such a quarter, appeared to the duke to require serious notice on his part. He endeavoured, but without success, to bring the earl to a retractation of the charges. Thereupon ensued, in Battersea Fields—now one of the metropolitan parks—a hostile meeting, according to the absurd code of honour that still held sway in high society. The disputants met on the 21st of March, and discharged loaded pistols, in default of other means of arriving at an understanding on a question concerning the Protestant religion. No bodily harm happened to either, for the earl magnanimously fired up in the air, after the duke's pistol had been discharged somewhat wide of its mark. A written apology was then tendered on behalf of the offender, and the combatants separated. Wellington was averse to duelling "under ordinary circumstances." He held, however, that his difference with Lord Winchelsea, considering the cause in which it originated, and the critical position of affairs at the moment, was of so exceptional a character, that no alternative remained but an appeal to the so-called code of honour. "He refused to me, being the king's minister," observed the duke, "what every man, in or out of office, may fairly claim—the right to change his views, under a change of circumstances, on a great public question. He did his best to establish the principle that a man in my situation must be a traitor unless he adheres, through thick and thin, to a policy once advocated. His attack upon me was part of a plan to render the conduct of public affairs impossible to the king's servants. I did my best to make him understand his mistake, and showed him how he might escape from it. He rejected my advice, and there remained for me only one means of extorting from him an acknowledgment that he was wrong." Another Tory nobleman, the marquis of Blandford, passed over into the camp of advanced parliamentary reformers, under pique against chiefs who had abandoned the old cause. Now that rotten boroughs might be represented by Catholics, he conceived a sudden zeal in favour of purity of elections, and a redistribution of the franchise. "After what has happened," argued this intolerant Tory malcontent, "the country demanded some statutory provision to secure its agriculture, its manufactures, and its trade; but more, especially, to secure Protestant interests against the influx and increase of the Catholic party. One mode of securing this, and at the same time of purifying the representation, would be to abolish the borough market, which had now been thrown open to Catholics." There was not much discussion of the question thus raised late in a session, the whole energies of which were absorbed in the one pre-eminent topic, that was by no means out of mind, though happily at length out of hand. The reformers gave, however, a welcome to the motion, though on grounds very different from that apprehension of Catholic influence, and mistrust of free-trade, which animated the mover. One speaker rejoiced that the relief bill had so soon been productive of a benefit never anticipated by its best friends—the transformation of many of the staunchest Tories in the land into something like radical reformers.

Sir Charles Wetherell, the attorney-general, was fully as intemperate in his anti-papal sentiments as Lords Eldon, Winchelsea, and Blandford. He refused to perform the task of drawing up the bill, and passed all bounds of moderation in his abuse of the measure and its authors. He was at length dismissed from his post, but not until the bill had passed, as there were inconveniences to be avoided which obliged his chief to put up with his mutinous behaviour longer than was altogether seemly. Such were a few among many tokens that the old Tory party, so long firm and united, was nearing its end. The administration had accomplished a work which its new allies, the Whigs, were not strong enough to achieve unaided, but it had lost throngs of its natural adherents without gaining substitutes, except for work which was alien to all its instincts and traditions. It was soon seen to be a ministry on sufferance, and then came the end of the long reign of Toryism. O'Connell claimed his seat in the House in the month of May, under the new oaths, despite a clause in the relief bill which restricted its operation to members elected after the passing of the bill. He based his claim on the same legal quibble which he had put forward at the date of his standing for Clare, that though the old law forbade a Roman Catholic to sit in parliament, it imposed no penalties upon him for sitting. He relied, too, upon a strained construction of the new Act in his favour, but his pleas were disallowed, and he was therefore compelled to present himself for re-election. The seat was not this time contested, so he was returned without any repetition of the turbulent scenes of the previous year. Baulked in his boasted purpose of forcing his way into parliament in the face of disqualifying statutes, he vented his spleen in many a spiteful denunciation of ministers. The agitation of twenty years was scarcely closed, when he appealed with as much fervour as ever to the passions of the people, telling them they had yet to contend for a still larger object—the dissolution of the ties that linked Irish interests with those of Great

Britain. Hate, and scorn, and hostility were the return with which he recommended his countrymen to requite the statesmen who carried the relief bill. He denounced Peel and Wellington as men who, having proved false to their own party, could never be true to those they had since joined. To the credit of the Roman Catholic prelates it should be recorded that they on several occasions withstood such attempts to stir up further strife. Their recommendations to quiet and amity, now that the long struggle was crowned with success, and the pointed rebukes they pronounced against sowers of discord, were not altogether ineffectual.

The one great absorbing business of the session left little leisure for other needful measures. The Metropolis Police Bill, a highly useful piece of domestic legislation, glided smoothly through both Houses. Up to 1829, some of the duties now discharged by the police were confided to watchmen, serving under the orders of the parochial authorities who appointed them. They were without unity, discipline, or organization, often aged and infirm, and wholly unfit to cope with lawless violence. The new force, established by Peel's bill, was placed under the control of two commissioners, who were responsible to the home secretary only. The jurisdiction of the commission has been extended to suburban places within a radial distance of fifteen miles from London. The City possesses a separate force, under the control of the corporate authorities. A speedy and immense improvement in the safety and comfort of the vast population of the capital resulted from this change, and the country at large has to its great advantage imitated the efficient system, which in the first instance was set going in the metropolis.

The budget of 1829 shared the comparative unconcern in which the all-engrossing question of the day eclipsed every other section of parliamentary work. The depressed state of the Coventry, Bethnal Green, and Spitalfields silk trade, furnished the text for some doleful inferences on the mischiefs of free trade. Instead, however, of a return to the old restrictive policy, which the suffering interests claimed, parliament gave a further instalment of free trade, in the remission of the duty on raw silk. It was shown, too, that the total home production of silk fabrics had in recent years outgrown all previous example, and that Manchester, Macclesfield, and Congleton had drawn the trade from London and Coventry by the more tempting prices at which they were able to work that branch of national industry.

A bill to legalize the sale of game, and to diminish the evils springing from the game laws, passed readily through the Commons, and the first reading in the Lords was carried by a majority of ten. The extermination of hares and pheasants was the worst evil hitherto dreaded, as the result of a total repeal of those pet statutes which crowded the jails with peasants. Now, however, Lord Westmoreland declared that the bill which proposed to limit or take away the aristocratic privileges of the gun, "would depopulate the country of gentlemen;" and he "was sure the friends of liberty in the other House must have been asleep when this bill passed."

Such "friends of liberty" as this peer had in view mustered in sufficient strength to defeat the bill by a majority of two, on its second reading. Lord Eldon was, as matter of course, among the sticklers for old aristocratic privileges. In his own amusing vein of antique Toryism he states: "The prime minister opposed this bill also, and we old Tories thought ourselves safe in our views of defeating it; but many of the old Tories, being very much out of humour, would not buckle to, and the Whigs, the old opposition, all sticking together, and, I suppose, courting popularity with the lower orders by their vote, let the duke have something like a proof that they were mightier than he, and so he was in a minority." He was, however, consoled by the final result, in which the sports of the lords of the soil outweighed all consideration of the moral and social interests of the despised "lower orders."

The session closed on the 24th of June, when the royal speech vented flattering hopes of benefits to flow from the conciliatory measure adopted in regard to Ireland. At the beginning of the recess there were some changes in the ministry. The duke of Wellington, among other good qualifications for high office, was a rigid economist, and strictly impartial. He refused to allow at the public expense the cost incurred by the heir-apparent, the duke of Clarence, in naval pageants and festivities, afloat and ashore, in which his royal highness had indulged in his official capacity as lord high admiral. Thereupon followed the resignation of his royal highness, and a reconstitution of the old board, with Lord Melville at its head. On the discharge of the insubordinate attorney-general, Sir Charles Wetherell, the vacancy fell to Sir James Scarlett, who had occupied the same post in the Canning ministry. Some minor changes, that took effect at the same date, bore no particular significance in the composition of the government.

A general depression in commercial and industrial enterprise occasioned, throughout most of the year, a comparative dearth of employment for artisans and labourers. Wages consequently fell, and with the distress thence arising came renewed quarrels between capital and labour. The impoverished weavers at the east end of London destroyed or mutilated the webs and looms belonging to masters who held out against demands for higher wages. The example thus set was imitated at Coventry, Macclesfield, and several of the towns of Yorkshire. Machinery to an immense amount was smashed, in punishment of employers who resisted demands for higher wages, and the operatives who wished to stand aloof from these lawless proceedings were subjected to outrages from their fellow-workmen. The military were in request at several of the disturbed places, and many rioters were apprehended. Some investigations conducted by a committee of masters at Huddersfield brought to light the truly pitiable plight of the work-people occupied on fancy goods. The report stated "that within the several townships engaged in fancy business there were thirteen thousand individuals who had not more than twopence-halfpenny per day to live on; and out of this they had to find wear and tear for looms."

Ireland was even more disquieted by the animosities of its factions, than England by unprosperous trade. Catholics and Orangemen came in many places to blows. A score or more lives were lost on the occasion of the processions and offensive demonstrations by which the latter celebrated the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne. One side insultingly gloated over the triumph in which its threatening agitation had resulted, while the other smarted under a sense of defeat, and longed for an opportunity of revenge. It was an anxious time for the magistracy, whose discreet use of limited powers was, however, so efficiently seconded by the vigilance of the military, that open war between the exasperated rival factions was prevented. Government was urged to renew some such security for the preservation of the peace as the Insurrection Act; but this could only be done under parliamentary sanction, and the peril was not altogether so imminent as to warrant a break in the recess.

Sundry questions of interest in the foreign relations of the country drew a large share of public attention. France stirred in uneasy ferment under stretches of regal prerogative and clerical domination, that were fast reducing the charter of constitutional liberty to a dead letter. The supreme authority, from sheer fear and that sense of insecurity which its own perverse efforts to restore old abuses had brought about, betook itself to increasing severity against the press and every other form of free discussion. The rumblings and heavings of another revolutionary explosion against the encroachments of regal and priestly tyranny were growing more audible from day to day. The restored Bourbon dynasty, like the restored Stuarts, had learned little or nothing in the way of political wisdom from the disasters that had befallen their race. Charles X. of France was playing over again that fatal game, from which the history of James II. of England might have warned him to desist, had he been teachable. But in faithlessness to engagements and lust of absolute power, the two royal races bore a close resemblance, and a second exile for the Bourbons was soon to extend the similarity between them.

Greece at length gained this year an acknowledged place among the family of independent states. The Turks sullenly accepted the conditions of the treaty of London, with some further terms under which the three protecting powers settled the boundaries of the new kingdom and its relations to the other European states. The sultan and the czar also composed their separate quarrel, the latter receiving a large money payment to indemnify his outlay on the war, besides some territory on the eastern shores of the Black Sea. There were also, among other conditions of peace, stipulations securing to all nations in amity with Turkey access to the Black Sea for purposes of commerce.

Events in Portugal continued to occupy much attention in England. The contest between the two claimants of the throne—Donna Maria and her uncle Dom Miguel—ended in 1828, so far as the home territory was concerned, in the utter overthrow of the queen's party. Donna Maria fled to England, where some four thousand of her adherents, mostly soldiers, also found refuge from the sanguinary vengeance of Miguel. Under the obligations of the treaty contracted when Charles II. wedded the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, a British naval and military force had recently sustained the cause of Donna Maria against an impending invasion from Spain. Her party now flattered themselves with the expectation of the same help against Miguel and the absolutists that had so readily been given against the threatened invasion from Spain. The two cases however were wholly dissimilar. The treaty obligations were sufficiently onerous in their application to the foreign foes of Portugal, without embracing a share in its civil embroilments also. English sympathies were cordially engaged on the side of the constitutional party, but the good sense of the nation seconded the cautious neutrality observed by government in its dealings with both parties in the strife. On fully realizing the fact that no armed interference would be exerted to reinstate them as the governing party in Portugal, the adherents of the queen asked leave of the British government to forward their arms, ammunition, and military stores from England to Brazil. Suspicions were entertained that Brazil was not the real destination of these warlike stores, but inasmuch as the chiefs of the refugees gave a very formal and explicit pledge that the stores were not to be used in the civil dissensions of their own country, and were certainly to be sent to Brazil, the required permission was given. The cargo was forthwith sent off as if for Brazil, but in reality it passed straight to the island of Terceira, one of the Azores, belonging to Portugal. This island still adhered to the cause of the queen. When the arms and equipments were known to be safely landed, the owners of them professed a desire to betake themselves to Brazil. Every facility was offered, coupled however with a courteous, but full warning, that England was determined to maintain the strictest neutrality, and would not permit its ports and arsenals to be used for the assembling or fitting out of armaments designed to operate against any part of the dominion of Portugal. In pursuance of this purpose, notice was duly given that the expedition about to start professedly for Brazil would not be permitted to follow the arms and stores which, under false pretences, had been forwarded to Terceira. Despite this warning, four vessels, having on board six hundred and fifty-two officers and men, under the command of Count Saldanha, sailed from Plymouth, and in due course arrived at Terceira. Captain Walpole, who was on the watch at that station, drove the Portuguese off. This occurrence became the text of much angry declamation on both sides of the Atlantic. England, under the Wellington administration, was represented as fighting on the side of the usurper Miguel, and against the lawful sovereign whose cause had been espoused by the Canning ministry. On the strict construction of international obligations, the course adopted was certainly the right one, though dead against the current of public sentiment at the time. If England possessed no right of interference in the internal affairs of Portugal—and no one pretended that such a right existed—it followed that, in the observance of a strict neutrality, government was bound to prevent the equipment and issue of armaments from British ports for attacks on Portugal, whoever might be the ruler of that country.

The duke of Wellington made a round of visits in the autumn and winter of 1829, as in several previous years, to the mansions of many of the principal territorial magnates. The receptions that greeted him on such occasions were frequently on a scale of almost regal splendour. But the magnificent hospitality of his noble hosts, and the gala-day sort of celebrations that were got up in honour of his visits, supplied only a one-sided insight into the condition of the country, at a crisis when its political chief was deeply concerned in knowing aright its most pressing needs. He saw little or nothing of the misery which dearth of employment was laying on large masses of the labouring class. This fact was dwelt upon to his disadvantage in the criticisms provoked by passages in the king's speech, at the opening of the session on the 4th of February, 1830. *Partial distress*, owing to unfavourable seasons and other causes not under legislative control, was the unlucky phrase in which the unprosperous state of agricultural and manufacturing industry was spoken of. In the debate on the address in both Houses ministers were sharply taken to task on the charge that they made light of the severe and general distress which pressed alike, as the objectors contended, on trade, commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and all the industrial and monetary interests of the kingdom. Sir Edward Knatchbull, a county member of the old high and dry Tory class, whose highest aim seemed now to expel from power the chiefs who had previously outraged their feelings and prejudices, proposed an amendment to the address, assuring the king "that distress was general among all the productive classes of the community." In the division the majority for ministers was only fifty-three. Close on the heels of this and similar mutinous outbreaks against discredited leaders, came motions for inquiry into the causes of the national distress. These furnished opportunity for most discursive and prolonged debates, into which were imported a curious jumble of every variety of economical, commercial, and monetary question. The contradictory views of a multitude of speakers on the remedies for distress were however all tinged more or less with the one feature in common—the unanimous persuasion that retrenchment in the public expenditure, and a reduction in the taxation of the country, were the first needs of the day. Ministers had already foreshadowed, among the few inklings of their policy set forth in the king's speech, the intention to adopt every practicable saving. But the bearing of ministers in respect to some proposed retrenchments exhibited a damaging contrast between their professions and their actual practice. When the navy estimates came under discussion, it transpired that two young men, Mr. Bathurst and Mr. Dundas, both sons of cabinet ministers, were to be pensioned off with substantial annuities, after a very brief and almost nominal service as junior commissioners of the navy. Sir Robert Heron moved that the proposed pensions be disallowed. It was well known, he reminded the House, that the fathers of the two young men were noblemen who for a great number of years had occupied some of the most lucrative posts in the public service. One of them, Earl Bathurst, was lord president of the council, a teller of the exchequer, and joint clerk of the crown. The other, Viscount Melville, was first lord of the admiralty. The grandfathers, like the fathers of the two young men, had similarly held some of the best paid appointments under the crown, in days when the official emoluments of the offices they filled were scandalously overgrown. One had been lord chancellor; the other was a sort of viceroy in Scotland, holding places that yielded enormous pay, and performing services that were rather equivocal, such as dispensing secret service money for smoothing the passage of ministerial projects through parliament. With such antecedents in families gorged with public money, it was simply an outrageous affront to the improved tone of feeling in parliament, and to the intelligence of the country, that cabinet ministers and members of the peerage should thus impudently foist the maintenance of their sons upon the public, and that too at a time when rigid economy and unsparing retrenchment were loudly proclaimed as the watchwords of ministerial policy. The barefaced piece of jobbery was aggravated by the fact that the proposed annuities of 400*l.* in the one case, and 500*l.* in the other, were in acknowledgment of a temporary kind of service that had been already handsomely remunerated, and that carried with it no shadow of a title to the customary retiring allowances. Having placed the facts before the House, the mover of the resolution refusing the pensions inquired, with stinging asperity: "What, then, must the country think of ministerial professions, when pensions such as these were granted, not only without precedent, but without any adequate service performed?" The dirty task of defending exalted colleagues who had abased themselves by this scandalous greed, fell to Mr. Peel and the chancellor of the exchequer, who must inwardly have despised the paltry conduct which they racked their brains to cover with a decent excuse, if that had been possible. On a division, the grant was disallowed by a majority of one hundred and thirty-nine against one hundred and twenty-one votes. The House showed, by decreasing majorities through the remainder of the session, its growing distrust of a ministry which could thus belie its fair professions by practices flagrantly corrupt. There were other details of expenditure, in connection with several almost sinecure appointments under the crown, that came under discussion. Several of these were brought successively to the ordeal of a vote, in which ministerial majorities were due rather to the sufferance than to the approbation of the House.

Sir James Graham brought forward in February a motion for a reduction of all official salaries, justifying the proposed saving on the plea that money had now attained to a greater purchasing power, or in other words, that commodities had fallen in price since the passing of the Bank Restriction Act. One admitted result of that Act was that it added to the burden of all fixed payments, while it lowered wages and the price of provisions. Instead of meeting this proposal with a direct negative, ministers deemed it prudent to offer an amendment, which was accepted, proposing an inquiry by commission into all the departments of service under the crown, with a view to reducing, where practicable, the number and the pay of the persons employed. Mr. Hume and others pursued similar attempts to enforce retrenchment on a large scale; and while ministers warded off, as best they might, the vigorous onslaughts of a strong array of financial reformers, they gained some forbearance by the substantial reduction which they offered on both sides of the national balance sheet for the ensuing year. Although the income of the past year had sunk below the estimates by 560,000*l.*, the budget offered large remissions of such taxes as bore most heavily on the operative classes. The excise duties on beer, cider, and leather, were dropped. These represented remissions of 3,400,000*l.* in the aggregate; but the boon to consumers was reckoned at fully 5,000,000*l.*, so largely were retail prices swollen by the traders' profits on outlay in the shape of duties as well as on the commodities themselves. Some of the loss of revenue thus occasioned was compensated by an addition to the duties leviable on spirituous liquors, and by raising the Irish stamp duties to the English level. Reductions in the army and other government establishments presented a saving of 1,300,000*l.* A prospect was held out of reducing the interest on a large section of the national debt, by the conversion of four per cent. stock into three and a half. The saving by the process would be more than three quarters of a million annually. On the whole, the financial relief actually effected, together with that soon to follow, was more substantial than in any year since the peace. The supplies voted for the coming year still stood at little below 48,000,000*l.*, and the estimated income at 50,470,000*l.* The redemption of debt in the year last past amounted to 4,000,000*l.*

The long pending bill for dealing with the incurable corruption that ruled the choice of representatives for East Retford was this year brought to a conclusion. Ministerial partiality for the landed interest carried the day against the claims of Birmingham to the proposed transfer of the two seats. The peccant little borough was not after all disfranchised, but escaped with the milder punishment of an increase in the number of its voters. The limits of the borough were enlarged for election purposes by annexing to it neighbouring rural districts. The new voters thus added to the constituency were tenants on the property of the duke of Newcastle. The name of this nobleman chanced then to be in the worst possible odour with reformers. The liberal press was ringing with comments on his high and mighty notions of the right of landlords to control the votes of their tenantry. A petition complaining of his oppressive conduct in this respect was then before parliament, and formed the text of a debate that went far towards settling the great question of improved representation. The duke owned most of the property in and near Newark, where he had always been accustomed to appoint the representatives. Besides his own freehold in the town, he held on a long lease from the crown nine hundred and sixty acres of the surrounding land, which he sublet in numerous small holdings. The more effectually to keep the voters under his power, he never gave a lease for more than one year. At the last election, which was contested, the usual penalty of ejectment had been enforced against supporters of the opposition candidate. The times, however, were favourable for a stand against the old abuse of territorial influence. The Newark electors, under guidance of Sergeant Wylde, the defeated candidate, petitioned parliament, and made a strong point of the fact that crown property, leased to the duke, was perverted to purposes of political partizanship in controlling the votes of those resident upon it. The duke scouted the imputation of injustice. It was true he had thrust out tenantry who voted against his wishes. He would always punish refractory tenants in the same fashion. This he held to be an inalienable right of property. "May I not do what I like with my own?" was the concise and significant expression of his amazement at the talk which was now everywhere going forward at his expense. This pithy assertion of property in the votes of his tenants acquired forthwith a proverbial application, but in a sense the reverse of that intended by the indignant duke. He and too many landowners of the time, including the chiefs of the administration, believed that England would cease to be a desirable place of residence when poor men should dare to vote otherwise than as their landlords dictated. The Yankee who deplored the departing freedom of his native land, under a condition of things which curbed his longing to "wallop his own nigger," was not without his counterpart in the old country at so recent a period as the two reigns preceding that of Queen Victoria. Even Peel, the most eminent for genius, generosity of sentiment, and far-reaching sagacity of all the members of Wellington's cabinet, was not ashamed to defend the whole transaction against which the Newark petition was directed. He held that "the lease which his grace the duke of Newcastle possessed of this crown land gave him a right to deal with it as with any other portion of his possessions during that period; and in dealing with the property of the crown as with his own, it was obvious that he committed no breach of privilege. * * * He could not say that the duke did not dispossess these tenants; but without entering into that question, he would say, that superior to the privileges of that House were other considerations to which they were bound in duty and conscience to defer, namely, the rights of property. If they were to control the rights of property, under the idea that those rights had been exercised in controlling an election, a precedent would be set which might be not merely inconvenient, but positively dangerous; for nothing could be more mischievous than to say, they would not suffer any tenant to be dispossessed who had voted in opposition to his landlord's wishes. It was in vain that honourable gentlemen exclaimed against the influence which any peer derived from the possession of property; there was no difference between that and the influence which any other great landed proprietor enjoyed, nor could any species of reform exclude such influence. Property, he contended, should always have its influence in that House, no matter whether it was in the hands of peer or commoner." According to this confession of political faith, to force the votes of electors, regardless of their likes and dislikes, is a legitimate exercise of property rights. Such plain speaking proved most convincing, but not in the sense contemplated by its utterers. Their determined resistance to the claims of Birmingham and the other great unrepresented towns, was only another form of opposition to rank popular election and downright representation, such as would ordinarily take effect in large constituencies, free from the constraint of aristocratic influences.

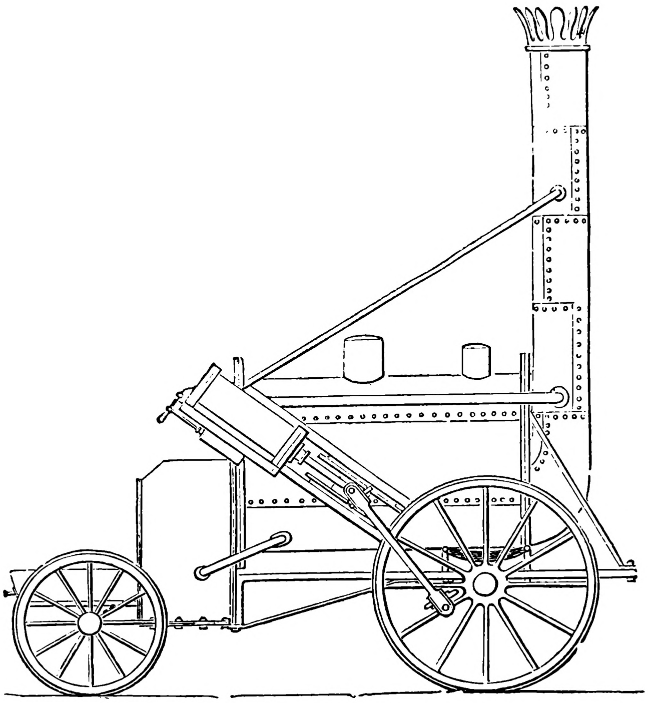
The advanced reformers turned to account the third reading of the East Retford bill as a means of ventilating the ballot question. They brought forward an amendment which proposed to guard the new constituency from the tyranny of the duke of Newcastle by the security of the ballot. This amendment formed the text for the first debate on secret voting that had yet occurred in the imperial parliament. In the somewhat remote past the question had certainly attracted notice in the parliament of England, and in very recent times it had reappeared in the literature of the day. Old records show that the ballot was used for the election of aldermen of the city of London as far back as 1626. Eleven years later, Charles I., vexed at his failure to foist a nominee of his own into one of the city companies, issued—under the promptings of those ultra-absolute instincts which proved fatal to his race—an order in council breathing vengeance against ballot-boxes and their abettors. The Long Parliament negatived by a considerable majority a motion for the adoption of the ballot in parliamentary elections. In 1710 a ballot bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. Some of the petitions for parliamentary reform in after times revived the question, but no parliamentary discussion thereupon is to be found in the proceedings of the six score years ending with the debate now under notice. The amendment under which it was proposed to protect the East Retford electors from the oppression which provoked the Newark petition, was thrown out by a large majority. The bulk of the reform party withheld their votes, under the persuasion that so large a question as the ballot ought to be dealt with in a general measure, and not by the side wind of an amendment affecting a single constituency only.

Lord John Russell renewed his efforts on behalf of the three great manufacturing towns, Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham, in respect to which the proposal had hitherto been that the franchise should be conferred when there were seats to be disposed of in consequence of the disfranchisement of corrupt boroughs. He now claimed for these towns that their fitness to be represented should be treated apart from the question of the good or bad conduct of other constituencies; and that in accordance with the old practice of parliament, the privilege of representation should be conferred on them in consideration of their growth in wealth and population. After a full statement, exhibiting the huge growth of the towns in question, he added, "that he could see no reason why so many citizens and so much wealth should remain unrepresented, when the principle as well as the practice of our constitution had pointed out the manner of admitting them into parliament." So safe and moderate a measure of reform ought not, he argued, to alarm the most timid; but, on the contrary, should be received joyfully by the most determined enemies of dangerous innovation. Glancing at the aspect of affairs in France, where a collision was evidently approaching between royal authority and popular resistance, unless some concession were offered in satisfaction of reasonable demands, he urged the friends of liberty without disorder, and of peace without slavery, to profit by the warning, and awaken in time to the duty of accommodating the mechanism of our representative system to altered times and circumstances, and to render it worthy of the respect and affection of the people. Huskisson supported the motion in a speech noteworthy as the last he ever made in the House on the question of parliamentary reform. He held almost identical notions with the old Tories in reference to the dangers to flow from any change in the mode of choosing the people's branch of the legislature. He had, however, moved somewhat with the times, and held now that the three great towns in question should be treated as exceptional cases, in consideration of their wealth and importance. But to a more extensive parliamentary reform—"a measure founded on a general revision, reconstruction, and remodelling of the present constitution"—he would continue to give, as he had ever given, his "most decided opposition." From such a large change as he deprecated he conceived that the consequence would be an overthrow of the constitution, "followed by a complete confusion and anarchy, terminating first in the tyranny of a fierce democracy, and then in that of a military despotism." Taking the existing state of things as a whole, he was averse to any material change in it. The motion, with sundry kindred ones, was defeated, but such an awakening of the public mind promptly followed as promised an early reversal of the sentence, and soon verified Huskisson's prediction that ministers would be compelled to come down to the House with some measure of the sort, or to abandon office.

Some small law reforms were effected by a government bill this session. The number of judges was increased from twelve to fifteen, and the separate system of Welsh judicature came to an end, the principality being annexed to the English circuits. A better distribution of the Scottish judicial force was also brought into play. One of Peel's reforms in the criminal code dates from the same time. He carried a measure for restricting capital punishment, in cases of forgery, to a few of the worst forms of that offence, such as forgeries of the great or privy seals, wills, warrants on the public funds, and orders for the payment of money.

Several recent prosecutions, ordered by the premier, furnished matter for a debate in which heavy censure was levelled at the attorney-general and the principal members of the cabinet. The "Morning Journal," in its ultra-protestant animosity against the Catholic Emancipation Bill, indulged in a flighty and frothy extravagance of comment, which would have passed unheeded but for the hot war waged against that third-rate publication by the duke of Wellington. The editor was convicted of libel, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment, at the very time when similar prosecutions in Paris, instituted by the French prime minister, Prince Polignac, were calling forth the sympathies of the English press and people. The jealousy of both premiers towards the organs of public opinion, manifested by simultaneous prosecutions, seemed to indicate a conformity of views between the two governments, which was not calculated to content people on this side the Channel, at the very time when they were commiserating successive abridgments of popular rights in France.

The amount of business actually settled in this session of innumerable debates was so small as to provoke at the time the remark that no session since the first parliament had been less barren of performance. The state of the king's health afforded grounds for leaving in abeyance more than one question which might else have been worked out. A bulletin announced on the 15th of April that his majesty was suffering under a bilious attack, accompanied by difficulty in breathing. A succession of other notices of his condition followed in the ensuing ten weeks. In May, a message to both Houses intimated his majesty's loss of strength to an extent that hindered his signing public documents with his own hand. An Act was thereupon hurried through both Houses in the space of four days, authorizing the sign manual to be impressed with a stamp, in the presence of the king, by a person acting under his verbal instruction for each indorsement on paper or parchment. No document was to be stamped without having on it beforehand the signatures of three privy councillors, who were specially commissioned for the purpose. The illness soon afterwards presented a complication of gout, dropsy, and heart disease. The physicians at length, about a week before the end, made the king aware of the hopelessness of his case, and he received the announcement with resignation. His sufferings were often acute, and his moans could at times be heard by the sentinels on duty in the quadrangle of Windsor Castle. He retained to the latest gasp of failing breath an unimpaired consciousness, and engaged his thoughts on the concerns of hereafter. Dawn was just breaking on the 26th of June, when the sensation which he correctly interpreted as that of death stole over his frame. He was being assisted by a page in changing his position from a couch to a chair, when a sudden faintness with an unusual difficulty in breathing overtook him, and he exclaimed, in a startled tone, "O God! I am dying." Then, after two or three seconds, followed the scarcely audible whisper: "This is death!" Hardly were the words uttered, when George IV. ceased to live. He had almost completed his sixty-eighth year. His reign as king extended over ten and a half years nearly; his previous rule as regent covered other nine and a quarter of the years that count in the reign of his father. Great events lent a lustre to the period of his delegated trust, and his reign in full sovereignty was marked by achievements and social ameliorations of the first magnitude. His name is gilded with the glories that centre in England's monarch through the years of her pre-eminent influence over the fate of Europe. But it cannot be said that he contributed to those great deeds that yielded him a splendid tribute of renown among contemporary rulers. Praise cannot be given him for public events in the accomplishment of which he took no part. He stands to them, as was said by one of the historians of his reign, merely in the light of a chronological mark, showing to posterity when certain memorable transactions were enacted. Upon the great questions of civil and religious freedom, which stirred society to its depths, he sided uniformly and ardently with the foes to enfranchisement and progress. If, however, no credit attaches to him for such enlargements of the bounds of liberty as date from his reign, neither on the other hand can it be said that he ever strained the prerogative, or tampered, like his predecessor, with his hereditary councillors, to influence or intimidate them in the discharge of their legislative duties. Unqualified praise is due to his enlightened and generous patronage of literature and the fine arts. The Royal Society of Literature, the National Gallery, and the British Institution of Painters found in him a munificent patron. He presented to the nation the eighty-five thousand volumes forming that section of the British Museum which is known as George III.'s library. Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle are rich in the dainty sculptures and choice pictures which his exquisite taste and unstinting expenditure drew together. Lawrence, Wilkie, Nash, Westmacott, Canova, Chantrey, with many of their gifted brethren, received at his hands most liberal encouragement. Moore and Scott, among other representatives of light and elegant literature, were welcomed to the royal table, and shared in other ways the countenance and patronage of the crown. In the later years of his life, when broken health subdued his inborn gaiety of temperament and blunted his zest for pleasurable excitement, he shunned society. Throughout his reign he rarely graced with his presence the opening or closing of the parliamentary session, but delegated the reading of his speeches to the chancellor. Windsor forest with its lake, Virginia Water, was his favourite resort for outdoor recreation. Many of the chief embellishments of the castle and its magnificent domain date from his reign. Earlier pages of this work present the adverse verdict which must be pronounced on his moral character. His prodigality, even down to the age of waning manhood, was reckless, unceasing, and shameless. His debts, while yet a young man, and before his marriage, were scandalous alike for their magnitude and for the forms of extravagance which occasioned them. His failings under this head were the less excusable from the fact that his current income was greater than that of any earlier or later heir-apparent to the British throne. He offended the moral sense of the nation by a systematic violation of the duties of domestic life, even in the first months of his marriage, as well as through long years before and after, when he abandoned himself to unbounded licentiousness and dissipation. The most unmitigated and exacting selfishness was prominent among the unamiable traits in his character. His intellectual qualities screened, however, in a great measure, the vices and shortcomings which it was past their power to redeem. Up to the time when age and premature infirmity denied him enjoyment in his old dissipations, and urged him to the life of a recluse, he was genial, graceful, witty, quick, lively, endowed with an exquisite taste for music, and an intuitive judgment in the fine arts generally. The duke of Wellington said of him—but this was at the first meeting of parliament after the death of the king—"The manners of George IV. had received a polish, his understanding had acquired a degree of cultivation, almost unknown to any individual. On every occasion he displayed a degree of knowledge and of talent not often to be expected of a person holding his high office." On a similar occasion, in the Commons, Peel ventured to assert that he was not overstepping the bounds of sober truth in stating that his majesty had ever been an enlightened friend of liberty. Certain it is that there were no repinings at the close, any more than there were public rejoicings at the opening, of that reign in which the wishes of the sovereign ran almost uniformly counter to the wishes of the people. Never had British loyalty to the throne ebbed so low as under a king, the best legislation of whose reign was effected against his will, and in a period when prolonged and severe distresses among the ranks of industry were mocked by an unexampled profusion and an oriental magnificence on the part of the monarch. The ten years' reign was throughout a period of transition, in which the elements of a new and better order of things were ever in restless ferment. The party of progress, though never in the actual ascendant, carried great social and political changes step by step, and though often stayed, were never thrust back. The law reforms were multitudinous, and left their mark on most years of the period, as will appear in a subsequent chapter. The cheats and delusions that bolstered up a host of petted interests, and lifted the prices of all commodities to an artificial level, were laid bare, and the first steps taken towards freeing commerce and industry from trammels that thwarted their expansion and narrowed their benefits. The prolonged and heated strife on the civil disabilities attaching to Catholics and other dissenters from the established church ended in the conversion of the most powerful opponents of emancipation. The high individual ascendancy, and indomitable personal resolution of the duke of Wellington, long the sturdiest opponent of the Catholic claims, secured to the Liberals a victory which they had no hope of achieving under guidance of their own chiefs. Finally, the judgment of the country, enlightened by teachings which the governing classes had frowned down through half a century, was at length brought round to the conviction that a great political reform had become the first need of the time, and the new reign now to commence quickly worked out the conviction into practical results.



THE ROCKET.

SECTION IV.

William IV.—1830-37.

Prince William, duke of Clarence, the third son of George III., was verging on the age of sixty-five when he became king in succession to George IV. His biography, up to the date of his accession to the throne, is almost void of incidents of public concernment. He entered the navy in 1779, when fourteen years old, and in the following year, while a midshipman in the ill-starred Royal George, served under Rodney in blockading operations off Cadiz, and in the subsequent relief of Gibraltar. Favoured by the customary good fortune of sailor princes, his professional advancement was nowise tardy. He passed, in nine years, through all the grades of promotion up to the rank of rear-admiral. Thenceforward, however, he saw hardly any service afloat. He aspired to high command in the stirring times of the great war; but king and ministers had learnt caution from the disastrous failures of his soldier brother, the duke of York, and the prince admiral was thus denied the chance of winning laurels in his profession. His name figured as commander of the escorting squadron which conveyed Louis XVIII. from England to France, after the first overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte, in 1814. In 1827 the office of lord-high-admiral was revived in his person. In the next year, however, the Wellington ministry were constrained to tighten the national purse-strings against the profuse outlay indulged in by his royal highness on naval pageants, progresses, fêtes, and other costly entertainments. His resignation followed immediately on the disallowance by the treasury of some heavy items of disbursement incurred in such exercises of his supposed powers as supreme head of the naval forces. Before the years in which his accession assumed the form of a likely event, Prince William was perhaps the most popular member of the royal family, if we except his father and the Princess Charlotte, his niece. The untimely death of the latter, in 1817, brought her uncles into that nearer expectancy to the throne which was now at length realized in the actual accession of William. At the dawn of his reign, the contrast offered between his own winning manifestation of an earnest desire to be in thorough accord with his people, and the recluse, not to say morose habits, that marked the later years of his predecessor's reign, told largely to his advantage in popular estimation. He won golden opinions by his frank and sailor-like directness, coupled with never-failing good humour and affability. In respect to his political opinions, too, though these had never been strongly pronounced, it was known that he entertained none of that horror of change which characterized several of his brothers. He exhibited from the outset more concern for the general contentment and well-being of the people at large, than for the maintenance of privileged ranks in their old oligarchical ascendancy. Though an old man when he came to the throne, he was neither bodily decrepit, nor soured in temper, nor broken in constitution, like his predecessor. Hence the task of cultivating the affection of his subjects was nowise irksome to him, while to them his evident desire to please was highly gratifying. He found, doubtless, more happiness in his seven years' reign, than fell to his brother in a rule extending, with the regency, to nearly thrice that period. Before his marriage, in 1818, with Adelaide of Saxe-Meinengen, he had, like his brothers, indulged in an illicit attachment; such, however, as, in his time, was not thought disparaging to the character of a prince. Mrs. Jourdan, a noted actress, fixed his affections in a twenty years' intimacy, and a numerous offspring was the result. His marriage, at the age of fifty-three, was prompted by the risk of failure of heirs to the throne in succession to the sons and daughters of George III., for on the death of the Princess Charlotte, only child of the regent, no other grandchild of lawful birth remained to the old king. The duchess of Clarence bore two children before she became queen, but these died in the dawn of their infancy, and the prospect of further issue had waned away before the new reign began, thus leaving the Princess Victoria, daughter of the duke of Kent, next in the line of succession after her uncle, King William.

The beginning of the new reign was unmarked by changes in the cabinet, and all the other great posts that fall vacant when the sovereign dies were forthwith restored to their late possessors. On the day after he was proclaimed, the new king sent a message to parliament, which spoke of the loss he and the country had sustained, and recommended that recourse should be had without delay to a general election, in accordance with precedent at the opening of a new reign. To the first part of this message an address of condolence on the bereavement, and of congratulation on the accession, was carried in both Houses with decorous unanimity. On the question of an immediate dissolution, however, there was less mutual accord between ministerialists and opposition. The king was old, and the heir-apparent was a minor of tender age. In the interval between the session now ending and the reassembling of the new parliament late in the year, a demise of the crown might again occur, and the sovereign power would in that case lapse into the hands of a child—the Princess Victoria. Her oldest uncle, the duke of Cumberland, would at the same moment succeed to the throne of Hanover, which was limited to male heirs. The fact of his being next of kin was held by many to give him a claim to the regency of the British empire during the minority of his niece. In other words, the king of a foreign country would be regent here.

The duke had always been the least popular member of the royal family, and there was ground to fear that his rule as regent would scarcely be tolerated, much less liked. It was, however, unquestionably within the competence of the three estates, in settling a scheme of regency, to pass him over, and the only difficulty to be feared was a demise of the crown before the passing of a regency bill. On these grounds opposition held that parliament ought not to disperse without passing such a measure. Ministers on the contrary held that his majesty's sound state of health was a sufficient answer to the plea of urgency, and carried their point of shelving the question until after the assembling of the new parliament. The debate and the division list on this affair showed that the Whigs were now tired of a partnership that offered them no share in the sweets of office in requital for their late services. Notes of warning had gone forth earlier in the session, intimating that Whig support to a Tory cabinet must cease, unless further progressive measures, in satisfaction of long outstanding claims of the reform party, were speedily forthcoming; and unless some of the leaders on the liberal side were entrusted with high office. But the duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel—the leader in the Commons had lately succeeded his father in the baronetcy—entertained no thought of further concession to popular demands. They moreover relied on winning back the sturdy phalanx of Tory adherents who had deserted their banners on the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, and with the renewed allegiance of their ancient following, the need of help from the opposition camp would no longer exist. At the close of the session, therefore, the two parties were again in fighting attitude. On the 23rd of July, the king in person prorogued parliament, and next day it was dissolved by proclamation. The writs for the new elections were forthwith issued, and a political contest, the most exciting and conclusive of any heretofore decided at the hustings, engrossed the thought of the nation through the remainder of the summer.

Great events in Paris in the closing days of July, 1830, exerted a marked influence on the elections for the first parliament of William IV.'s reign. Charles X., who succeeded his brother, Louis XVIII. in 1824, and whose six years' reign had been chiefly occupied in efforts to curtail the liberties of the people, and to exalt the royal authority, ventured at length on some extreme measures that would, if successful, have utterly subverted the national liberties. A new chamber of deputies had lately been elected, and was to assemble in the capital for its first session in August. Most of the government candidates had failed to secure seats. It was certain the ministerial following would be greatly outnumbered in any attempt at further legislation of a repressive kind. It was further beyond question that nine-tenths of the population detested this ministry. Instead of changing his advisers, the king determined to set aside the constitution. Three ordinances, published in the "Moniteur" of the 26th of July, announced the royal purpose. The first of these prohibited the issue of any newspaper or other printed matter, except on conditions which destroyed all freedom of the press. The second dissolved the new chamber of deputies before it had once met. The third swept away the right of voting from three-fourths of the existing body of electors. These daring usurpations provoked an immediate outbreak that proved fatal to their authors. Paris rose in arms on the 27th. There were scarcely more than ten thousand troops at hand to cope with the insurrection. A three days' conflict raged in the heart of the city, in which about four thousand citizens and soldiers fell. Victory remained with the people, and the beaten troops passed over to their side. The leaders in this successful revolt were the editors of the chief papers and about thirty deputies who had just come up for the work of the approaching session. The hottest fighting as in earlier and later Parisian outbreaks, was in and about the Hôtel de Ville and the Tuileries —those historic edifices which, among a score of the greatest glories of the French capital, perished in the burnings to which a hellish vengeance moved the despairing Communists on the collapse of their insurrection in 1871. Throughout all the departments overwhelming majorities declared against the government. Nowhere was any effort made to rescue the tottering cause of the king. The defection of soldiers and people was as entire as that which accomplished the bloodless English revolution of 1688. The king betook himself stealthily to the coast and escaped to England. After a short sojourn at Lulworth, on the Dorset coast, he settled again, as in his first exile, at Edinburgh. His residence was Holyrood Palace, the ancient home of another royal race, resembling his own in those towering notions of kingly rights, which in each case led to inroads on the liberties of the people, and provoked the similar retribution of banishment. The chamber of deputies meanwhile had met on the last day of July, and voted that the decree ordering their dissolution, being an infraction of the charter, was of no legal force, and that their assembly was legally constituted. They then passed resolutions excluding Charles X. and his descendants from the throne, and appointing Louis Philippe, duke of Orleans, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, pending the settlement of a permanent form of government. This duke, who was the head of the younger branch of the Bourbon dynasty, was identified, like his father, in the first revolutionary period, with the popular side in most of the vexed questions touching the limits of authority on the one hand, and national liberties on the other. His first official address to the Parisians was a proclamation notifying his acceptance of the post of provisional governor, and ending with the pledge, "Henceforth the charter will be a truth." Then followed the offer of the throne to Louis Philippe, with hereditary succession to his descendants. He accepted the trust on terms set forth in an amended charter of French liberties. This charter largely increased the number of electors, strengthened the democratic element, and curtailed the regal authority. The new electoral system followed the English model in its weak as well as in its strong points, so the copy as well as the original had soon to be rectified. The voters for all France were fewer than one hundred thousand out of a population of thirty-two millions, until the property qualification was reduced, in 1831, to a point that more than doubled the constituencies. But under the law of inheritance in France, where each child shares alike in the property of the father, the diminution in the value of each separate holding soon reduced the number of voters, until the electoral colleges, as French constituencies were called, became like the old nomination or pocket boroughs of England, a plastic material in the hands of wealthy candidates or government nominees. These, and other defects afterwards brought to light, were, however, but trivial blemishes comparatively in the framework of a political system which reconciled liberty and authority to an extent never before experienced in France.

The despotic acts which had provoked the insurrection of Paris were so glaringly indefensible as to have placed the government of the late king completely in the wrong in the judgment of Europe at large. In comparison with earlier outbreaks against overstrained authority, there was everything to praise and nothing to blame in this last stand for constitutional liberty. The sympathy and admiration of neighbouring nations were the more pronounced from the moderate use the people made of victory. In no country was the event noted with a keener interest than in England, where the elections for the new parliament came off just after the rising in Paris had sent its thrill as from an electric shock throughout Europe. Parliamentary reform stood first and last among topics at hustings speeches. Angry and earnest threats arose in the great towns that the Paris insurrection would have its counterpart on this side the Channel if the rights of the nation were much longer usurped by a privileged aristocracy. The largest and freest constituencies invited prominent reformers to represent them. Brougham was elected for Yorkshire, without effort on his own part. Hume was returned for Middlesex. Scores of ministerial adherents lost their seats, and opposition candidates gained all the largest constituencies. No member of the cabinet secured a seat for any place except where it was only in merest mockery the elections were "free and independent." So strong was the current of hostile feeling against the existing administration, that of the eighty-two members retained for English counties, the great preserves of Toryism, forty-seven were declared opponents, seven were neutral, and only twenty-eight were pronounced adherents of the ministry. Out of twenty-eight members representing thirteen of the largest cities and boroughs, twenty-four were avowed opponents of the administration. The pensioners and placemen, however, stood at the formidable number of two hundred and nineteen, and there were more than one hundred and twenty naval and military officers, of whom a large proportion would be steady adherents of the system which had served their interests. The great families, with their vested interest in close boroughs, were represented in the return of upwards of two hundred and fifty relations of peers. The defections from the old Tory banners were nevertheless striking and extensive, indicating unmistakably a turn in public sentiment favourable to a trial of new men and new measures. Parliamentary reform found favour at last among ranks that had always hitherto steadfastly withstood every proposal in that direction.

Before the opening of the autumnal session which was to inaugurate the great changes foreshadowed by the result of the elections, the hopes and fears hinging on that event were hushed awhile into startled abeyance. Night after night, from the end of harvest onwards till after the dawn of the new year, incendiary fires reddened the sky in most of the southern and some of the midland English counties. Incredible quantities of grain and fodder perished under the vengeful stroke of lurking incendiaries. Emboldened by the alarm their secret ravages occasioned, the spoilers soon gathered in bands, and daringly ravaged and burned, in open daylight, granaries, flour-mills, ricks, and farm-buildings. Threshing-machines, and other kinds of agricultural implements that came in competition with hand labour, were the special objects of attack. No insurance office would take the risk of business during this rick-burning season with farmers who owned the unpopular machines. The destructive mania made its first appearance in Kent, whence it rapidly extended into Surrey, Hants, Sussex, Bucks, and further inland. It was the malicious and idiotic fight of a half-employed and ill-paid peasantry, who were in excess of the demand for labour. The military were brought to bear on the rioters, and large numbers were imprisoned. A special commission, early next year, doomed some of them to the gallows, and many more to penal servitude in convict settlements.

The autumn of this year witnessed the beginning of railway travelling. The Liverpool and Manchester railway—the first line used for passenger traffic—was opened in September, 1830. Its immediate and enormous success stimulated similar enterprises in all directions, at home and abroad. Myriads of the rural population found in these gigantic undertakings well-paid employment, such as had not before been known in the ranks of diggers and delvers, hedgers and ditchers; and productive industry in a hundred channels was awakened to new enterprises in all parts of the kingdom, leading to a prosperous condition in the working masses passing all previous example. The opening was to have been marked by a festive celebration, but a sad accident cast a sudden gloom over the gathering guests and spoilt the anticipated pleasure. On the first journey of the freighted train from Liverpool towards Manchester a stoppage was made at Parkfield, where some of the company got out and walked on the line. Among the number was Mr. Huskisson, who, while standing on the step of a carriage, talking to the duke of Wellington, who was seated inside, was startled by the cry, "Get in, get in," mingled with the noise of an approaching engine on the up line. Confused and unnerved by the alarm, the unfortunate gentleman failed to resume his place in time. The Rocket engine—that pioneer locomotive now to be seen in the South Kensington Museum—struck him, and inflicted injuries under which life ebbed away in the course of a few hours. The life thus suddenly and sadly closed, at the very dawn of a new era of social and political progress, was that of an eminently practical, though not a brilliant statesman. To Huskisson belongs the credit of helping a great onward movement of which railways were one of the outward and visible expressions. The foundations of an unprecedented material prosperity were his handiwork. As a politician, however, he had already played his part in reconciling his contemporaries to the midway stage between free trade and the delusions of protection. In the great question then ripening for settlement—the reconstruction of the people's branch of the legislature—Huskisson, to the end of his days, was opposed to the desire which had at length grown to be that of an overwhelming majority of his countrymen.

The new parliament began work on the 2nd of November. The royal speech, delivered by the king in person, was deeply interesting both for its matter and its significant omissions. Continental affairs, especially those of France, Portugal, and the Netherlands, occupied a disproportionate part of the speech. Friendly relations subsisted with the new dynasty in France. The prospect of a renewal of amicable relations with Portugal was improving. His majesty lamented that the Belgians had revolted from their sovereign, the king of the Netherlands, and his concern on this head was further expressed in a statement that he would endeavour to devise means, in concert with his allies, for restoring tranquillity in Belgium. It was recommended that early provision should be made for a regency, in case of the accession of the Princess Victoria while under age. The civil list, including all the hereditary revenues enjoyed by the late king, was surrendered to the consideration and disposal of his majesty's faithful Commons, whose dutiful attachment was relied upon for making a suitable provision for the maintenance of the dignity of the crown. Disturbances and destructive violence, such as had lately spread alarm through the country, were to be sternly repressed by every resource which the law and the constitution afforded. The institutions of the country were to be maintained unimpaired in the condition that had so long assured the happiness and prosperity of the great mass of his majesty's loyal and affectionate subjects. Within living memory, no speech from the throne had ever run so strongly counter to the demands of the time and the force of public sentiment; yet the premier hastened, as it were, to intensify its offensiveness by that memorable declaration against reform, which brought the point to an issue with scarcely the delay of an hour from the opening of the debate on the address. Earl Grey began the discussion by urging ministers to take to heart the momentous lessons taught by recent convulsions in several continental states. The signs of the times pointed clearly to the immediate concession of moderate reforms in the representation of the people as the indispensable condition of securing public tranquillity. The duke instantly scouted this prudent counsel, in terms that leave no room to doubt his usual sagacity utterly failed him in comprehending the urgency of the crisis, the justice of the popular demand, the safety of the experiment, and the reality of the grievances then claiming the exertion of his practical statesmanship. "The noble earl," said the premier, "has alluded to the propriety of effecting parliamentary reform. . . . I have never heard or read of any measure, up to the present moment, which could in any degree satisfy my mind that the state of the representation could be improved, or be rendered more satisfactory to the country at large, than at the present moment. I would not, however, at such an unseasonable time enter upon the subject or excite discussion, but I shall not hesitate to declare unequivocally what are my sentiments upon it. I am fully convinced that the country possesses at the present moment a legislature which answers all the good purposes of legislation, and this to a greater degree than any legislature ever has answered in any country whatever. I will go further, and say that the legislature and the system of representation possess the full and entire confidence of the country—deservedly possess that confidence; and the discussions in the legislature have a very great influence over the opinions of the country. I will go still further, and say, that if at the present moment I had imposed upon me the duty of forming a legislature for any country, and particularly for a country like this, in possession of great property of various descriptions, I do not mean to assert that I would form such a legislature as we possess now, for the nature of man is incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but my great endeavour would be to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results. The representation of the people at present contains a large body of the property of the country, in which the landed interest has a preponderating influence. Under these circumstances I am not prepared to bring forward any measure of the description alluded to by the noble lord; not only am I not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but I will at once declare that, as far as I am concerned, as long as I hold any station in the government of the country, I shall always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others." This string of unyielding, unconciliatory, and defiant utterances alarmed the duke's friends and elated his opponents; for it was at once patent to all that a statesman entertaining convictions so utterly at variance with the prevailing public sentiment of the time could not remain many days at the head of the government. The speech was everywhere denounced as an outrage on the common sense of the nation. The duke became at once the most unpopular man in the realm. The king and queen were to have gone in state, accompanied by leading members of the cabinet, to the lord mayor's banquet at Guildhall, on the 9th of November. But the wrath and popular excitement occasioned by the premier's declaration against reform alarmed the civic authorities with the prospect of some unseemly demonstration, which, in a nocturnal assemblage of huge multitudes, might grow into a serious tumult. Warnings were sent that a military escort of unusual strength would be needed to secure the premier from an attack intended to be made on him. The king, on the advice of his ministers, put off the visit, and an official notification was sent from the home secretary to the lord mayor, explaining that the postponement was a necessary precaution in the face of ominous risks of tumult and confusion. The publication of this letter gave rise to further disquietude and not a little consternation, for it was held likely that ministers were scared from the visit by the discovery of a great conspiracy, and that a rising of the London populace was at hand. Extra guards at the Bank of England, the billeting of troops in suburban localities, and the rumour of precautions taken to increase the security of the Tower in case of an onset by the mob, heightened the fears already awakened by the abandonment of the royal visit. Mercantile confidence was seriously disturbed, and government securities fell nearly three per cent. These alarms, however, were soon seen to be unfounded, and the funds resumed at once their former level. Debates in both Houses on the untoward incident gave scope for telling contrasts between the king's great popularity and the marked disesteem into which the head of the administration had lapsed. Mr. Brougham attributed nine-tenths of the premier's unpopularity to "that speech from the throne, which had been followed up by a still more fatal declaration against every species of reform." He "wished he had not lived to see the day when the brilliant and imperishable renown of his grace, as a general and a conqueror, was coupled with a deviation from his proper sphere into the labyrinth of politics, and an attempt to shine as a great statesman; the day when the forgetfulness of the people to the merits of the soldier, and the forgetfulness of the soldier to his own sphere of greatness, showed to Europe and to the world that he could not accompany his majesty on a journey into the hearts of an attached and loyal population." Mr. Brougham had already given notice, before the address was moved in the Commons on the king's speech, that on the 16th of November he would submit a motion for a change in the representation of the people, taking his stand "on the ancient way of the constitution;" his aim being, as he phrased it, "not revolution, but restoration; to repair the constitution, not to pull it down." The cabinet must have been beaten in the battle on this motion, had their fate not been decided on an earlier issue. On the day before that appointed for the reform debate, the chancellor of the exchequer attempted to get the vote of the House in favour of the new civil list, amounting to 970,000*l.* Many of the items were thought excessive, and parts of the estimate were confused or obscure. On these grounds Sir H. Parnell, an old financial reformer, moved that the list be referred to a select committee, for inquiry and report. Ministers opposed, but the point was carried against them by a majority of two hundred and thirty-three against two hundred and four. Next day both Houses were told that, in consequence of this adverse vote, ministers had tendered to the king their resignations, and continued to hold office only until the appointment of their successors. Both the premier and Sir R. Peel subsequently admitted what was widely surmised, though not expressed in the first instance, that the greater defeat awaiting them on the reform resolution had more to do with their relinquishment of office than the civil list business. The duke more than once afterwards filled office as a cabinet minister, and down to the close of his long life, even when not in office, his counsels were often in request: they were always at the service of royalty or of the ministry of the day, whether Conservative or Liberal. The fall of a ministry, or a dead lock in the working of an administration, or any event that clogged the wheels of government, were the occasions on which the public grew accustomed to the announcement that the duke had been "sent for." But his fierce hostility to the reform movement drew upon him during the heat of the contest a heavy load of unpopularity, and caused regrets to be vented on all sides that he had ever ventured into the troubled waters of party politics, whereby for a time he made shipwreck of the great popularity acquired as leader and conqueror in the greatest warfare the world had yet seen. Though far below the mark of a great statesman, as he knew thoroughly well, his settlement of two of the three great questions that pressed for decision during his term of office, gives him the title to higher praise than is commonly awarded to his political services. When the third of these perplexing controversies was finally disposed of, the people quickly forgot or forgave the aged warrior's sturdy fight against their claims to an extended and real voice in the choice of representatives.

With the close of Wellington's three years' premiership ended that almost uninterrupted supremacy of the Tories, which began seventy years before, on the accession of George III. The decline of their credit with the nation had kept pace with the spread of information. In the past twenty years there had been a continual succession of damaging exposures of abuses in the public service, in charitable foundations, in chartered companies, in the management of the public revenue, in the law courts, in the management of the property of the crown and the disposal of its revenues. Public money was lavishly wasted in the maintenance of useless sinecures, and the payment of unmerited pensions. These and similar corrupt practices in the distribution of church and corporate property, had at length convinced the nation that government, whether central, corporate, or local, political or ecclesiastical, concerned itself far more on behalf of office-bearers than of the community at large. It was notorious that these manifold corruptions and abuses were always excused, or palliated, or even openly defended in the House of Commons by the relations and dependants of the peers and other great landowners who owned or controlled the pocket boroughs. The ministry that had just sunk under a weight of discredit was deemed pure in comparison with every other since the Revolution. Yet some of its members, at a time when their chief was strenuously lopping off needless expenditure, shocked the country by the shameless greed with which they sought heavy pensions in favour of their sons, after short and light or merely nominal services, in offices created expressly for their benefit. Ministers of this stamp, together with the swarm of office-bearers and expectants whose gains would be swept away by the correction of prevalent abuses, dreaded reform as they might have dreaded a deluge. The colonial secretary in Wellington's cabinet, without venturing the length his chief had gone in praise of the existing order of things, held that the concession of a voice in the legislature to Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds would be "a *violent* proceeding." Land and its owners, in the view of these anti-reformers, were the only interests fit to hold a commanding influence in the government of the nation. Hence the most glaring deformities in the representation were the true beauty spots in their political vision. The representation "could not be improved;" the mouldering mounds of Old Sarum, encircling a patch of bare ground that yielded neither sustenance nor shelter to a human being, gave its owner a better title to choose members of parliament than Eldon, Sidmouth, Perceval, Castlereagh, Liverpool, Canning, Peel, and Wellington could perceive in the rival claims of the thriving and populous seats of the great staple industries of the nation. The generation two removes from the time when the British empire was governed on the political system represented by these historic names, finds difficulty in respecting an ancestry that could live under the narrow rule of an exclusive and intensely selfish class legislation.

This fall of stilted Toryism from its high estate turned out to be final. Tories ceased to plume themselves on their name, and became, indeed, ashamed of it. When later representatives of the old stock ventured again to bid for power, it was under more modest pretensions, and with the new title of Conservatives. One of the sweet uses of adversity was to instruct them in a more rational political creed than that which had at length ceased for ever to be the controlling force in English politics.

Earl Grey, the veteran chief of the reform party, was now called as if by common consent to fill the post of premier. The king readily agreed to the condition that reform should forthwith be made a cabinet question. Mr. Brougham's eminence as a Whig chief, as the ardent and indefatigable promoter of every reform attempted since the dawn of the century, as the leader of his party in the Commons, and as a distinguished lawyer, gained for him the splendid reward of the lord-chancellorship, without the usual preliminary service as crown lawyer. The other chief posts in the government were distributed as follows:—chancellor of the exchequer and leader in the Commons, Lord Althorp; home secretary, Lord Melbourne; foreign secretary, Lord Palmerston; colonial secretary, Lord Goderich; president of the council, Lord Lansdowne; first lord of the admiralty, Sir James Graham; privy seal, Lord Durham; board of trade, Lord Auckland; chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, Lord Holland; war office, Mr. Wynne; postmaster-general, the duke of Richmond; board of control, Mr. C. Grant; commander-in-chief, Lord Hill; attorney-general, Mr. Denman; solicitor-general, Mr. Horne. Lord Anglesey again filled the post of viceroy in Ireland, with Mr. Stanley for chief secretary, and Lord Plunket as Irish chancellor. The earl of Carlisle had a seat in the cabinet, but without office. Lord John Russell, though his name had now been for ten years prominently before the public in connexion with parliamentary reform, was still regarded by his party as a man of such moderate powers, that the office of paymaster of the forces, without a seat in the cabinet, was deemed suitable to his moderate claims. The palace appointments fell, as matter of course, to Whig peers and peeresses. Lord Grey's old maxim of standing by his order was thought to be too steadfastly carried out in his choice of colleagues. Thirteen out of the fifteen cabinet ministers were peers br sons of peers. Most of these were of the old type of aristocratic Whigs; several half-way men, of the Canning type, formed an influential section of the cabinet. There was, however, a peculiar fitness, too, at that time in the aristocratic cast of this reform ministry, most of whose members had to make the very same sacrifices which their measure of reform exacted from the whole of the privileged order to which they belonged. The leaders were pledged before the world to the redress of grievances on a large and liberal scale, while the rank and file were generally acceptable, in public estimation, for their known progressive tendencies. On the completion of arrangements, the usual ministerial statements were offered. Extensive reforms in the institutions of the country, a severe economy in public expenditure, a reduction of taxes, with a foreign policy of peace and conciliation, formed the chief items of policy to be forthwith carried out.

The only parliamentary business of consequence disposed of before the end of the year was the regency bill. This measure provided that in the event of the princess Victoria coming to the throne during her minority, her mother, the duchess of Kent, was to be regent; and that the princess might not marry without consent of the king, or of both houses of parliament if he were not living at the time.

A Christmas recess of six weeks afforded opportunity to ministers to prepare the great measure to which they stood committed. That interval was a time of most anxious hopes and fears; but with a popular ministry, a king committed to their policy, and the seeming certainty of a speedy settlement of the long delayed reform, the mood of the nation, as represented by a greatly preponderating majority of all below the highest class, was one of joyful confidence in the issues of the early future. All the towns were astir with discussions on the forthcoming scheme. Political unions, in imitation of O'Connell's contrivances for furthering the claims of the Irish Catholics, had taken root of late years in many of the great centres of industry in England and Scotland. These now multiplied rapidly. Their influence in forming and directing public opinion grew to a pitch that must have alarmed any government not actuated by a feeling that the demands of such associations were such as ought to be yielded. Some members of the late government were oppressed with gloomiest forebodings that a democratic revolution was about to sweep with destructive violence over the land. The duke of Wellington, as stated by his biographer, Mr. Gleig, did not see how the reform cabinet could possibly carry on the government so as to maintain order at home and peace abroad. The duke held that "It was very well for Lord Grey to talk about standing out for reform, retrenchment, and non-intervention. Reform, as he calls it, he may or may not get. Retrenchment I'll defy him to carry further than we have done, unless he sacrifices the great institutions of the country. As to non-intervention, with all the sympathies of his party enlisted on the side of democracy, that is, in his case, impossible." * * * "What do you say," continued the ex-premier, "to their intimacy with the political unions? Do you think they will be able to lay the storm which they have raised in Birmingham, Leeds, and Glasgow? or prevent it from sweeping away all the safeguards of the constitution?" Similar gloomy forecasts were uttered by many other equally sincere and equally mistaken anti-reformers, who saw nothing, believed nothing, and prophesied nothing, but national ruin as the certain outcome of parliamentary reform. These, however, were no longer the views of the majority, even among the privileged classes. The political unions enlisted among their subscribers not only the higher order of non-electors, but wealthy capitalists, eminent bankers, merchants, manufacturers, members of parliament, and many country gentlemen. These new adherents to the people's cause openly declared that reform was the only way to escape that revolution which others of their order thought to prevent by refusing reform. The Birmingham political union had nine thousand subscribers on its roll. This and many similar centres of reform sent lecturers into the neighbouring towns and villages, to descant on the manifold abuses and corruptions which hung as a dead weight on the nation's progress, and to stimulate the earnest feeling already aroused in support of the promised redress of grievances.

The year 1831, from its earliest dawn till its latest hour, was thronged with excitements and surprises, that kept the public mind in a state of feverish commotion, without a single week of settled calm. Parliament reassembled on the 3rd of February, when both Houses were told that a bill to amend the representation was in readiness, and would be brought forward for the first reading in the Commons on the 1st of March. None of the provisions of the scheme were stated, but it was pronounced in general terms to be "effective, without exceeding the bounds of a just and well-advised moderation." It had been unanimously sanctioned by the cabinet, and the duty of introducing it had been entrusted to Lord John Russell, in consideration of his long and earnest devotion to the cause of parliamentary reform. So thoroughly was the thought of parliament and of the public engrossed in the one absorbing question, that scarcely any other business was attempted beyond the usual routine work of every session, such as passing the estimates. The budget came on at the early date of the 11th of February, ministers aiming to get it out of hand if practicable before the momentous question of the year came on for discussion. The pruning-knife of a rigid economy in all the spending departments had been used to such purpose by the late, as well as by the new administration, that a substantial surplus fell disposable. Reductions in taxes, to the amount of more than 4,000,000*l.*, added to the popularity of ministers, especially as the boon fell chiefly to the less flourishing contributors. The duties on coals, candles, printed cottons, and sundry other articles were abolished; those on tobacco, newspapers, and advertisements were lowered. New taxes, less burdensome to the community at large, were to replace some of the loss by remission. It was proposed to tax steamboat passengers and all transfers of funded property; but these items encountered much opposition, and were as promptly abandoned as Mr. Lowe's lucifer match tax forty years later. The duties on wine, timber, and raw cotton were increased. Many charges hitherto borne on the civil list, though nowise closely connected with the royal maintenance and dignity, were now brought within the yearly balance-sheet under parliamentary surveillance. The civil list, when thus relieved by transfers to other pages of the national balance-sheet, stood at little more than half a million yearly. An addition of more than ten thousand men to the land and sea forces came in as an awkward commentary on the ministerial programme of peace and retrenchment. But Ireland was again in a feverish state, and it was thought more than likely the rural districts of England would break out again in outrages, as in the previous autumn, unless these were forestalled by timely military precautions.

The anxiously expected reform bill was submitted on the 1st of March to a House thronged in all its benches, galleries, and approaches. The secret of the contemplated changes had been so well kept, that no one except the king and the cabinet entertained any definite idea of their drift, until Lord John Russell laid them before the House. The sweeping provisions of this government measure went beyond the wildest imaginings of its friends or the worst fears of its foes. Profound, therefore, were the sensations of contentment or dismay with which the different sections of the House and of the community at large, according as they were variously affected by the coming changes, received the announcement of the intentions of government. The people's branch of the legislature was henceforth to be chosen *by* the people, not *for* them. Representation was to take the place of nomination. The privileged few were to cease their domination; all interests were to share with land the control it had hitherto almost monopolized in framing the laws. Sham constituencies were to be cancelled, and real constituencies were to be called into being. Elections by narrow corporate bodies, equally with nominations by borough proprietors, were to cease.

In England and Wales alone—for Scotland and Ireland were to be dealt with by separate bills—sixty places with fewer than two thousand inhabitants were to be blotted out of the political system. The next grade of represented places, the towns and cities of not more than four thousand inhabitants, and which numbered close upon fifty, were to be restricted henceforth to one member each, instead of two as hitherto. Weymouth, in like manner, was called upon to give up two of its four seats. These disfranchisements yielded one hundred and sixty-eight seats for disposal. More new towns than had ever aspired to electoral privileges, and every county which by its wealth and population merited a greater share in legislative power than the sparsely peopled pastoral shires, came in prospectively for a share in the spoils. A reduction of sixty-two in the total number of members was proposed, the old number having often been objected to as unwieldy for business. The duration of parliament and the ballot were reserved for future treatment, the cabinet entertaining diverse views on those portions of the reform question. There were to be large creations of new voters. In boroughs, householders paying a yearly rental not under 10*l.*, and in counties, leaseholders paying 50*l.*, or copyholders of 10*l.*, were to have the franchise. To lessen the expense of elections, voters were to lose their votes on ceasing to reside within bounds, and the time for polling was to be limited to two days, instead of two weeks, as before. Scotland and Ireland were to be dealt with in a similar spirit.

The old total of voters was barely four hundred thousand. The increase under the bill would more than double the former aggregate. London, including its girdle of metropolitan boroughs, would have ninety-five thousand new voters; the counties, one hundred thousand; the towns already represented one hundred and ten thousand; new constituencies, fifty thousand; Scotland, sixty thousand; and Ireland, forty-six thousand. No compensation was to be given to owners of boroughs for the quashed privilege of nominating to seats, heretofore looked upon in the same light as the right of a patron to present an incumbent to a piece of church preferment. This feature of the scheme contrasted favourably with Pitt's proposal, nearly fifty years earlier, to buy up the pocket boroughs at an estimated cost of a million and a quarter; or with the actual expenditure of as large a sum in 1800, in buying off the political jobbers and borough-mongers, who withstood the union of the Irish with the British parliament. Lord John

Russell's revelation of the government plan, as was to be expected from his many years' labour in the cause, was marked by a minute knowledge of the subject in all its bearings. His speech, however, though crowded with points, and fortified with a solid array of arguments, fell below the level of so great an occasion. It was nowise eloquent, but the supreme importance of its matter, the accuracy, research, good sense, and good taste, that ran through the performance, atoned for the lack of oratorical graces, and helped the speaker onward towards that high position which he was yet to win in the government of the empire.

"No words," says Alison, the Conservative historian, "can convey an adequate idea of the astonishment which the announcement of this plan of reform created in the House of Commons and the country. Nothing approaching to it had ever been witnessed before, or has been since. Men's minds were prepared for a change, perhaps a very considerable one, especially in enfranchising new cities and towns which were unrepresented. But it never entered into the imagination of any human being out of the cabinet that so sweeping and entire a change would be proposed, especially by the king's ministers. The Tories had never dreaded such a revolution; the Radicals had never hoped for it. * * Had Sir Robert Peel, instead of permitting the debate to go on, instantly divided the House, on the plea that the proposed measure was too revolutionary to be for a moment entertained, leave to bring in the bill would have been refused by a large majority." The wish expressed in this last regretful utterance blinds, for the moment, the writer's mental vision to the consequences which must have followed success in such a movement on the part of the opposition leader. As Roebuck observes, in his "History of the Whig Ministry of 1830," so daring and insolent a disregard of popular opinion would have risked everything which Sir Robert Peel and every wise man held dear. Seventy members spoke in the memorable debate on the first reading, and seven long nights were occupied in it. The first reading was carried without a division on the 14th of March. Among men of mark who supported the bill were Macaulay, Hume, Sheil, O'Connell, Stanley, Graham, Hobhouse, Duncombe, Bulwer, and Denman, together with Lords Althorp, Morpeth, Ebrington, Tavistock, Palmerston, and Howick. The chief opponents who spoke were Inglis, Baring, Peel, Sibthorpe, North, Praed, Goulburn, Croker, Bankes, Ackland, Gascoigne, Tyrrell, Vyvyan, Douglas, Stuart, Wetherell, Twiss, Calcraft, Lefroy, and Scarlett, besides Lords F. Gower, Malton, Darlington, Valetort, and Stormont. It was Macaulay's speech in this debate that first brought him into prominent notice, and a similar performance, at a later stage of the discussion, established his position as one of the most eloquent and philosophic speakers of the day. Referring to the wisdom that had presided in the first settlement of the representative system, he remarked that our ancestors "would certainly have been annoyed if they had been told that a city with a hundred thousand inhabitants would be left without representation in the nineteenth century, merely because in the thirteenth century it consisted only of a few huts. They framed a representative system, not indeed without defects and irregularities, but which was well adapted for the England of their time. * * Unfortunately, when times were changed, the old institutions remained unchanged. The form remained when the spirit had departed. Then came the pressure almost to bursting—the new wine in the old bottles—the new people under the old institutions. It was now time to pay a decent, rational, manly reverence to our ancestors, not by superstitiously adhering to what, under other circumstances, they did, but by doing what they, under our circumstances, would have done. All history is full of revolutions similar to those which are now operating in England. A portion of the community which has been of no account expands and becomes strong. It demands a place in the system, suited, not to its former weakness, but to its present strength. If this is granted, all is well; if it is refused, then comes the struggle between the young energy of the one class and the ancient privileges of the other. Such was the struggle between the patricians and plebeians of Rome; such was the struggle between the Italian allies for admission to the full rights of Roman citizens; such was the struggle of the North American colonies against the mother country; such was the struggle of the *tiers etat* of France against the aristocracy of birth; such was the struggle which the Catholics of Ireland maintained against the aristocracy of creed; such is the struggle which the free people of colour in Jamaica are now maintaining against the aristocracy of skin; such, finally, is the struggle which the middle classes of England are maintaining against the aristocracy of mere locality—against an aristocracy the principle of which is to invest a hundred drunken 'pot-wallopers' in one place, the owner of a ruined hovel in another, with power which we withhold from cities renowned to the farthest ends of the earth for the marvels of their wealth and the prodigies of their industry." The staple objection urged by the adversaries of the bill was that reform was altogether uncalled for, the existing system answering every want of the country. The notion of calling a town or city into parliamentary existence, merely because it was large and prosperous, or excluding another because it was small and decayed, was scouted by a chorus of Tory notabilities on the ground, as they asserted, that it had never been a principle of the English constitution that representation should take account either of the numbers or the wealth of the communities represented. The crown, the peerage, and the popular part of the constitution, argued the anti-reformers, could never co-exist in their old and salutary balance, if representation were founded upon considerations of population, wealth, and taxation. The member for Oxford, Sir Robert Inglis, solemnly insisted that the throne and the peerage were doomed under such a representative system as that propounded by the king's advisers. The peerage, he was confident, could not last ten years after the passing of the bill. He ventured, too, on significant allusions to a murdered monarch, as in days when the nation discarded the peerage two centuries earlier. Such a line of argument, if good for anything, went to prove that a nation had better abandon every one of its most cherished rights rather than overturn the despotism which has managed to bestride it. The bill was almost as popular with sections of the community to whom it offered no votes as to those now for the first time brought within the pale of the franchise. Few handicraftsmen would get the franchise under the bill, but their whole class accepted the measure as an earnest of further concession, in the full faith of that larger measure of reform which was then clearly foreseen, though it was not actually realized until the lapse of thirty-five more years from the carrying of the first reform bill. Petitions streamed up from every town and from almost every parish, urging both Houses to pass the bill in its entirety. The second reading, meanwhile, was taken on the 22nd of March, after another prolonged and stirring debate, when the votes were three hundred and two for the bill, and three hundred and one against it. The narrow majority of *one* in a House of upwards of six hundred included a score or more of members who were not prepared to vote for the final reading without the introduction of considerable changes in the scheme. When the motion came on for going into committee, an amendment opposing the proposed reduction in the total number of members was carried against ministers by a majority of eight. This furnished an opportune occasion for an appeal to the country, and that remedy was adopted with the least delay consistent with forwarding the financial arrangements of the year. On the 22nd of April the premier and the lord chancellor waited upon the king, and secured his consent to close the session that day, though no distinct warning had been given beforehand. Both Houses were stirred into fierce ferment and unseemly commotion by the discovery of what was about to happen, when the booming of cannon told of the approach of his majesty for the closing ceremony. The royal speech announced that the sense of the nation would at once be taken on the question of a change in the representation. This appeal to the people on such an issue was hailed by lively demonstrations of triumph in most of the great towns. Shops and private dwellings in all the chief thoroughfares were illuminated. Those who placed no lights in their windows were assumed to be, and commonly were, anti-reformers. Broken windows were the expected penalty of their unfriendly demonstation, and the mob rarely failed to inflict that extent of rough usage. The grim iron blinds which for many years disfigured Apsley House were the defences raised after such a rough salutation on account of his enmity to the reform bill. The elections on this occasion were marked by more than usual excitement. Everywhere the watchword of the people was, "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill."

The pressure exerted on voters by their neighbours, who were to gain the vote through the bill, proved more than a match for the influence of borough proprietors. Leading anti-reformers lost their seats even in traditional strongholds of Toryism. Mr. Banks was signally defeated in Dorset; the same fate befell Sir Robert Vyvyan in Cornwall, Sir Edward Knatchbull in Kent, and Sir Thomas Acland in Devon. Out of the eighty-two county members returned for England, all but six were pledged reformers. The populous towns were unanimous in the same direction. In the speech from the throne, delivered by the king in person on the 21st of June, the expediency of reform in the representation was again commended to the deliberation of both Houses. His majesty expressed confidence that in any measure passed for the adjustment of the representation, "the rights of the crown, the authority of both houses of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people, would be equally secured." The soreness of defeat soured the tone of the opposition speeches on the address, but no division was attempted. There were loud complaints of the sudden dissolution of a new parliament in the sixth month from its first assembling, and the large accession of strength which government had realized thereby was not calculated to soften the asperity of the discomfited side. The reform bill was brought forward afresh on the 24th of June. The first reading was not opposed. To give time for similar measures on behalf of Scotland and Ireland, the second reading was deferred till the 4th of July, when a debate of three nights ensued, rich in brilliant specimens of parliamentary eloquence. Macintosh, Macaulay, Peel, Bulwer, Burdett, and Lord Althorp, were the prominent speakers. Sir Robert Peel was intensely earnest in his forebodings of ruin to all the highest interests of the nation. It must have been in after years an abiding consolation to that statesman, the aim and purpose of whose life were eminently patriotic, to find all his anticipations of evil utterly and signally belied by the actual results of the change which he so vehemently deprecated. Macaulay eclipsed his own former speeches in the cause by a yet greater triumph of brilliant oratory. His speech ended in a prophecy totally different from that which was soon to leave Peel a living witness of his own glaring error. "The country," said Macaulay, "and your children, for ages to come, will call this the second bill of rights,—the greater charter of the liberties of England. The year 1831 is destined to exhibit to mankind the first example of a great, complicated, and deeply rooted system of abuses removed without violence, bloodshed, or rapine; all points fully debated, all forms observed, the fruits of industry not destroyed, and the authority of the law not suspended. These were things which might well make Englishmen proud of the age and country in which they lived; these were things which might make them look with confidence to the future destinies of the human race—which might make them look forward to a long series of tranquil and happy years, during which nothing would disturb the concord of a popular government and a loyal people; of years in which, if war should be inevitable, it would find the people a united nation; of years pre-eminently distinguished by the mitigation of public burdens, by the prosperity of industry, by the reformation of jurisprudence, and by all the victories of peace, in which, far more than in military triumphs, consisted the true prosperity of states, and the true glory of statesmen. It was with such feelings and hopes that he gave his most cordial assent to this measure of reform, which in itself he considered desirable, and which, in the present temper of the public mind, appeared to him indispensably necessary to the repose of the empire, and the stability of the government."

The division on the second reading yielded the large majority of one hundred and thirty-six in favour of the bill, the votes being three hundred and sixty-seven against two hundred and thirty-one. It then passed into committee, and underwent a long and rigid sifting on every clause, the discussion occupying nine more weeks before the third reading was taken, on the 19th of September. The final vote, "that the bill do now pass," was taken on the 21st of September, after another animated debate, replete, like the previous ones, with doleful forecasts of ruin. On the announcement of the numbers, which were three hundred and forty-five for the motion and two hundred and thirty-six against, giving ministers a majority of one hundred and nine, prolonged and ringing cheers told the glad news to assembled throngs outside, and called forth answering hurrahs, that were in turn promptly taken up and repeated from street to street. The utmost bounds of the metropolis quickly thrilled with the exultation that radiated from Palace Yard. The most distant towns and villages shared in turn the enthusiastic gladness of the Londoners. Illuminations, the pealing of church bells, bonfires, and other demonstrations of rejoicing told how the heart and soul of the nation were stirred by the victory. But the battle was still only half won. The peers, or a majority of them, were still hard and defiant. On the 22nd of September Lord John Russell and Lord Althorp, escorted by a hundred reformers, carried the bill to the bar of the House of Lords, where it was handed to the lord chancellor. The first reading came off that day, without any discussion. The second reading was fixed for the 3rd of October, when Earl Grey, after the presentation, by the lord chancellor and other peers, of several hundred petitions in favour of the bill, opened the debate in an impressive, earnest, and highly eloquent speech. After adverting briefly to his own efforts as a reformer through nearly half a century, he traced the growth of the national yearning for reform to its existing state of irresistible force; showed by abundant arguments and illustrations the justice and the wisdom of satisfying the demand; and concluded by stating that government would stand or fall by the measure in which they now asked their lordships' consent. "Do not," urged the premier, in the closing part of his speech, "take up a position which will show that you will not attend to the voice of nine-tenths of the people, who call upon you in a tone too loud not to be heard, and too decisive to be misunderstood. The people are all but unanimous in support of this bill; the immense preponderance of county members and members for populous places who have voted for it is a sufficient proof of that. * * Do not, I beg, flatter yourselves that it is possible by a less effective measure than this to quiet the storm which will rage, and to govern the agitation which will have been produced. * * Upon your lordships, then, as you value the tranquillity and prosperity of the country, I earnestly call to consider well before you reject this measure." The debate, which began on Monday, occupied five nights, and was not concluded until past six in the morning of the following Saturday. It was marked by consummate ability, varied learning, historical and scholastic illustration, and magnificent bursts of eloquence. Lord Brougham responded on the last night, in a four hours' speech, to all the objections of preceding speakers, and wound up with an earnest and impressive appeal to the peers to discard the thought that they could stay or control the national determination in favour of reform. "Do not," said the chancellor, "decide the great cause of a nation's hopes and fears without a hearing. Beware of your decision. Rouse not the spirit of a peace-loving but determined people. Alienate not the affection of a great empire from your body. As your friend, as the friend of my country, as the servant of my sovereign, I counsel you to assist us with all your efforts in preserving the national peace and perpetuating the national prosperity. For all these reasons I pray and beseech you not to reject this bill. I call on you by all you hold most dear, by all that binds every one of you to our common order and our common country, unless you are prepared to say that you will admit of no reform, and are resolved against any change, I solemnly adjure you, I implore you, not to reject this bill." Two royal dukes were among the speakers. The duke of Sussex sided with the bill, which he believed would promote the national well-being, and secure order and peace. The duke of Gloucester was not averse to the correction of abuses, but deemed the measure under notice not a constitutional reform, but a scheme of revolution. The other prominent speakers were Lansdowne, Richmond, Melbourne, Holland, Plunket, and Radnor, in support of the bill; and in opposition to it, Wellington, Eldon, Harrowby, Dudley, Buckingham, Carnarvon, Mansfield, Bute, Winchelsea, Haddington, Londonderry, and Lyndhurst. The rejection of the bill was carried by one hundred and ninety-nine against one hundred and fifty-eight votes, thus leaving ministers in a minority of forty-one. When the peers dispersed to their homes after that momentous decision, the precincts of the House were happily no longer thronged as they had been up to midnight by anxious expectants. The streets were deserted, for pelting showers of rain on that dark October morning had driven the wearied watchers to their homes.

The adverse decision was certainly not unexpected. Doubts nevertheless prevailed very extensively, in the face of the clear determination of the people to have reform, as expressed in the late elections, and the large majority that had given effect to their wishes in the Commons, whether the peers would venture on a rejection of the most popular bill that had ever been proposed by the constitutional advisers of the crown. The evil tidings quickly aroused an evil spirit in the people that must have flamed forth in a desolating social convulsion, but for the restraining influence of the wealthier and educated classes, who were working heartily for reform in an orderly fashion. Many public meetings were forthwith convened, at which resolutions to stand by the government measure were passed with acclamation. One such gathering, held in London at the Thatched House Tavern, included all the members who had supported the bill in the Commons. Another, held at the Mansion House, was composed almost exclusively of merchants and bankers, who pledged themselves to promote the passing of the government measure. The lord mayor and corporation went with an address to the king. This civic procession was joined on the way by multitudes computed at more than fifty thousand persons, from the parishes outside the narrow municipal and parliamentary limits of London and Westminster. Petitions from these unrepresented sections of the metropolis were presented at the levée held that day. Exhortations were addressed to the people, urging them to be firm, united, and peaceable. The excitement, however, was of a strength not to be entirely controlled by such prudent counsels. Renewed demonstrations of a riotous character were made at the mansions of leading anti-reformers. But for the efficacious services of the new police, destructive violence would have raged against the persons and the dwellings of such peers as were looked upon as the foes of popular rights. Lord Londonderry and the duke of Cumberland sustained some personal damage, and ran serious risk of more from rough usage on the part of a mob in the park. In several provincial towns the Tory magnates and borough proprietors had a trying time. Nottingham Castle, one of the ancestral residences of the duke of Newcastle, was burned down by a riotous mob. The tone of the speeches at great meetings in all the large towns showed a dangerous exasperation of feeling that boded ill for the preservation of peace. Petitions came up from many quarters to the king, urging the continuance of his present ministers in office, and the immediate creation of new peers in numbers sufficient to overbear the defiant majority that now stopped the way to a peaceful settlement of the just claims of the people. A vote of unabated confidence in ministers, and expressing determination to adhere to the bill, was passed in the Commons on the 9th of October, by a majority of one hundred and thirty-one. Thus fortified in their policy, the cabinet acceded to the king's desire for their continuance in office. The eventful session ended on the 20th, when the king in person delivered a prorogation speech that sounded the note of a renewal of the struggle after a brief respite. "To the consideration of the important question of the reform of the House of Commons," said his majesty, "the attention of parliament must necessarily again be called at the opening of the ensuing session; and you may be assured of my unaltered desire to promote its settlement by such improvements in the representation as may be found necessary for securing to my people the full rights, which, in combination with those of other orders in the state, are essential to the support of our free constitution." This opportune speech, and sundry declarations by the king, at about the same date, of his high confidence in his ministers, exercised a soothing influence on the angered temper of the nation. The wrathful excitement vented itself, however, in several localities in alarming outbursts of turbulence. The worst of these was at Bristol, where Sir Charles Wetherell, the recorder of that city, and a violent opponent of the reform bill, ventured on a foolish demonstration, out of which grew a riot even more destructive to life and property than the fanatical outburst in London in 1780, known as the Gordon riots. At the close of the parliamentary session, in which he had figured among the bitterest foes of the bill, he made a public and pompous entry into Bristol, bedecked in his robes of office, and under escort of a cavalcade of Tory magistrates, country gentlemen, and the corporate authorities. The procession attracted a crowd, as a matter of course, and the unpopular recorder was saluted with hisses, groans, and execrations. When he entered the court-house the crowd pressed into the approaches. The civic authorities and constables did their best to thrust back the mob, but without avail. Recorder and magistrates were obliged to beat a hasty retreat by back doors, and the court-house was quickly thronged through all its rooms by a crowd of roughs, who demolished the furniture, gutted the building, and tore up the fences. The military were called out, and the rioters dispersed, but only to renew the outbreak with worse havoc on the next day. The authorities, and the officer in command of the troops, proved alike wanting in the firmness and energy requisite for coping with the emergency. Plunder as well as mischief became the aim of the rioters, or at least of a large section of them, in their further two days' havoc. Under such incitements they readily secured the help of thousands of fellows to whom the cause of quarrel was matter of no account, so long as it offered the prospect of gain or of excitement. Bargemen, sailors, coal-heavers, brick-makers, dock labourers, and the rough element which is always to be found in a great seaport, took as it were possession of the city, and worked their mad will in it through the whole of Sunday and the greater part of Monday. All the prisons were broken open, and the inmates set at liberty, or invited into the welcome service of pillage and destruction. The bishop's palace, the custom-house, the mansion-house or town hall, many large warehouses, all the toll-houses, more than forty of the largest dwelling houses, with other property public and private, perished under the assaults of the mob. The devastation was not less extensive and disastrous, making allowance for the smaller population and meaner quality of the buildings in a provincial city, than that havoc which forty years later despoiled the French capital of its most cherished historic structures and its chief architectural glories. The local authorities seem to have lost their heads until the after part of the third day of riot, when the military were at length brought to bear. A few charges of the dragoons and a little musketry quelled the disorderly crowd. The killed and wounded from sabre stokes and gunshot wounds, together with those who perished in a condition of helpless drunkenness in the burning buildings, were nearly two hundred. About as many were taken prisoners, and tried soon afterwards by a special commission. Nearly a hundred offenders were convicted and sentenced, but the death penalty was enforced in the case of four only. The shortcomings of the local authorities became the subject of special investigation, which ended in fixing the worst blame on the chief military officer on the spot. A court-martial sifted the case against him, but before the verdict could be pronounced the wretched man shot himself through the heart. Riots of a less damaging character broke out at Bath, Worcester, Coventry, and elsewhere, but these were easily suppressed by the prompt action of the municipal and military authorities. The king issued a proclamation, urging all classes to lend their help in the prevention of tumults. Three weeks later a further proclamation was launched against the political unions, which were daily extending the scope of their operations. The ban of illegality was now fixed upon them; but it was reasonably inferred by their members that government could hardly take serious umbrage at proceedings which furthered its own aims and policy in the crisis out of which they had grown. The warning to all his majesty's subjects to abstain from membership in such political associations passed, therefore, altogether unheeded, until a later and more alarming development of their power provoked more serious opposition to them. The king himself had thus far stood well in the good graces of the people. He neglected no opportunity of feeding the flame of loyalty. He and the queen graced by their presence the banquet on new London Bridge, given by the corporate authorities in honour of the opening of that structure on the 1st of August. Then, and on frequent occasions afterwards, his presence in the streets of the capital called forth cheers and other tokens of welcome of a heartiness that recalled the memory of the palmiest days of George III. Another solid proof of his popularity was the unopposed passage of the dower bill, which secured to the queen, in the event of her surviving him, an allowance of 100,000*l.* per annum, with Marlborough House and Bushey Park as her town and country residences. The proposal for a large addition to the income of the duchess of Kent, in consideration of the growing expenses of an establishment befitting the exalted position of her daughter, the Princess Victoria, met with an acceptance even more cordial. The coronation ceremonial, performed on the 8th of September, called forth still further proofs that king and people remained in mutual accord, despite the exciting political disquietudes of the time. The chosen date proved a happy one. There was a lull in the violence of the political storm, and a space of blue sky amid the black clouds in the political firmament. This calm remained unbroken by further tempestuous outbursts until the reform bill drifted again into the dangerous navigation of the Upper House, and was stranded afresh upon the reefs and breakers of high Tory prejudice. The coronation in the previous reign had left a legacy of unpleasant afterthought in its enormous cost. A more modest scale of display was adopted this time. But though shorn of mediæval pageantry, the procession was thought sufficiently splendid, and it called forth louder and heartier tokens of loyalty than greeted the similar pageant ten years earlier. The king's naval uniform, and still more the presence of his consort, as partner in the honours of the day, added an extra zest to the pleasure of the throngs that lined the track of the procession. In lieu of the banquet in Westminster Hall and its courts, there were festivities at the palace.

Later in the autumn, when political effervescence rose again at a fervid pitch, and threatened a convulsive outbreak, the alarm of a pestilential visitation added a further ingredient of bitterness to the cup of national troubles. The cholera made its first appearance in England in October, 1831. This scourge had been long expected, for it was known to be travelling westward, and sweeping away its myriads of victims in each land that it traversed, from the place of its origin, on the banks of the Ganges, to the shores of the Baltic and the German Ocean. Its worst ravages in England were in 1832, nor did it entirely disappear until late in the following year.

On the 6th of December began afresh the parliamentary conflict on the vexed question which had already shaken society to its inmost core, and was yet destined still further to strain the texture of its political framework. The king in person read a speech, recommending "a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the reform question, which became daily of more pressing importance to the security of the state, as well as to the contentment and welfare of the people." The deplorable outrages at Bristol taught the need of an improved system of police for all the provincial towns, and that species of reform was accordingly handled in the speech. Six days later came on, for the third time, the first reading of the government scheme of reform in the representation of the people in parliament. The census taken in the current year supplied material for some changes in the bill as previously brought forward. The increased population of sundry petty boroughs lifted them above the limits of the old disfranchising schedules. The property of towns, as shown by payment of assessed taxes, was now considered, as well as numbers of inhabitants, in settling rival claims to seats. Then there was to be no decrease, as in the former bill, in the total number of members. The proposed disfranchisements were therefore fewer, and the opposition of the bill was proportionately lessened. The 10*l.* qualification remained, but yearly value, without reference to actual rating, was now the condition. The first reading passed unchallenged, and the second, taken three days later, gave ministers three hundred and twenty-four votes against exactly half that number. At this stage the bill rested until after the Christmas recess. The fiery ordeal of committee, preparatory to the third reading, began on the 20th of January, and lasted till the middle of March. Then came, in another prolonged and acrimonious debate, a repetition of the threadbare arguments of opponents, who fought on long after they were hopelessly beaten. The third reading was carried on the 23rd, by a majority of one hundred and sixteen in a House of five hundred and ninety-four members. On the 26th a procession of members, as on the previous occasions, went with Lords Russell and Althorp to the House of Lords, to leave the bill there, and to make formal request for the concurrence of the peers. No opposition was offered to the first reading. The duke of Buckingham, however, gave notice that if the bill were thrown out, as he believed would be the case at the next stage, he would bring in a bill for admitting certain large towns to the privilege of returning members. This was only one among many admissions, now beginning to be made by the most steadfast opponents of change, that some change was desirable. Even among Tory peers, therefore, the question of reform had grown to be one rather of degree, than of substance and principle. Lord Grey took full account of these relentings in opening the debate on the 9th of April. After describing the changes which had now narrowed considerably the earlier proposals of disfranchisement, he impressively besought the peers not to misinterpret the comparative quiet then prevailing through the kingdom as a sign of waning interest in the question. "Though the people," said the premier, "are silent, they are looking at our proceedings this night no less intently than they have looked ever since the question was first agitated." Opposition was now thinned under fear that further resistance would be swamped by a large creation of new peers, in compliance with the prayer of shoals of addresses and petitions to that effect which were sent from all quarters to the king. Lord Durham, who made the best speech in this debate, pointed out how wise and timely concession would have saved the monarchy and the peerage two centuries earlier; would have preserved the allegiance of the American colonies, and averted the French Revolution. The crown, the Commons, and the people, urged his lordship, were now on one side, and about two hundred peers on the other. With such a disparity of strength, he bade them beware of the consequences of longer resistance to the resolute masses of their fellow countrymen. The tone of some speakers on the other side remained, however, as hard and defiant as ever. But the division, taken at seven in the morning of the 13th, gave a majority of nine in favour of the bill, the numbers being one hundred and eighty-four against one hundred and seventy-five. Still the victory was not by any means secure. The duke of Wellington entered on the journals a long and elaborate protest against the bill, embodying the pith of all the objections that had been advanced against it, especially its cancelling of chartered rights, and its exaltation of the popular over the aristocratic influence in the government. Seventy-four peers signed this protest. Many of the votes that went to form the hesitating majority for the second reading could not be counted upon for the after stages of discussion. On various details they would certainly side with the irreconcilables. Slender hope therefore remained that the scheme would ride through the storms of committee. The notorious peril stirred the leaders of opinion out of doors to redoubled exertions. The people nowhere required much exhortation, for in all parts of the kingdom they were now eagerly on the alert, and ready to co-operate with the ministry in any way their local guides might point out. A gathering at Birmingham on the 7th of May, of political unions from the surrounding district, formed such an assemblage, animated by one united purpose, as had never before been seen in England. There was a procession which covered four miles of road; it was marshalled under some seven hundred banners, and attended by nearly two hundred bands of music. The petition sent from this meeting implored the House of Lords "not to drive to despair a high-minded, generous, and fearless people, nor to urge them on, by a rejection of their claims, to demands of a much more extensive nature; but rather to pass the reform bill into law, unimpaired in any of its great parts and provisions." Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Sheffield, Paisley, Dundee, and scores more towns and cities, sent up petitions and addresses, all breathing equal fervour and determination. Such was the attitude in which the nation confronted a selfish oligarchy, that dared still to talk of no surrender, when, at the very first stage of procedure in committee, the peers, by a majority of thirty-five, once more defeated the government bill. The disfranchising clauses were to have been dealt with first, but Lord Lyndhurst moved as an amendment that these should be postponed until the enfranchising clauses had been considered. "Begin," said he, "by conferring rights and privileges, by granting boons and favours, and not by depriving a portion of the community of the privileges which they at present enjoy." Five or six populous towns, whose claims it was impossible to withstand any longer, would now have been admitted, even by Wellington, Eldon, and Peel, to the "boon and favour" of an equality with Gatton, Old Sarum, and the other localities without population that sent each their two members, on the strength of ancient chartered rights. It was hoped that the "boon and favour" would quiet Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield, and when their clamours were silenced, the iniquity of invading "chartered rights" might be painted as too monstrous to allow of the proposed wholesale wiping away of pocket boroughs. Half of them, at any rate, it was hoped, might be rescued from the fate hanging over them. That evil genius of his party, that duke who claimed to do as he liked with votes appertaining to tenancies held under him, supported the amendment, which was to reverse the government order of procedure, "as he would support any other amendment likely to frustrate the bill." By similar candour the duke of Newcastle had more than once before assisted the cause he most hated. The obstructives carried the day, whereupon ministers told the king it only remained to increase their power, by making more peers of the right stamp, or else to relieve them of the trust he had reposed in them. It had been thought, up to this point, that he would make as many peers as were wanted for the occasion. He, however, faltered at the last, under the perplexities of a situation in which most of the members of his family, and a majority of the territorial aristocracy, were dead against the conclusion he was asked to adopt. Failing the help which it was his part to give or refuse, ministers tendered their resignations. From the 9th to the 16th of May the nation was in painful suspense under rumours that the king had commissioned the Tory chiefs to form a ministry. Public meetings were called in all the great towns, at which language of the most determined tone was the order of the day. Petitions were sent up urging the Commons to stop the supplies till the bill was carried. The Manchester petition to this effect bore twenty-five thousand signatures. In Birmingham a printed placard garnished hundreds of windows with the "Notice! No taxes paid here until the reform bill is passed." The political unions were forthwith greatly strengthened by the enrolment of multitudes of new members, chiefly from the wealthier section of the middle classes. Birmingham sent up a deputation to confer with the metropolitan leaders, with a view to armed resistance, in case an anti-reform ministry should be installed in power. In the whiz and whirl of this resounding storm, no Tory pilot had nerve enough to grasp the offered helm. Lord Lyndhurst was actually asked by the king to confer with the duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, on the understanding that a large measure of reform must be offered, whoever took office. For five days there were ceaseless attempts to form a cabinet of the old material, but the task had to be abandoned as hopeless. Nothing remained but to recall Earl Grey and his late colleagues. "So far as it depended upon the king, the means of conducting the bill to a successful issue were no longer to be withheld." Such was the ministerial statement at the end of the trying crisis, and this in effect ended the controversy on parliamentary reform, after the longest and most arduous struggle recorded in the legislative annals of this or any nation. The majority of the baffled anti-reform peers came no more to speak or to vote until the bill was passed. The third reading was carried on the 4th of June by one hundred and six against twenty-two. Three days later the royal assent finally gave to the bill the force of law. Similar bills for Scotland and Ireland had for some time past been lagging a few stages in the rear of the English bill. These were now moved onward at a rapid rate, and became law without encountering much solid opposition. In both countries the abuses in the representation had hitherto been more flagrant, if possible, than those in England. There were only two thousand five hundred electors for the whole of Scotland, until the passing of the bill multiplied the number about twenty-five fold. In Ireland there were seventeen boroughs, containing in all one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants, in which the so-called representation was monopolized by seventeen individuals only. Close on the heels of the main Reform Acts followed bills fixing the boundaries of the cities, boroughs, and divisions of counties, for electoral purposes. When at length all was completed, the anxious session came to a close in the middle of October. Seven weeks later parliament was dissolved, and the attention of the country absorbed in the first general election under the new Act.

The solid gain to the three kingdoms by the great measure of parliamentary reform accomplished in 1832 lies in the quality and comparative independence of the new constituencies, and of the new classes of voters called into action in the old constituencies. Something closely approaching to a real, instead of a pretended representation of the multifarious interests of the whole people, was now achieved. This substitution of the voice of the nation in room of the control of the territorial magnates in the choice of the people's branch of the legislature, marks a real revolution, not less distinctive than that of 1688 in the political constitution of the British empire. Thenceforward the will of the whole people, instead of the interests of a single privileged class, became the controlling force in shaping every legislative measure. The change was a natural growth, the outcome of a long series of events, marking the advance of the nation in other forms of wealth and influence beyond those on which its political institutions were originally founded. As it was impossible for the Stuarts to keep down the higher parts of the middle classes in the seventeenth century, so it became impossible in the nineteenth for the territorial aristocracy to keep down the next lower grades, comprising the mercantile, manufacturing, and closely allied ranks. New interests asserted their power with a strength no longer to be resisted, and the representatives of such interests have since had the wisdom to acknowledge frankly the claim of yet newer interests to a full participation in political power.

The first session of the first parliament elected under the reform bill began on the 29th of January, 1833. The elections took place in the previous month, and were marked by a quietness and rapidity that even the opponents of reform were fain to admit contrasted most favourably with the scenes of dissipation and rowdyism that for fifteen days reigned supreme through every contested election under the old system. The new constituencies, and the new voters in the old constituencies, showed by their preference of candidates favourable to the late measure, and to further reforms of which it was the precursor, that they were not unmindful of their obligations to the ministerial party. More than two-thirds of the elections went in favour of those who stood by the Reform Act, and expressed in various degrees their intention to promote the further redress of abuses and grievances. A majority of the county members were Tories, or, as they now began to call themselves, Conservatives. Scotland had hitherto seldom returned a Liberal, but on this occasion only ten out of its fifty-three members were Tories. Almost half the total number of representatives for the three kingdoms were fresh to parliamentary duties. The old Speaker, Mr. Manners Sutton, an anti-reformer, was again installed in office, despite an animated opposition. His great experience, together with the saving of a heavy retiring pension, to which sixteen years' service had given him a claim, covered, or at least condoned, in the eyes of ministers, his outspoken distaste for reform. On these grounds they refused to entertain the objection urged against his politics, and his rival, Mr. Littleton, secured no further support than thirty-one votes.

The speech from the throne expressed the king's regret that Portugal and the Netherlands remained still distracted by civil war. In the case of the latter kingdom, his majesty contemplated an armed interference, in concert with France, with the view to giving effect to the separation from Holland, for which the Belgians were contending. In home affairs, the charters of the East India Company and the Bank of England were drawing to the end of their term. The powers, responsibilities, and privileges of both these great establishments would have to be reconsidered. Then there were urgent questions connected with the collection and disposal of church property both in England and Ireland. Measures were to be submitted to parliament, aiming at a satisfactory adjustment of these and other matters affecting the two church establishments. Ireland was again in a state of turbulence and lawless violence, that called for new powers in the hands of the executive for punishing the disturbers of the public peace. This last item in the royal speech formed the main text of a four nights' debate on the address. O'Connell's indignation glared into white heat at the talk of tranquillizing his country by the operation of any other means than the redress of its grievances. All the outrages then rampant in Ireland he laid to the door of the Whigs, who at all times, he asserted, were the bitterest enemies of his country. In vain ministers admitted that it was their duty to remove from the Irish people every real grievance, and declared their earnest wish to do so as far as lay in their power. Such language was scouted by a score or more of Irish members as insincere and worthless, since it was belied, in their view, by the known intention of ministers to ask parliament for power to suspend the ordinary administration of justice in the country. O'Connell's opposition to the address was, however, overborne by the large majority of four hundred and twenty-eight against forty, or more than ten to one. A few days later came the bill for suppressing local disturbances and dangerous associations in Ireland. Its provisions were the usual ones in previous insurrection Acts; prohibiting the inhabitants of proclaimed districts from leaving their houses between sunset and sunrise; empowering the viceroy to forbid meetings dangerous to the peace; subjecting to martial law the residents in proclaimed districts; authorizing magistrates to search houses for arms, and for suspected persons; and suspending the action of the *habeas corpus* writ. The warrant for such an extreme measure—on the part, too, of a government based, as no previous government had been, on public support—was fully supplied in the long catalogue of more than nine thousand crimes committed in Ireland in the previous year. Among these, as stated by Earl Grey, were two hundred and forty-two homicides; one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine robberies; four hundred and one burglaries; five hundred and sixty-eight burnings; two hundred and sixty-three riots; three hundred and fifty-three illegal rescues from custody; seven hundred and eighty-six malicious injuries to property; seven hundred and twenty-three attacks on houses; besides resistance to legal process, serious assaults, firing with intent to kill, threatening notices, illegal meetings, robberies of arms, houghing of cattle, and the administering of unlawful oaths; the whole being connected with, and growing out of, the disturbed state of the country. The bill passed quickly through the Lords. It encountered, however, at the hands of Irish representatives, a most persistent opposition at every stage, marked by a series of smart skirmishes between Mr. Stanley, secretary for Ireland, and the arch-agitator, O'Connell. The third reading was ultimately carried, however, before the end of March, by more than four to one, but not until some considerable alterations had been made in it, restricting the jurisdiction of courts-martial to offences accompanied by violence or assaults, and excluding cases of resistance to the collection of tithes from the operation of the Act. While this ungracious but indispensable measure was under discussion, another bill, aiming to redress a real Irish grievance, was also before parliament. The act of grace, the Irish Church Bill, preceded, in one sense, the act of severity, inasmuch as notice of the former measure was given in the Commons before the first reading of the latter in the Lords. The position of the mass of the Irish people in respect to the church of a small minority had long been among the foremost scandals of an age of gross abuses. The church of less than an eighth part of the population drew a substantial part of its funds from the members of a hostile faith. The payments exacted from an overwhelming majority for the benefit of a very small minority were drawn, too, under processes that nourished ceaseless strifes, and that had of late years occasioned many fatal collisions, in which the killed and wounded were counted by dozens. The law secured to the state clergy a tenth part of every crop raised by tillage, and an equal proportion of the yield from flocks and herds. It gave, moreover, another tax, under the name of vestry cess or church-rate, which it was equally galling for Catholics to pay in support of a form of worship which they detested. Then, too, in the distribution of church funds, the pittances in hundreds of instances, and the exorbitant incomes in others, fixed another serious blot on the unpopular church. Some of the bishops had larger yearly incomes than the highest officers under the crown, in any department of the public service. Hundreds of the poorer working clergy, on the other hand, were without other means of living than the tithe of the potato crops, the sole subsistence of a miserably poor peasantry. With these poor clergymen it was matter of life or death to enforce their legal claim against their neighbours of a hostile communion. Tithe was, nevertheless, in long arrear in large districts, and could only be collected by processes which had grown abhorrent to the sense of the nation to sanction any longer. Tithe-proctors and collectors, together with considerable escorts of constabulary or militia, were frequently falling victims to the ungovernable rage of bands of rustics, in resisting the payment of the tenths of their produce. In 1832, government had felt obliged to make temporary provision for the sustenance of many clergymen who were left destitute through the organized and resolute refusal of the people to pay tithe or cess. Too much church was the bane of the country, so the first and freshest energies of the reformed parliament were dedicated to easing the intolerable burden. Disestablishment and disendowment—the remedies resorted to in the next generation—found as yet no place in the devices of practical politicians, though it certainly cannot be said they were not yet heard of. The Irish Church Bill of 1833 placed the clergy, in regard to their incomes, beyond the risk of conflict with their neighbours, and effected a series of other important improvements. It thus prolonged the existence of the Protestant establishment on its old footing of a state church, until the first year after the passing of another memorable measure of parliamentary reform, when a keener sense of justice exacted the final overthrow of an establishment which had not ceased to be objectionable, as not being national, and as being kept up at an expense utterly out of proportion to the benefits it conferred. Lord Grey's bill abolished vestry cess, and imposed in lieu of it a yearly tax on church livings of the value of 200*l.* and upwards. The fund thus accruing was administered by an ecclesiastical commission, whose powers embraced also a control over church lands and the disposal of church revenues, under prescribed conditions that struck at the root of some of the worst abuses of the old system. Large funds for all real needs of the church were secured by suppressing ten out of the twenty-two bishoprics with which it was over-weighted, and by reducing the revenues of the remaining twelve to more modest, yet still ample proportions. Tithes were separately dealt with at a later date by an Act which took the burden entirely off the shoulders of the tenants, who for the most part were Catholics, and lodged in its stead an easier burden on the landowners, who for the most part were Protestants. These ameliorations in the external relations, and in the internal working of the Irish church, simply modified, without by any means removing, the insuperable repugnance felt by a Catholic people to the maintenance of a small minority of their conntrymen in the position of a dominant religious community. The reform was, however, a substantial one for the time, and so patent was the need of it that it passed through every stage, not indeed without much earnest opposition on the part of Conservatives in both Houses; yet by such large majorities as showed a greater fear of leaving matters in their old state than of accepting a moderate instalment of that larger change which had ultimately to be conceded.

Among other memorable legislation of the first year of the reformed parliament, the Act abolishing colonial slavery stands pre-eminent, not less for its generosity than for its justice. The moral sense of the nation had long condemned the hateful institution, and parts of the system had fallen years before under the vigorous assaults of the abolitionists. But in the fifty years of Tory government, a fellow feeling among the compact host of protected interests sustained the slave-owners against all the earnest struggles of the apostles of negro emancipation, such as Clarkson, Wilberforce, Buxton, Brougham, and Macintosh. As soon, however, as the Liberals got a brief breathing space, after the two years' battle for parliamentary reform, they took up the question with a resolute will, against which all the sordid pleas of the planters stood as of no more account than the whinings of a convicted felon before a court of justice, praying for an indulgent sentence. The saintly Wilberforce, and the philosophic Macintosh, who had both borne a chief part in the warfare against property in human flesh, were just sinking into their graves when the emancipation bill was so prosperously floated as to give them unqualified assurance that one of the most cherished aims of their parliamentary career was now on the eve of being realized. Buxton, Macaulay, Lushington, and other strenuous abolitionists were, however, worthily following the lead of earlier champions; and opinion in and out of parliament was at length aroused to a pitch of earnest conviction against the iniquitous system of slave-owning which it was beyond the power of any combination of sordid interests to withstand. All that the slave-owners and allied interests could now hope for, was some recompense for the sacrifice of their property, and their plea on this head was not refused. Twenty millions of pounds were awarded out of the public purse in purchase of the freedom of the negroes in our West Indian possessions, who at that date numbered about eight hundred thousand of all ages. A system of apprenticeship for a few years was enforced on all above the age of infancy, as an expedient for gradually accustoming the blacks to the position of free men. The apprentices were to be remunerated either by wages, or by board and lodging; their hours of labour on behalf of their masters were never to exceed forty-five in the week, and they were to be eligible forthwith for most of the duties and privileges of free citizens. The Act took effect on the 1st of August, 1834, but in many quarters the planters wisely abandoned their legal hold on the slaves long before the expiry of the statutory term. On the 1st of August, 1838, every member of the negro race, within the limits of British dominion, ceased to be under any other restraints in the disposal of his labour than those affecting home-born artizans and labourers. Doleful forecasts, pointing to a relapse of the West Indies into a state of savagery, tempered at the time the satisfaction of many at the downfall of slavery, but these forebodings have happily been in no sense verified. The West Indies have not, certainly, been uniformly prosperous since the Act of emancipation. But any term of five years, subsequent to the downfall of slavery, exhibits substantial growth in the material prosperity of the islands as a whole, in comparison with an equal term of years under the accursed system which for generations had fixed a blot on the national honour, and a load on the national conscience.

Commercial and financial reforms, some of them of first-rate and lasting importance, occupied a large part of the memorable working session which was otherwise sufficiently signalized by the great measures already noticed. The charter of the East India Company having almost run out, the government of our eastern empire, and its relations to the other portions of the dominions of the British crown, were brought under review in many prolonged discussions on the legislative measures called for by that circumstance. One bill renewed the charter of the Company for twenty years, from April, 1834, under conditions that abolished its trading privileges, and threw open to all British subjects the enormous commerce with India and China which had hitherto stood at the head of the long catalogue of trading monopolies. The political government of India was still continued in the Company, but under restrictions that most materially narrowed its powers and enlarged those of the crown. Thenceforth, India was to be open to the enterprise and capital of all British subjects who might desire to settle in the country, or to share otherwise in its many fields of commerce and productive industry. Provision was at the same time made for the gradual abolition of slavery in the East, as in the West Indies; for the amendment of the existing laws, the courts of justice, police, and other Hindoo institutions, and for extending the means of Christian education in India. A supplementary bill regulated the China trade, now that it was to be thrown open, and lowered the duties on tea to an extent that quickly encouraged a rate of consumption of that commodity never dreamt of in the days of monopoly prices.

The renewal of the Bank Charter, which also was running out, became another important subject of legislation. Under the bill for this purpose Bank of England notes were made equivalent to gold as a legal tender for payments over 5*l.* As a concession for this privilege, the Bank gave up a substantial part of the allowance made by government to the directors for managing the national debt. The privileges of provincial banks were at the same time extended to certain monetary transactions heretofore reserved exclusively to the Bank of England. The Bank came now for the first time under the obligation of publishing accounts of its business, in the form of monthly returns of its bullion, securities, and notes in circulation. Under another provision, the old usury laws ceased to operate in respect to bills of exchange drawn for three months or less. The debates on the new Bank Charter furnished occasion for the broaching of not a few theories on the general question of the currency and standards of value. Many speakers were opposed to the continuance of the Bank in its old standing as the chief and ruling monetary association of the empire, and would have preferred a national bank, to be managed by the government for the profit of the public. The new charter was for a term of twenty-one years, with a reservation that parliament might terminate it in 1845, by a previous notice of not less than one year. Besides these greater questions, disposed of in the busy session of 1833, a host of public and private bills, many of which were of very considerable moment, engaged the attention of parliament, and were for the most part matured into law. The great pressure of business was foreseen at the commencement of the session, and gave rise to the arrangement for a morning sitting every day except Saturday. At the early meeting twenty members, instead of forty, formed a House. It was resolved also that a select committee should be appointed at the beginning of each session, to arrange for the disposal of all petitions presented, and to order the printing of such of them, in full or in abstract, as might be deemed of sufficient public interest to warrant the expense. Among noteworthy measures were those for amending the laws affecting factories, insane persons, the sale of beer in Ireland, the maintenance of roads in Scotland, the London police, and the administration of the higher courts of judicature. There were bills, too, repealing, wholly or in part, the stamp duties on advertisements, marine insurance, and receipts for payments under 5*l.* Other reductions of taxation cheapened tiles, soap, raw cotton, and sundry minor articles. The total reductions of taxes extended to over a million and a half. A general Watching and Lighting Act for England, copyright law for dramatic literature, and an improvement in the law of inheritance and dower, formed other items in the heavy labours of the year. In addition to the long catalogue of public Acts, no less than one hundred and eighty-six private bills were discussed and passed. Numerous commissions also were conducting searching investigations into the condition of the labouring classes, the working of the factory system as affecting women and children, the operation of the poor laws, the state of the corporations and other governing bodies in the cities and boroughs, with the view to further political and social reform in the early future. Thus far, therefore, no sign of slackness was yet apparent in redeeming the pledges under which ministers stood committed in home affairs to a policy of reform and retrenchment. Their undertaking in respect to a foreign policy which should avoid embroilments, proved to be less easy of fulfilment; but even in this respect a wise departure, in more than one instance, from the mere letter of their programme turned out happily to be in effect a real adherence to its spirit. The contest in Portugal between Dom Miguel and his niece, Donna Maria, had again taken a turn which offered every prospect of success to the side which had from the first enlisted the sympathies of Englishmen. There was, however, the risk of Spanish and perhaps other interference on the side of absolutism; and to counteract such risk the British government sent a powerful squadron to the Tagus, with orders to assist the adherents of the young queen the moment foreign aid from any quarter should appear on the scene in favour of her enemies. Animated by this assurance of effectual help in time of greatest need, the constitutionalists took heart, and made head against their opponents to such purpose that Lisbon and Oporto were secured in July for the queen; nor was it long before she was firmly re-established on a constitutional throne. In the naval operations between the forces of the two claimants, the enterprise and gallantry of Captain Charles Napier, who commanded on behalf of Donna Maria, contributed largely to the success of the constitutionalists. His fleet encountered the much larger naval force of the Miguelites on the 2nd of July, off Cape St. Vincent, and inflicted on it a crushing defeat, capturing almost every vessel, chiefly by vigorous boarding operations, after the manner of Nelson in the same waters. Immediately on the arrival of intelligence that the capital and the next largest city of Portugal were won over to the side of Donna Maria, and that her cause was otherwise clearly in the ascendant, an ambassador from England reopened the old relations of amity which had been interrupted since 1828, and several other states promptly followed the lead thus taken.

The differences between Holland and Belgium were not yet composed, though both states were now consenting parties to a separation. Holland refused to give up the citadel of Antwerp, but offered to guarantee to Belgium the free navigation of the Scheldt and Meuse. A French army of sixty thousand men besieged and took Antwerp in December, 1832, handing over their conquest to the Belgians, and then retiring within their own frontier. Our government co-operated in this act of hostility to the extent of laying an embargo on Dutch shipping. The pressure thus brought to bear on the stubborn king of Holland obliged him at length to accept an unlimited armistice, in the course of which the apportionment of the common debt of the separating states was arranged, and minor questions were finally adjusted.

The Greeks this year settled down under a regular monarchical government, after the failure of several attempts to found a sort of republic. Prince Otho of Bavaria accepted the throne of the new kingdom, on the invitation of the three protecting powers, and with the hearty concurrence of the new-born nation. At the instance of the British government, the sultan agreed to an amended boundary line for Greece.

Such were the chief transactions of government in its foreign policy that came under discussion, and added their quota to the debates of a most laborious session. The king in person prorogued parliament on the 29th of August. One paragraph of the royal speech spoke of the session just ending, as " not more remarkable for extended duration, than for the patient and persevering industry which parliament had displayed in many laborious inquiries, and in perfecting the various legislative measures brought under its consideration." The exceptionally heavy work of the first reform session well merited such a special acknowledgment. The average length of a day of parliamentary work in the House of Commons used previously to be four and a half or five hours. But in the session of 1833 the average suddenly rose to nine hours, and from Easter onwards it exceeded twelve hours. The reports of the complete sessional work show more than eleven thousand speeches. The House of Commons sat one hundred and forty-two days, comprising one thousand two hundred and seventy hours of actual work. Such were some of the tokens that the long pent-up spirit of reform was not to be exorcised until it had worked out a restoration of institutions on which the hand of time had impressed marks of decay, or which required reconstruction to bring them into harmony with the growth of the nation in the long lapse of years since their first adoption.

The autumn and winter were unhappily marked by a repetition, though not on so extensive a scale as before, of incendiary fires, such as prevailed three years earlier in some of the southern and midland English counties. Barns and ricks as before, were set ablaze in many parts of Norfolk, Suffolk, Northamptonshire, Wilts, and Hants. Forfarshire also witnessed similar incendiary havoc. A criminal who was executed in December, at Cambridge, for ravages of this kind, confessed to having fired no fewer than eleven extensive barns or other grain stores. The small reward secured for giving first notice to the fire-office of the outbreak of the fire was the only inducement to the crime, according to his confession. Trades-unions and similar associations of operatives, to raise or keep up the price of labour, became, too, a source of much social disquietude, and not a little political trouble, both at home and in several neighbouring continental states, in this and the following year. London, Dublin, Glasgow, Leeds, Oldham, Manchester, and other large towns were the scenes of extensive strikes in some of the chief local industries, or in employments which cannot be stopped for a single day except at the cost of a large amount of public inconvenience. Tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, painters, masons, shipwrights, gasmen, weavers, spinners, and others combined in rapid succession in strikes at this season. Thus the operatives in the London gas-works refused to work except on the condition that wages should be increased from twenty-eight shillings to thirty-five shillings per week, with a daily allowance of half a gallon of porter to each man. Besides refusing to sell their labour except at advanced prices—the only just mode of raising and keeping up wages—many of the unionists infringed as far as possible the liberty of such of their fellow-workmen as were willing to accept work at lower rates. The employment of any but members of the trades-unions was not an unfrequent cause of strikes, and in some instances the unions claimed the right to fix the number of apprentices a master might employ, and the duration of their servitude. The press, the government, and public sentiment sustained employers in all reasonable resistance to such interference with the freedom of others. On this side the Channel the strikes were fruitful sources of privation and suffering to the artizans who engaged in them, with some loss to employers, and a little inconvenience occasionally to the public. In every case, however, the strike failed in its purpose, and the operatives were reduced to submission, the employers in frequent instances refusing to have further dealings with members of the unions. Similar strikes at Lyons, and subsequent attempts of trades-unionists there to interfere with the trials of some of their associates, resulted in riots on a large scale, and most destructive street fighting, in which the killed and wounded were numbered by thousands. Paris and Brussels also became centres of similar disturbance, but in these instances politics were quite as much in question as wages.

The session of 1834 was opened by the king in person, on the 4th of February. The speech from the throne dwelt with satisfaction on the manner in which the slavery abolition bill had been received throughout the colonies; invited attention to reports drawn up by the several commissions dealing respectively with municipal corporations, the administration of the English poor law, the ecclesiastical revenues of England and Wales; lamented the unprosperous state of the farming interest; recommended an early settlement of the tithe question in Ireland; and expressed a determination to maintain inviolate the legislative union of the three kingdoms. Foreign affairs furnished this time no themes for regretful allusions. The debate on the address, though marked by some trenchant comments from the side of opposition on the whole ministerial policy, foreign and domestic, was not carried to a division. A formidable array of business marked the outset of this second session of the reformed parliament with the likelihood of a harvest of salutary measures not less abundant than the crop of the previous year. The actual completed measures of the session fell short, however, of that high mark, partly in consequence of ministerial changes, but more from the stoppage in the Upper House of measures of reform that had passed with comparative ease through the Commons.

The budget came very early in the session. Further fruits of retrenchment, in the shape of reduced taxation, increased the popularity of ministers, and perhaps helped the progress of some important bills which were submitted early. The expenditure had fallen below the estimate by 600,000*l.* As much more was counted upon from increased consumption of tea under the open trade and low duties settled in the previous year. The total disposable surplus was reckoned at little less than 2,000,000*l.* The house duty, with some assessed taxes and a few small customs dues, making in the whole a sum of more than a million and a half, were relinquished before the close of the session, when a supplemental financial statement added yet further to the contentment with which the original budget inspired the public.

The allusion to agricultural distress in the speech from the throne was seized upon by the landed interest as a warrant for asking at the hands of government some relief from the burdens affecting both the owners and occupiers of land. The marquis of Chandos submitted a motion in February, that in any reduction of national burdens by the remission of taxes, due regard should be had to the distress of the agriculturalists. The poor-rates, however, under the scheme which was to form the prime work of the year, were to be placed on a footing that would materially lighten the weight of direct taxation on the classes now appealing for an alleviation of burdens, while agriculture took its full share in the relief accruing from the reduction of taxes or imposts affecting all sections of the community. On these grounds the chancellor of the exchequer could hold out no hope of special indulgence to the landed and farming interest. Their plea, moreover, for the alleviation of burdens came with ill grace, while the whole community was paying an artificial price for bread, for the advantage solely of the home growers of bread stuffs. The resolution was, however, defeated by so narrow a majority, that the supporters of the motion took heart for renewed attempts in the same direction. One of these was a motion for the repeal of the malt duty, and another, in the form of an address to the king, declared that unless the farmers were substantially relieved from part of the heavy burden pressing upon them in the maintenance of the poor, it would be impossible for the magistrates to maintain peace in the rural districts. As a counter-demonstration to these demands for relief, Mr. Hume, supported by a large following of representatives of the manufacturing interest, attacked the protection already given to the agricultural interest under the corn laws. His motion aimed at substituting, in the first instance, a fixed and moderate duty in lieu of the existing graduated scale, with the ultimate view of establishing a free trade in grain. The corn laws, he argued, were really injurious, even to the interest they were specially designed to benefit, inasmuch as they hindered the export of articles which other countries, in revenge for our exclusion of their bread stuffs, declined to take from us. Thus a large section of our poor, in the absence of outlets for their labour in manufacturing industry, were thrown upon the land for sustenance, and threatened, by their increasing numbers, to eat up its whole produce by constantly growing rates for their maintenance. Our virtual refusal to admit American corn had provoked a tariff which went far to shut American markets against our manufactures. Prussia, too, finding we would not take her timber and corn, had contrived a commercial system which for ten years had shut out our manufactured goods from the whole of Germany and a great portion of Europe beyond its borders. The discussion thus opened extended over two days, and though the motion was opposed by ministers as inopportune at that time, more than one of them expressed agreement with its principle. A petition from Liverpool at a later period of the session, in favour of free trade, especially that of corn, furnished the text for a further debate on the subject in three morning sittings. Sir Robert Peel, as on previous occasions, upheld the system which it ultimately fell to him to demolish. He now argued that the monopoly with which the landed interest was taunted, was only a part and parcel of the same system of protection in which every product of British industry shared, through the imposition of duties on articles manufactured abroad. He no longer talked, however, as in years not long gone by, of the constitutional policy wrapped up in high-priced corn — "the political considerations connected with the question, wholly distinct from the question of price; the constitutional policy of maintaining the aristocracy and magistracy as essential parts of the community." Sir Henry Parnell told landlords that they alone, and not the farmers, as was pretended, were the parties really benefited by the impost on bread. In the absence of an artificial price for their wheat, farmers would not cease to grow that crop, but rents assuredly would fall to such a level as would allow a living to the producer. Protection, however, was as yet only scotched, not killed. Its wonderful tenacity of life was destined to amuse the public for many a year longer, in fitful efforts to revive bygone and discarded delusions. The shipping interest claimed this year a repeal of the Reciprocity Act (4 Geo. iv. c. 77), under which the crown had for ten years exercised the power of admitting foreign ships to British ports on the same terms as those on which our ships enjoyed access to theirs. Mr. Young moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal Huskisson's "Reciprocity of Duties Act," or in other words to give back to British shipowners their old monopoly. Such demands, though quite as reasonable as the tax on corn, met with small support and little sympathy in a parliament pledged to the redress of abuses, and offering no hope for the restoration of any fallen monopoly.

The question of "home rule" for Ireland, but under its earlier name of "repeal of the union," was brought forward for the first time as matter of parliamentary debate on the 22nd of April, in this year. The king's speech had taken account of the agitation on this question in the sister kingdom, but his majesty's fixed resolve to uphold inviolate the order of things which makes one realm of the British Isles was of small account to Daniel O'Connell. The irrepressible repealer spoke for six hours in justification of his motion for a select committee to inquire and report on the means by which the destruction of the Irish parliament was brought about; on the effects of the legislative union; on the policy or otherwise of breaking it up, and reverting to the system of a separate legislature for Ireland. Mr. Spring Rice followed in an exhaustive reply, also of six hours' duration, showing that Ireland was the great gainer by the union, the repeal of which would be a first step in the decline and overthrow of the empire. He concluded by moving the amendment that an address be presented to the king, expressing the fixed determination of the imperial parliament to maintain in its integrity the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, and declaring also that the House would endeavour to remove all just grounds of complaint on the part of the Irish people. Peel's speech, on the same side, repeated Canning's pithy exclamation, "Repeal the union! Re-enact the heptarchy!" Without the union, he urged, Ireland would be reduced to the desolation of a wilderness, and England to the low estate of a fourth-rate power. The amendment was carried, after six nights' debate, by five hundred and twenty-three against thirty-eight. The small minority, with a single exception, were all Irish members. The Commons, in conference, communicated their address to the Peers, who, with one voice, joined in it as a joint address to the king. The reply of his majesty recorded his high satisfaction with the solemn and united declaration of both Houses to maintain the union inviolate; declared his own determination to exercise fearlessly and faithfully the powers vested in him for resisting all attempts to bring about a division of the realm; and added the expression of his anxious wish to remove all just causes of complaint, and to promote every well-considered measure of improvement. Several other Irish questions soon cropped up, each of minor importance when measured against the demand for repeal, yet each singly proved vastly more troublesome to government than the blatant demand for repeal, whether without or within the walls of parliament. The church establishment, notwithstanding the settlement of the previous year, was still regarded as out of all proportion to the spiritual needs of the Protestant population. Mr. Ward moved, and Mr. Grote seconded a motion, declaring it to be a right of the state to regulate the distribution of church property in such manner as parliament may determine; and that in the opinion of the House the temporal possession of the church of Ireland, as by law established, ought to be reduced. The unsettled state of the country through the preceding fifteen years had required the presence of a military force costing a million a year, besides the 300,000*l.* expended on police. Most of this great outlay, in the opinion of those who were for further curtailment of the established church, and for appropriating much of its property to secular uses, was the price paid by the empire for protecting a religious establishment hated by the mass of the Irish people. Ministers were not agreed as to the method of meeting this motion. A majority inclined to the issue of a royal commission, with full instructions to sift the actual condition of the Irish church, and to report whether its temporal possessions exceeded its spiritual needs. Mr. Stanley, Sir James Graham, the earl of Ripon, and the duke of Richmond dissented from this decision, and resigned, on the ground that they could not agree to any measure tending to take property from the church for other than church uses. The places of the dissentients were filled by the appointment of Mr. Spring Rice to the colonial office, Lord Auckland to the admiralty, the earl of Carlisle to the privy seal, and Lord Conyngham to the post office. Several changes occurred at about the same time in the subordinate offices, Mr. Poulett Thomson gaining a seat in the cabinet as president of the board of trade, and Mr. Ellice as war secretary. After the short adjournment called for by these resignations and the new appointments, Lord Althorp announced to the House that a lay commission had been issued to inquire into the whole state of church affairs in Ireland; and that ministers, in advising the crown to adopt that course, were to be regarded as pledged to act on the result of the ample investigation now to be instituted. On these grounds he suggested that the motion which had led to the appointment of the commission should be withdrawn. Mr. Ward, however, declined, but was outvoted by three hundred and sixty-nine against one hundred and twenty. Irish affairs were not yet out of hand. The Coercion Act of the previous year had now only a few months to run, but the sister kingdom was still in a mood calling for exceptional restraints. The lord-lieutenant was in the first instance inclined to re-enact all the provisions of the old bill, except the clause authorizing trial by court-martial. At a later stage, he and several members of the cabinet came to the conclusion that the power of suppressing public meetings might now be abandoned also. The milder form of bill was more palatable, not only to Irish members, but also to many of the English and Scotch supporters of the ministry. In order to appease

O'Connell, and ward off a portion of the agitation which he was raising in Ireland against the ministry on the eve of the introduction of the bill, Mr. Littleton, secretary for Ireland, indiscreetly entered into confidential communication with him, telling of the divided counsels in the cabinet, and of the likelihood, or the certainty, that government would abandon the old provisions against public meetings, as well as those parts relating to the trial of offenders in certain cases by courts-martial. On the strength of this statement, the agitator pledged himself to co-operate with ministers in staying disturbances, and as an earnest of good will he withdrew the repeal candidate whom he had started in the election then coming off for Wexford. The premier, however, was not convinced by the arguments of a section of his cabinet in respect to the old precautions against public meetings, and the bill accordingly came before parliament without the omission which the agitator had been led to expect. Thereupon followed disclosures in parliament of what had passed, for O'Connell was not the man to keep a secret when his interests were better served by revealing it; or when, as in this instance, he could damage political adversaries by the exposure of their dissensions or inconsistencies, seeming or real, or make out that he had been made the victim of a deception. His motion for the production of copies of correspondence between ministers and the viceroy, respecting the removal of the Coercion Act, gave rise to a stormy discussion, in the course of which it appeared that ministers were not in mutual accord on the measure. As the fruit of this debate, Lord Althorp felt that he could not hope to carry in the Commons the measure he had condemned in council, whereupon he resigned. Having thus lost the help of his principal colleague, Lord Grey also tendered his resignation, and suggested to the king the transfer of Lord Melbourne from the home office to the premiership, with the usual post of first lord of the treasury. Lord Althorp consented to resume his duties as chancellor of the exchequer, on being relieved of his obligation in respect to the bill which had occasioned his resignation. The new premier brought forward a fresh coercion bill, divested of the objectionable clauses of the old one. This passed rapidly through all its stages.

Earl Grey had already accomplished the main objects of his administration, when he retired, full of years and honours, from official life after a premiership of nearly four years' duration. The reform of parliament, the emancipation of slaves, the reconstruction of the Irish church establishment to an extent that quashed its worst scandals, with the great measure of poor-law amendment which was well-nigh carried to its final stage when he quitted office, were no mean performances for so brief a term of official life. A foreign policy true to the cause of freedom, just, moderate, conciliatory, yet firm, formed the fitting counterpart of his home administration. Numerous minor abuses in the public service were also corrected, and large retrenchments effected under his guiding hand; while his share in carrying the reforms inaugurated by preceding ministers, was scarcely second to that of any contemporary statesman. The moral greatness of his character secured for him throughout a long career the respect and admiration of his political adversaries, with a feeling akin to veneration in his own party. He survived his retirement from official life until 1845, and passed from life at the ripe age of eighty-two, honoured by the affectionate regards of a grateful nation as the statesman who had restored, upon broad and firm foundations, a political system sound at the core, but deformed by the rank excrescences which had grown about it in the lapse of ages.

The troubles of ministers from Irish business in this session were not closed with the disposal of the question which led to Lord Grey's resignation. The tithe question, that fruitful source of bad blood and fatal affrays between the peasantry and the agents of the law, had in several recent years been disposed of for short intervals only, by bills of temporary application, under which government paid the clergy the arrears due. It was now attempted to settle the matter on a permanent basis. The crown was to be the future receiver of tithe; it was no longer to be paid by the tenant, but by the landlord, who in requital for the obligation thus laid on him was to keep back two-fifths of the sum payable. The clergy were to receive from government payments from the fund thus raised, less indeed than their old nominal dues, but greater certainly than their actual receipts from the obnoxious impost, without trouble, risk of bad debts, or the fierce contentions inseparable from the wringing of petty dues from impoverished neighbours of a hostile creed. The bill passed the Commons, not, however, without amendments in committee, carried by O'Connell against ministers, of a tendency to keep alive as much as might be the old antagonism between the clergy and the tithe-payers. In the Upper House, however, the measure of compromise and conciliation found little favour. The thought of upholding the dues of the church to the last farthing was uppermost among the spiritual peers, and with these voted a solid phalanx of lay peers, against the second reading. The king, too, had indiscreetly made known his strong objection to every measure tending to lower the established church in Ireland. In June, the Irish prelates, headed by the archbishop of Armagh, waited upon his majesty with an address, in which they deplored the disposition of parliament and the cabinet to deprive the church of its statutory advantages. In his reply, breaking through the customary restraints of a merely formal and simply courteous reception of a public body, the king gave large assurances of his earnest concern for the preservation of the full immunities and rights of the establishment, without any infringement of its property rights. "I now remember," said the impulsive and not overwise monarch, "you have a right to require of me to be resolute in defence of the church." Fortified in their own aversion to any abatement of the old standing of the church, by such an attitude on the part of the supreme head of the state, the peers threw out the bill.

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834—the chief legislative work of the year—passed through all its stages by very large majorities, though not without a great amount of earnest and searching controversy, and some strenuous opposition to many of its provisions. Relief from the rates could be obtained under the old system on conditions so easy that the ranks of pauperism attracted recruits in numbers truly alarming from their costliness. The sum expended in England and Wales for the relief of the poor had in fifty years expanded fourfold, and in a century more than tenfold. Crime and demoralization kept something like an even pace with the growth of the parochial rates for the sustenance of paupers. Rick-burning and the warfare against machinery for rural industries were most rife in those parts of England where parochial doles in money and food were most lavish. These facts, and a black catalogue of the further mischiefs springing out of and fostered by the old system of relief to paupers, were brought to light in the report of a commission of nine members appointed in 1832, and whose investigations, extending over a period of two years, took accurate account of every parish in England and Wales. It was proved that the existing administration of relief to the poor encouraged reckless improvidence, idleness, and the undue multiplication of labourers. The mischief was most prevalent in the rural districts; self-help and self-respect were fast waning away from the cottages of a peasantry whose fathers were distinguished for sturdy independence, thrift, and forethought. A single generation had sufficed to work the evil change. Relaxation in the wholesome severity of the old tests of the right to feed at others' expense brought about the deplorable transformation. During the war, stagnation in some employments, coupled with the high price of food, obliged many able-bodied workpeople to resort to parish support. As a temporary alleviation for an exceptional emergency, powers were given by Act of Parliament in 1796, under which justices of the peace could order relief to be given to needy persons in their own homes. If a wise discretion had regulated the exercise of such powers, this was better than driving shoals of families into the workhouse. But the practical working of the scheme was faulty in most instances, and in many others vicious in the extreme. Boards of magistrates in some of the southern and midland counties framed tables for the distribution of relief in their several districts, in which the amount claimable by any applicant was laid down to a nicety in a sliding scale, that took account of the amount of his earnings, the number in his family, and the current price of bread. If his wages fall below a stated level, the rates were to supply him with the difference; the greater the number of his children, the larger his share of the rates. Here was a direct bounty on sloth, for the man who worked hard, and earned good wages, was no better off than the lazy fellow who earned half as much, but got the difference made up to him at the cost of the ratepayers. Here also was a premium on early and improvident marriage, with encouragement to the growth of a surplus population; for farmers gave the preference to married labourers, in order to keep them and their progeny to some extent at least off the rates; while young unmarried labourers, who received but a poor pittance in wages, had only to contract the responsibilities of wedded life, in order to get out-pensions from the rates proportionate to the number of their encumbrances. The practice soon acquired the strength of an established and statutory right, and its evils formed at length a very gangrene, eating into the core of the nation's prosperity. The many appeals of the landed interest to parliament for relief grew to a great extent out of the increasing pressure of poor rates, for nearly three-fourths of the total assessment was paid by the occupiers and owners of the soil. Miss Martineau, in her "History of the Peace," exhibits with graphic power the moral degeneracy of the poor under the operation of the supremely absurd system. "The poor rate," says this lady, "had become public spoil. The ignorant believed it an inexhaustible fund, which belonged to them. To obtain their share, the brutal bullied the administrators; the profligate exhibited their bastards, which must be fed; the idle folded their arms and waited till they got it; ignorant boys and girls married upon it; poachers, thieves, and prostitutes extorted it by intimidation; country justices lavished it for popularity, and guardians for convenience. This was the way the fund went. As for whence it arose—it came, more and more every year, out of the capital of the shopkeeper and the farmer, and the diminishing resources of the country gentleman. * * * Industry, probity, purity, prudence—all heart and spirit—the whole soul of goodness—were melting down into depravity and social ruin, like snow under the foul internal fires which precede the earthquake." The comprehensive measure now laid before parliament concerned itself chiefly with the correction of abuses that had gradually clustered about the original system. The aim was to restore the principle of administration laid down in the law of Elizabeth, rather than to start an entirely new scheme. But the reform now taken in hand was designed not alone to prune away the noxious undergrowth of the past forty years, but to supply the serious shortcomings of the earlier law. The want of a central authority, unbiassed by local considerations, the depository of accumulating experience, was the chief blot in the first scheme of poor-law administration. This defect was now remedied by the establishment of an office in London under the name of the Poor Law Board. Commissioners, with a president to act as their mouthpiece in parliament, who were invested with extensive powers to frame regulations for the management of the poor in such fashion that an appeal to the parish should be the very last resource. To this end they were to be the supreme governing body, from whom all the local authorities must take the law. They were to issue rules for the government of workhouses, the guidance of boards of guardians and vestries, the keeping of accounts, the framing of contracts, the consolidation of parishes into unions, and for the appointment, dismissal, superannuation, and control of all officers employed in the administration of the Act, whether central or local. Other parts of the bill stopped the payment of wages out of rates, and the bounties on a numerous progeny; took from justices of the peace the power of ordering relief; simplified the law of settlement and removal—that fruitful source of litigation as to the chargeability of parishes; provided for the due classification of paupers, and their separation according to age and sex; and corrected that grievous defect in the bastardy law, which fixed on any man the burden of maintaining the illegitimate offspring of any woman who might declare him to be the father. The waste and demoralization which formed the grievous scandal of the old system of poor law administration were rapidly subdued under the action of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. Even with the costly machinery of an effective staff of officers for each workhouse—its chaplain, medical officer, master and matron of the establishment, relieving officers, auditor, clerk to the guardians, schoolmaster and schoolmistress, and a staff of industrial and drill masters, the working of the new system effected a large and immediate saving in money; while it was further remedial in checking the multiplication of a huge mass of able-bodied pauperism, and in so dealing with the young, by an educational and industrial training, as to lift the majority of them into the ranks of self-supporting labour. Within five years of the passing of the bill the total assessment for poor rate had fallen from more than seven millions to little over four millions; illegitimate births were fewer by ten thousand annually; wages were rising; surplus labour was absorbed; and, lastly, real destitution and helplessness were better provided for than ever.

The poor law board has been charged with additional duties from time to time, until the close of the thirty-seventh year of its existence, 1871, when about a dozen other great social organizations, charged with the control of local government, or relating to the relief, or to public health, were amalgamated with it. The combined whole bears the name of the Local Government Board. The new board retains the control exercised by the old poor law board in all questions appertaining to pauperism; while the registration of births, deaths, and marriages; sanitary matters, vaccination and other preventives of disease, general questions affecting public health; drainage, local government, baths and wash-houses, public improvements, and local taxation, are now included in its comprehensive action.

Another important measure of the session that became law was the Central Criminal Court Act, which extended the jurisdiction of the Old Bailey Court over the new metropolitan boroughs, and provided for the speedy adjudication of cases by the frequency of the sessions.

The English dissenters were this year scarcely less pronounced in their attacks on the church establishment than the party who, with stronger reasons on their side, were labouring to abase the dominant church of the sister kingdom. They sent up many petitions to parliament, praying for the abolition of church rates, the separation of church and state, the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords, for such alterations in the marriage law as would relieve them from church attendance and church service in the celebration of their marriages, and for the abolition of those religious tests at the universities under which they were debarred from degrees, and thereby placed at great social disadvantage as compared with churchmen. Had they asked less they could hardly have failed, now that their political friends were in the ascendant, to secure concession to their more reasonable demands. Their indiscreet onslaughts in so extended a line of attack robbed them of the chance of victory at every point. Some of their demands were actually satisfied, so far as majorities in the Commons in support of measures of concession could give what was asked. A bill was brought in by a private member, but with full countenance and support of ministers, to admit dissenters, without subscription to any articles of religious faith, to the education and degrees given at the universities. Many members of the universities, especially at Cambridge, thought the time had come when nonconformists might safely be admitted to such academical degrees as were unconnected with theology. This march of liberal opinion at the ancient seats of learning and citadels of old-fashioned politics, was exemplified by the petition sent up from sixty-three resident members of the Cambridge senate, praying parliament to abolish the religious tests offered to candidates for degrees in arts, law, and physic. Such tests, they urged, were of comparatively modern growth, having been imposed on the university in the reign of James I., "most of them in a manner informal and unprecedented, and grievously against the wishes of many then members of the senate; in times of bitter party animosities, and during the prevalence of dogmas, both in church and state, which are at variance with the present spirit of English law, and with the true principles of Christian toleration." The issue thus boldly raised, provoked, as was to have been expected, a violent counter movement both at Oxford and Cambridge, where the vast majority of the governing bodies, together with the tutors and the mass of the undergraduates, were still many stages in the rear of advanced opinion on questions of civil rights in their relation to religious tenets, and most of whom would doubtless have restored, if they could, the Test Acts, already repealed six years earlier. All the arguments against the bill, whether in the petitions from the universities or in the debates in parliament, were but variations of the single idea—danger to the church, with the risks of a godless education. The promoters of the bill, on the other hand, insisted that there was greater danger to the church in the refusal of justice to the dissenters, than in the proposed extension of the principle of liberty of conscience. The third reading was carried in the Commons on the 28th of July, by one hundred and sixty-four against seventy-five votes. In the Lords, however, it was rejected a few days later, on the second reading, by one hundred and eighty-seven against eighty-five. The intemperate tone assumed by the more ardent champions of the cause, with the certainty that large ulterior claims would be raised on the foundation now attempted to be laid, ensured the defeat of the bill in the Lords, even if that assembly had contained a much larger infusion of liberalism than had yet taken root there. Among very recent demonstrations of a sort not calculated to reconcile the peers to the presence of dissenters in the old universities, a motion had been made in the Commons, and supported by fifty-eight votes, for shutting the bishops out of the legislature. Such assaults called into active play the combative faculties of the episcopal bench and the powerful instinct of self-preservation in every branch of the peerage. It is therefore matter for small surprise that little or no success attended the efforts made in the course of the session to relieve dissenters from the galling obligation to support by church rates a religious institution in which they had no part or lot. Equally unsuccessful were the attempts to settle the English tithe question on a basis that would relieve the payment from difficulties arising out of religious scruples. A bill to enable dissenters to have the marriage ceremony performed in their own places of worship, instead of being married according to the rites of the established church, proved also abortive, owing to the requirement in it that the banns should, as heretofore, be published in the parish church. Among further failures to pass measures in the same session, were the Jewish disabilities bill, and the prevention of bribery at elections bill. Of nearly four hundred notices of motion set down in the order book for discussion, much the greater portion came to nothing; but they are not without interest, as containing the germs of future legislative performance, or as illustrating the drift of thought that stirred the minds of men and found expression in projects of reform and change in the early years of amended parliamentary representation. Among such abortive motions were the proposals for the repeal of the Royal Marriage Act, the taking of votes at elections by ballot, for shortening the duration of parliament, for occasional meetings of parliament in Dublin, for securing open spaces in and about towns for purposes of healthful recreation, for a tax on Irish absentees, for the abolition of hereditary peerages, for amending the laws against drunkenness, for publishing the vote-lists of both Houses, &c. Some considerable practical reforms were actually accomplished, besides the larger measures of which account has already been taken. Thus sinecure offices in the House of Commons and some other public departments were abolished; the house tax was repealed; penalties on marriages by Catholic priests in Scotland were quashed; further postal facilities were granted; the duty on almanacks was remitted; a grant of 20,000*l.* was made, the second of its kind, for building schools for the labouring classes in England; a grant for the same object, of half the amount, was also conceded to Scotland. The private bills that matured into law included fifty-four for improvements in towns and districts; forty-three for railroads and internal navigation; seven for establishing commercial companies; and eighteen for schemes of agricultural improvement. Among questions on which select committees sat and reported, were the grievances of Lower Canada; the education of the poor in England and Wales; steam navigation to India; medical education; the law of libel; and the tea duties. The laborious and not unfruitful session closed on the 15th of August, when the royal speech offered the usual gratulations on the achievements of the year, and foreshadowed not less arduous legislative labours in the next session, when law reform and the remodelling of municipal corporations were to claim especial attention. Two months after the prorogation, the reckless overheating of the flues of the Houses of Parliament occasioned a fire, which consumed the venerable historic pile. The adjacent law courts were saved with difficulty, not, however, without unroofing them and pouring in deluges of water. Temporary buildings were erected, fitted, and furnished, on the old site, in time for next session. Portions of the old building remained sufficiently sound to be turned to account in the makeshift accommodation for housing the legislature until a new structure could be raised.

William IV. owed his great popularity at the opening of his reign to his pronounced leaning towards reform. The pace, however, of the party of progress had proved too swift for his nerves. In 1831 he wavered and faltered midway in the conflict between popular rights and aristocratic pretensions, running with the hare and keeping pace with the hounds. From the moment when victory declared for the people, fidgety qualms and misgivings possessed his mind respecting the drift and bearings of that cabinet which was floated into power on the flood tide of reform. Several of the measures attempted in the past session, and more of the business laid down for the next, excited his fears and undermined his confidence in the ministry. A chance now offered which he eagerly embraced, for making or attempting a change. Lord Althorp, chancellor of the exchequer and ministerial leader in the Commons, became earl of Spencer on the death of his father in November. The removal of his lordship to the Upper House called for some few changes in the distribution of the chief offices. Lord Melbourne waited upon the king, to submit his proposals to this end, on the 14th of November. On the following day the public were startled by the announcement that the duke of Wellington had been sent for, to take his majesty's commands for the construction of a Tory cabinet. The king disapproved Lord Melbourne's scheme of reconstruction; was dissatisfied with the selection of those members of the ministry who were to frame the Irish church bill; declared that Lord Brougham could no longer fill the post of chancellor; and concluded by telling the amazed premier that he would not impose upon him the task of making the necessary arrangements, but would send for the duke of Wellington.

On the duke's advice, his majesty entrusted Sir Robert Peel, who at the time was on a sojourn at Rome, with the task of forming a ministry. The period had not yet begun when messages could be flashed along wires with lightning speed, over continents and through oceans; nor was it yet within the imaginings of science to convey long trains of passengers in a couple of days from the banks of the Tiber, under the Alps and through the length of France, to the Straits of Dover. More than three weeks passed away before the new premier, though he started homewards immediately on learning his sovereign's pressing commission, could by any possibility reach London. Until his arrival on the 9th of December, his place was occupied, for indispensable business, by the duke of Wellington, who, at the king's desire, actually filled temporarily eight of the chief government departments together, including those of the three secretaries of state. Lord Lyndhurst at the same time entered on the vacated chancellorship, subject to the consent of the new premier, which was obtained in due course. The year had well-nigh run out its last week before all the ministerial posts were filled. The Stanley and Graham section of the late ministry—the men who withdrew from Lord Grey's cabinet rather than go all his proposed lengths in Irish church reform — were invited to enter the new cabinet. They, however, declined the offer, and none but pronounced opponents of the reform ministry took office. Like Pitt, Canning, and other premiers not in the peerage, Sir Robert Peel filled the combined posts of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Lyndhurst was confirmed in the office of lord chancellor. The earl of Roslyn became president of the council. The secretaries of state were the duke of Wellington for the foreign, Mr. Goulburn for the home, and Lord Aberdeen for the colonial office. Lord Wharncliffe took the privy seal. The admiralty fell to Earl de Grey, and the war office to Mr. Herries. Lord Ellenborough was president of the board of control, and Mr. A. Baring of the board of trade. Mr. Wynne, Mr. Pollock, and Mr. Follett came also into office. The earl of Haddington went as viceroy to Ireland, having with him Sir H. Hardinge as chief secretary, and Sir E. Sugden as chancellor. Sir James Scarlett, under the title of Lord Abinger, now gained the reward of his old services to the Tory cause, in promotion to the post of chief baron of the exchequer. The new ministry could not hope to stand its ground a single day in a House of Commons in which the Conservatives were outnumbered in the ratio of two to one by the Whigs and Radicals. There was, however, the chance of a stronger following on an appeal to the country, for the current of reform in the past session had proved too swift for large sections of many constituencies, as well as for royalty, and a decided reaction had set in. It needed only that the new ministry should yield with a good grace to the great changes already accomplished, and give assurances against any attempt to restore the old order of things which they had persistently upheld to the last possible moment, in order to gain back scores of seats now filled by political adversaries. A declaration of policy expressed by the premier, in his address to the electors of Tamworth, supplied the required pledge, and went many stages further in bidding for popular support. He announced his entire adhesion to the reform bill "as a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question — a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of his country would attempt to disturb, either by direct or indirect means." He was prepared, too, to move with the times, but not at a reckless pace. "If the spirit of the reform bill," said his manifesto, "implies merely a careful review of institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, undertaken in a friendly temper, combining with the firm maintenance of established rights a correction of proved abuses, and a redress of real grievances, in that case, I can, for myself and my colleagues, undertake to act in such a spirit, and with such intentions." His further pledges on foreign policy, on economy in the public expenditure, and the impartial treatment of every home interest, agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing, were such as might have come from the opposite point of the political compass from that with which his party was identified. He was prepared to redress inequalities in the distribution of church property, and to promote other reforms in church affairs, but would not apply to secular uses any portion of the fund belonging to the church. With this programme of principles before the country, an appeal was forthwith made for the expression of its latest drift of political sentiment.

The dissolution was declared on the 30th of December, and the new parliament was summoned to meet on the 19th of February, 1835. Most of the English counties, and many of the towns, returned to their old allegiance under the Conservative banners. Fabulous sums are said to have been spent by the Carlton club in aiding the return of ministerial candidates. Every agency which church influence and aristocratic ascendancy could bring to bear was strenuously exerted in the same direction. Fully a hundred seats were wrested from the Liberal side, but even this large accession of strength was not enough. England and Wales returned a majority of Conservatives, but Ireland and Scotland sent up such a preponderating number on the other side, as more than counterbalanced that inequality. On the first day of the session a division on the choice of Speaker left ministers in a minority of ten, the votes being three hundred and six for the reappointment of the former speaker, Sir C. Manners Sutton; and three hundred and sixteen for the opposition candidate, Mr. Abercromby. Although this was a set trial of party strength, there was no present talk of quitting office. The premier trusted, despite his significant defeat, that some moderate reforms, which he was about to take in hand, would bring over to his side a number of members who looked more to the quality of measures than to the party banners under which they were introduced. The speech from the throne furnished matter for a yet more damaging defeat. After mention of the flourishing state of the public revenue, trade, and commerce, the depressed condition of the farming interest was commiserated, and commended to the wisdom of parliament, with the view to some measure of relief. The Irish tithe question, the commutation of tithe in England and Wales, reform in the ecclesiastical courts, amendment in church discipline, and the relief of dissenters in the marriage ceremonial, were the other topics of domestic policy. The address in reply passed without a division in the Upper House. But in the Commons Lord Morpeth moved and carried by a majority of seven, in a House of six hundred and twenty-five members, an amendment requiring "that in the place of the two concluding paragraphs should be substituted words expressing a trust that his majesty's councils would be directed in a spirit of well considered and effective reform; that in the same liberal and comprehensive policy which had dictated the reform of our representation and the abolition of negro slavery, the municipal corporations would be placed under vigilant popular control; all the well-founded grievances of the Protestant dissenters removed, and the abuses of the church, which impair its efficiency in England, and disturb the peace of society in Ireland, corrected; also representing to his majesty, that his faithful Commons begged submissively to add that they could not but lament that the progress of these and other reforms had been unnecessarily interrupted and endangered by the dissolution of the late parliament." Even this hard rebuff was accepted submissively, and the address was accordingly presented to his majesty with the conspicuous garnishing of the discontent of the Commons at the late dissolution. The king's answer expressed regret that the Commons disapproved his late appeal to the sense of his faithful and loyal subjects, and gave the assurance that the public good had been, and would remain, the sole consideration in guiding him in the exercise of the royal prerogative. The question now arose whether ministers meant to resign in face of the majorities which had reversed their choice of a Speaker, and inflicted on them the mortification of a condemnatory address. The premier held, however, that unless his government were displaced by a distinct vote of want of confidence, it was his duty to stand his ground, even without the assurance of a working majority in his favour, until all his measures were laid before parliament and the country. His defeats at the very dawn of the session were closely followed up by a succession of further discomfitures. Lord Londonderry, who inherited a full measure of the Castlereagh politics —a horror of popular influences in government, and a partiality for despotic principles—was selected by the duke of Wellington, the new foreign secretary, to fill the post of ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg. His bitter revilings of democracy, vented in the course of the reform controversy and in debates on foreign affairs, marked him out as better qualified to fill the post of Russian ambassador in England than that of English ambassador in Russia. Public sentiment had in recent years been stirred in behalf of the Poles, and in abhorrence of the brutal tyranny of their Russian oppressors. The choice now made of an ambassador to represent England at the court of the czar seemed to express the sympathy felt by the new cabinet towards an unrelenting despotism. The press re-echoed with angry comment, and both Houses discussed the singularly unfit selection. The premier made a faint defence of the appointment, as falling within the competence of the king to make, uncontrolled by parliament. He concluded, however, by stating that he would not advise his majesty to confirm a choice which seemed to be so distasteful to the country. This timely retreat warded off another adverse vote, for the temper of the House clearly indicated on which side the majority would be if a motion on the matter had been carried to a division. Not many days later a motion for an address to the crown, praying for a charter to the London University, enabling it to confer degrees, was carried against ministers by two hundred and forty-six against one hundred and thirty-six votes. Worse defeats awaited them, leaving no choice but resignation, after a little further experiment on the disposition of parliament to give them further trial. Several of their measures, meanwhile, were winning golden opinions in various quarters. The dissenters were gratified with a bill giving full liberty to all denominations to marry in their own chapels. So far as the state had to do with marriage, it was now to assume the form of a civil contract only, leaving to each sect the choice of its own religious ceremonials. The Irish tithe question was revived in a scheme differing but slightly from that which passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords, in the previous year. Tithe was to be paid by proprietors in chief of the land, who were to keep back twenty-five per cent. of the total claim, and were to have the option of redeeming their liability at the price of twenty years' purchase on the diminished rate, the proceeds thus arising to be invested for the benefit of the incumbents or other tithe-owners. All law-suits for the recovery of tithe were to be carried on by the commissioners of the church fund. Advances made by the state to the clergy, for arrears of tithe which they had been unable to collect, were not to be repaid, but to be wiped off as bad debts, at the expense of the imperial exchequer. Resolutions embodying these points, but with some modifications, were carried by a ministerial majority of two hundred and thirteen against one hundred and ninety-eight. A measure for the improvement of the ecclesiastical courts, and the maintenance of church discipline, which also was in substance the same as the scheme first proposed by the other side, brought upon ministers the taunt that they had crept into the nest of their predecessors, and were hatching their eggs. On another occasion a member declared that the wholesale adoption by ministers of the measures of their opponents sprang solely from a *base* desire for place. This form of plain speaking passed the bounds of parliamentary license, and subjected the offender to rebuke from the Speaker, with the penalty of an apology to the House.

A few weeks before the meeting of parliament, a royal commission was issued, consisting of the two archbishops, several other prelates, and some lay members, to consider the state of the several dioceses of England and Wales, with reference to the better division of work and emoluments among the several orders of the church. The reform thus begun from within, and with friendly co-operation on the part of the state, warded off a rougher handling which must else have overtaken the establishment before the lapse of many years. A bill, founded on the first report of the ecclesiastical commission, provided for the endowment of the bishoprics of Ripon and Manchester, out of funds to be derived from the overgrown revenues of other dioceses. Resolutions embodying a scheme for the commutation of English tithe, by voluntary agreement between the owner and payer, were soon afterwards submitted and carried. In a similar spirit all the committees of the previous year were reappointed for carrying on inquiry into abuses and sifting every branch of the public service. Toryism scarcely survived in name, and for a time was utterly extinguished in practice. All the ministerial measures were framed to meet pressing public needs, and were for the most part judicious and satisfactory. There was, in fact, little to distinguish the party in power from the opposition, so rapidly had events toned down old contrasts. The Conservative ministry of this year, like the reform ministry the year before, was found battling against the demands of county members for special indulgence to land. The hustings pledges of shoals of the supporters of the new cabinet tied them down to the repeal, if possible, of the malt tax. The marquis of 'Chandos, as on previous occasions, fought the battle of the owners and occupiers of land. The premier had put in the king's speech an urgent appeal for special consideration of the burdens attaching to agriculture. But so far from siding with his country friends in their assault on the malt tax, he scared many of them into voting for the continuance of that impost, as the better of two evils, the worse being, in his and their reckoning, an income or property tax. "If you think," said Sir Robert, "that the substitute will be advantageous to your interests, be it so. But do not —when hereafter you discover your mistake—lay the blame upon those who offered you a timely warning, and cautioned you against exchanging the light pressure of a malt duty for the scourge of a property tax." His speech showed that great changes in the social habits of the people, rather than the operation of the malt tax, were mainly instrumental in checking that large extension of the use of malt which was the aim of the landed interest. The consumption of beer had diminished, from the yearly average of a barrel to each person in the reign of George I., to scarcely more than half a barrel in the reign of William IV. But in the same interval the consumption of both tea and coffee had increased from about one ounce, to about two-and-a-half pounds per head of the whole population—a fortyfold increase in the use of the exhilarating yet sober beverages which had driven malt liquors from the breakfast table, and otherwise largely filled their place in household consumption. Nearly two hundred "farmers' friends" voted with the marquis, but they were outnumbered almost in the proportion of two to one.

The session went on for six weeks under an administration holding office by the sufferance and forbearance of an opposition majority. It was finally settled, as if by common consent on both sides, though without formal arrangement, to test the stability of the ministry, and its claims to further continuance in office, on a question which had been a main stumbling-block in the path both of Lord Grey's and Lord Melbourne's cabinets, the distribution of Irish church revenues. Sir Robert Peel had notified in his Tamworth address that he was in favour of the best distribution, be it ever so new, of church property for church purposes, but would not sanction the employment of any funds belonging to the church on any other than strictly ecclesiastical objects. The other side now joined issue on this single point, insisting that the large surplus fund which would remain, after fully providing for the spiritual wants of Irish Protestants, ought to be applied to the general education of the poor of all denominations. A census taken by the Irish church commission in 1834, showed that church Protestants were one-tenth only of the whole population. The revenues of their church were above 1*l.* per head of its members. Out of its fourteen hundred benefices, forty-one contained not a single Protestant; twenty had fewer than five; and one hundred and sixty-five contained less than twenty-five. There were one hundred and fifty-seven benefices in which the services had long since ceased to be performed, from utter lack of congregations, and the incumbents resided elsewhere at their option. These and similar facts, taken in connection with the premier's pledge to resist the diversion of church endowments from church purposes, and his known determination to stand or fall by that principle, furnished the ground-work for the party contest which decided the fate of the cabinet. On the 30th of March, Lord John Russell, who had now succeeded to the honours of opposition leader in the House of Commons, moved the resolution of which he had given notice four weeks earlier, for going into committee "to consider the temporalities of the Irish church, with a view to applying any surplus of the revenues, not required for the spiritual care of its members, to the general education of all classes of the people, without distinction of religious persuasion." The debate occupied four long nights, and was marked by deep solicitude and earnestness on both sides. The division, taken at dawn of day on the 6th of April, showed a majority of thirty-three against ministers, out of the six hundred and eleven members who remained to the close of the debate. As the Irish tithe bill stood for debate next day, the cabinet decided to hold on until the vote was taken thereupon before resigning. As soon as that business came under notice of the House, Lord J. Russell moved that no measure on the subject of tithe in Ireland could be accepted as final and satisfactory unless it embodied the principle of the resolution already adopted, that is to say, the appropriation clause. Another long debate followed, ending in another defeat of ministers by a majority of twenty-seven in a full gathering. Next day, the 8th of April, came the expected announcement that ministers had resigned, and that the king was in communication with the chiefs of the other party. Sir Robert Peel's speech on retiring from the premiership, expressed the deep disappointment under which he was thus constrained to forego the coveted opportunity of doing good service to his country, by the settlement of several public questions of high importance. His earnest and measured sentences contained no tincture of bitterness towards opponents who had thwarted his hopes and aims. He laboured under an earnest conviction that his own view on the appropriation clause was that of the large majority of the people, and that in this matter the House really did not reflect the sentiments of the nation. Aided by the moral support of what he estimated as the preponderance of national opinion, and sustained by the confidence of the king, he felt that he only wanted the confidence of the House to enable him to carry several reforms of moment, especially that of the Irish church. But four significant defeats had removed all doubt that his administration was unacceptable to the House of Commons; and lacking their confidence, he had no alternative but to withdraw from the reponsibilities of chief minister of the crown. He added that it would ever be his aim to stand well with the House, and to that end he would never, under any temptation or difficulty, advise the crown "to forego that great source of moral influence which consists in a strict adherence to the spirit, the practice, and even the letter of the constitution." Long and loud cheers from all parts of the House expressed a generous sympathy in the disappointment that had overtaken its leader, and a hearty appreciation of the graceful and earnest tribute of respect thus rendered to its exalted functions in the state. The obstacles in the way of a settlement in several great questions of the day were certainly not lessened by the change of government. The appropriation question was, after all, not an affair of the first magnitude, as was practically acknowledged by the comparative unconcern with which the next ministry accepted defeats upon it again and again in the Upper House, and by succeeding Whig governments for more than thirty years onwards, leaving the principle in abeyance as matter of small account. A ministry consisting of Conservatives, eager to satisfy the public, could have carried speedily through both Houses large instalments of those further reforms which their party, when in opposition, thwarted or delayed for many a year longer. Yet it is matter for small surprise that a Liberal majority should have regarded with scant favour men who had spent their lives in obstructing reform, and whose tardy conversion was fairly open to the suspicion that in the case of most of them it was neither disinterested nor sincere.

On the overthrow of the Peel ministry, Earl Grey, the venerable Whig chief, was once more invited by his sovereign to form an administration. That statesman, however, was never more to be tempted from his retirement, but he advised that his old colleague and successor in the premiership should again be called to the helm. It was not yet four months since Lord Melbourne had been somewhat ungraciously, and quite unexpectedly, dismissed by his majesty, so that the position must have been one of some awkwardness and embarrassment both to king and minister. This feeling was nowise relieved by the remembrance that the Whigs had won their way back to power by beating their adversaries on that very question of church privilege on which the king, in reply to the warm Protestant address of the Irish prelates, had eagerly pledged himself to withstand the principal changes sought by the reformers. Lord Melbourne received, nevertheless, and forthwith acted upon, the summons to the palace. In completing his cabinet he encountered difficulties which, in his explanation to the Lords on the 18th of April, were described as "great and arduous—many indeed of a peculiar and severe kind." The office of lord chancellor was the chief difficulty. On ordinary political considerations this post must have been restored to Lord Brougham, who, however, had deeply offended the king, and lost the good-will of his old colleagues to an extent that now operated in his exclusion from office. There was, for the present, no lord chancellor in the ministry, but the great seal was put in commission, the three officials charged with that trust being the master of the rolls, the vice-chancellor, and another member of the judicial bench. Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. C. Grant filled respectively the home, the foreign, and the colonial secretaryships. Lords Lansdowne, Holland, Auckland, and Conyngham resumed their former duties as lord president, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, first lord of the admiralty, and postmaster-general, respectively. Mr. Spring Rice took the post of chancellor of the exchequer. Other offices were filled by Sir John Hobhouse, Sir H. Parnell, Mr. Poulett Thompson, Lord Howick, and Lord Duncannon. Sundry secondary posts fell to men destined to after eminence, such as Sir G. Grey, Mr. C. Wood, Mr. Labouchere, and Mr. Fox Maule. The new attorney-general was Sir John, afterwards Lord Campbell, and Mr. Rolfe was the solicitor-general. The chief Irish appointments were Lord Mulgrave as viceroy, Lord Morpeth as chief secretary, and Lord Plunket (as formerly) to the chancellorship. The changes of ministers and several creations of peers called for a goodly batch of fresh elections. Several of the contested seats fell to Conservatives, a result which put the ousted ministerial candidates in no small difficulty; but vacancies were finally made for them by the retirement of friends from safe seats. Parties were at length almost evenly matched, to the great contentment of moderate men of both sides, who saw in this approach towards a balance of power a safeguard against the risks of rash and hasty changes. The premier had no new policy to announce. The aims of his present, as of his former administration, were to be safe, prudent, and truly efficient reforms. His government professed to be based on "principles, the tendency of which was not to subvert or endanger, but on the contrary, to improve, strengthen, and establish the institutions of the country."

The remainder of the broken session had for its principal work two measures to which the new cabinet stood specially committed. By adopting the Irish church question as the test of the strength of the Peel administration, the Whigs became in effect pledged to carry out their own views on the disposal of such funds as might remain after satisfying the real needs and rightful claims of a reduced church establishment in Ireland. Their success in this direction was for the present limited to carrying through the Commons a tithe-adjustment bill, closely akin to that of the Peel ministry, but with the appropriation clause added. The Lords, however, were not yet to be persuaded to accept this appropriation principle; so the Irish church establishment kept its disproportionate wealth, and thereby fastened upon itself that ever-increasing jealousy and hostility, under which it finally succumbed in 1868.

The most memorable legislative work of the year was the Municipal Reform Bill for England and Wales. Abuses in the local government of towns had for generations been matter of widespread complaint. The sum of evil inflicted on urban communities from this cause alone must have been really more burdensome to them than the evils springing from a corrupt system of parliamentary representation. So closely, and indeed inseparably connected, however, were the two classes of abuse, that it was simply impossible to correct local misrule and corruption until the central authority, the House of Commons, was itself purged and purified. The pocket boroughs, that lost their franchise under the parliamentary reform bill, and the small and close constituencies that were swamped by a widely extended franchise, were the very strongholds of local abuses and demoralizing influences. The members returned by corrupt boroughs were not the men to attack the corruption of which they were the delegates; and they were a sufficiently compact and numerous body to resist any attempt, should such have been made in the unreformed parliament, to expose and correct the evils of corporate misgovernment. But with the extinction of the close-borough class of members came the possibility of abating or abolishing the local mischief. In July, 1833, Lord Grey advised the king to issue a commission, consisting of twenty members, "to inquire into the existing state of the municipal corporations in England and Wales, and to collect information on defects in their constitution; to make inquiry into their jurisdiction and powers in the administration of justice, and in all other respects; and also into the mode of electing and appointing the members and officers of such corporations, and into the privileges of the freemen and other members thereof, and into the nature and management of the income, revenues, and funds of the said corporations." The twenty commissioners apportioned among themselves the work of local investigation, two of their body sharing in common the inquiry and report upon each batch of boroughs so allotted. The detailed reports on individual corporations filled five folio volumes, which were presented to parliament in 1835, accompanied by a general report bearing the signature of most of the commissioners. On these materials was founded the Municipal Reform Act, a legislative performance second only in importance to the Reform Bill of 1832. The collective verdict of the commissioners on the municipal corporations declared that, even where such institutions existed in their least imperfect form, and were most rightfully administered, they fell short of the wants of modern society. In their actual condition, where not productive of positive evil, they existed, in the great majority of instances, for no purpose of general utility. The perversion of municipal institutions to political ends had occasioned the sacrifice of local interests to party purposes, which were commonly pursued through the corruption and demoralization of the electoral bodies. There prevailed, said the commissioners, a general and just dissatisfaction, among the inhabitants of incorporated towns, with their municipal institutions. This dissatisfaction applied alike to the self-elected municipal councils, whose powers were subject to no popular control, and whose acts and proceedings, being secret, were unchecked by the influence of public opinion; to the borough magistracy, in whose persons the local administration of justice was tainted with suspicion, often mingled with contempt; and to the burden of local taxation, called into existence by the waste of revenues which were diverted from the rightful uses —the public benefit—and wastefully bestowed for the behoof of office-bearers, or squandered in ways hurtful to the character and morals of the people. It was thus manifest that the existing municipal corporations of England and Wales neither possessed nor deserved the confidence or respect of the people, and that a thorough reform was needful to render them useful and efficient instruments of local government. The boroughs and cities embraced in the inquiry were two hundred and thirty-seven in number, with a total population of more than two millions. Secrecy in the disposal of borough funds was the practice in nine out of every ten corporations. In four of them the income ranged from 5000*l.* to 7500*l.*; in five more, from 10,000*l.* to 12,500*l.*; in one, nearly 15,000*l.*; in another, 20,000*l.*; in another, 33,000*l.*; and in one, 91,000*l.* Charitable funds left for educational and other uses were frequently absorbed in the corporate revenues, to be squandered on civic banquets or bestowed in bribes to the voters, miscalled freemen, who were frequently in the lowest condition of poverty, paying no rates, and resident, in many instances, the greater portion of the year, in the poor-house or in jail. The discussion of the important measure which was to deal with the mass of evils brought to light by the commissioners commenced on the 5th of June, and was not closed until the 7th of September. The principle of the bill was not contested in either House, but the Conservatives battled hard, and not unsuccessfully, for amendments which were not in the eyes of reformers improvements, such as preserving all the rights of the existing race of poor freemen.

The great end achieved by the bill is the founding of a system of local government responsible to public opinion and controlled by the ratepayers, in the room of self-elective and self-auditing administrators. This reform was in reality a restoration—with modifications called for by a later stage of social progress—of the primitive plan and principle of municipal government, as it existed from the Saxon and Norman periods onward, until overlaid and debased by that pernicious after-growth of restrictions under which the crown, in the Tudor and Stuart periods, encroached upon and well-nigh rooted out the popular element in local government.

The right to vote in the elections of the town councils established under the Municipal Reform Bill belongs to occupiers of premises of the yearly value of 10*l.* and upwards, who have been resident three years continuously within the borough, and who have duly paid all poor rates and borough rates. The town council, thus chosen, is a deliberative and administrative body in a wide range of affairs. In it is vested the control of the police, sanitary arrangements, lighting, paving, drainage, and other branches of local government. The town councillors choose from their own body the mayor, who is president of the governing body, and the aldermen—an order having precedency merely, but no duties distinct from those of councillors. They also appoint the town clerk, treasurer, and other officers. They receive and expend the corporate revenues, and have powers to levy rates for any of the purposes comprised within their rule. As a check on their spending powers, there must be a yearly balance-sheet placed before the public, verified by auditors appointed each year by the burgesses. All rights of presentation to any benefice or other piece of church patronage, vested in the old corporations, were required to be sold, and the funds thence arising to be converted into government securities, the annual interest to be carried to the account of the borough income. Official trustees of charitable endowments, appointed by and acting under control of the lord chancellor, were now made the depositaries and controllers of all trust moneys of which the corporate bodies were local administrators. The Act applied at first to one hundred and seventy-eight boroughs only—the metropolis and most of the great towns not being among the number. But provision was made for enabling other towns to obtain charters of incorporation under the Act, by petition to the privy council. Manchester, Birmingham, and other great unincorporated towns obtained their charters by this process within a few years of the passing of the Act. London, with its great array of incorporated guilds, was specially exempted from the Act, but only on the express understanding that it was to be separately dealt with by special legislation. The city, through its corporate authorities, has rendered many a great national service in furthering the cause of reform, but it continues up to the current year to resent and resist every effort of ministers of the crown to bring it under any such regenerative process as that which in 1835 and following years was brought to bear on the other civic incorporations.

Scotland got municipal reform with the overthrow of its old system of parliamentary representation by the Reform Bill of 1832. The voter's qualification was made the same for local and general elections. Party interests in Ireland thwarted successive attempts of the Melbourne government to carry out a scheme for renovating its municipal system, so that it was not until the fourth year of the next reign that the corporate bodies in the sister kingdom were brought under the operation of the new scheme. Orangeism, with its latest aims and doings in England and Scotland, as well as Ireland, its native home, came in for the honours of more than one debate in the course of this session. The eldest surviving brother of the king, the duke of Cumberland, filled the post of grand-master of this ultra-Protestant and ultra-Tory institution, and adopted a right-royal style in the issue of commissions and other documents under the great seal of the pretentious and fussy order. Shortly after his accession to the Orange throne—in 1828—he accredited his "trusty, well-beloved, and right-worshipful brother, Lieutenant-colonel Fairman," on a mission to establish new lodges of the order wherever he could, and by such means as his large experience might suggest. The plenary commission to this end—a parchment document, garnished with a seal of portentous size—concluded in kingly style—"Given under my hand and seal at St. James's, this 13th day of August, 1828, Ernest, G. M." Armed with this authority, the military envoy went first to Dublin, to arrange with the Orange magnates there for the adoption of the same code of secret signs and passwords in all parts of the world; and then made two extensive tours in England and Scotland, to visit existing lodges, to establish new ones, and to stir the members everywhere—in the language of the party—"to rally round the throne and the church." Catholic emancipation sent most of the Orange lodges into a state of rabid hatred of the Wellington-Peel administration. Under the promptings of this irrational sentiment, they nourished a vague hope of an early day of reckoning, when, in the forcible language of an Irish peer who filled a prominent place in the fraternity, "certain hell-hounds would be called upon to pay the full penalty of their cold-blooded tergiversations." The fiery and not over-discreet secretary urged the marquis of Londonderry to have all the pitmen on his estates enrolled in lodges of the order. The rapid augmentation of their physical force would enable them, argued the valorous official, "to assume a boldness of attitude which should command the respect of their Jacobinical rulers—the popish cabinet and democratical ministry." The same heated zealot and others of the party laid on the duke of Wellington the absurd imputation that he was about to play the part of Cromwell—to place the diadem upon his own brow. During the last illness of George IV., the irrepressible Fairman wrote a letter to the "Morning Herald," telling of whisperings that had gone abroad, tending to show "that in those disjointed times it was by no means unlikely a vicarious form of government would be attempted." He added that, after the measure lately carried—meaning Catholic emancipation—"What new violation would surprise us? Besides, the popular plea of economy and expedience might be urged as a pretext, while aggrandizement and usurpation might be the latent sole motive." Under fear that some arbitrary step would be taken to stop their meetings, this "trusty, well-beloved, and right-worshipful brother," in one of his letters to Lord Londonderry, holds that the time had arrived for laying aside that non-resistance and passive obedience to the king's government which had hitherto been too religiously observed by Orangemen. "We have," he said, "the military with us, as far as they are at liberty to avow their principles and sentiments; but since the lamented death of the duke of York, every impediment has been thrown in the way of holding a lodge." Despite military regulations to the contrary, it appeared that at the date of disclosures laid before parliament by a committee of inquiry appointed in May, 1835, there were thirty lodges in the army, all active centres of disaffection towards any possible administration that could aspire to guide the counsels of a constitutional monarchy in a nation professing to respect the rights of conscience. The number of lodges in Great Britain alone, including those in the army, stood at little short of four hundred, with a total muster-roll of one hundred and forty thousand members. The lodges in Ireland had one hundred and seventy-five thousand enrolled members.

The English and Scotch portions of this formidable organization of mixed religious and political intolerance had grown up without attracting much public notice. It was the progress of liberal measures, but especially Catholic emancipation, that at length brought the zealots into notoriety, by goading them to a pitch of wrath which would have been truly dangerous if their chiefs had been enterprising, and gifted with capacity for guiding the movement on which their followers were bent. Whisperings got abroad that, on the death of the king, the Orange associations were to rise in arms, place the nearest male heir, the duke of Cumberland, on the throne, and restore the constitution on ultra-Protestant principles, with the old restraints and disabilities on Catholics and dissenters. The Princess Victoria was to be set aside in favour of her uncle, because it was feared by the Orangemen that her accession would perpetuate the rule of the Whigs and Radicals. Monstrous and improbable as the conspiracy appears, the correspondence, which the parliamentary committee got hold of, left no room to doubt that it had certainly been entertained. The flight of Colonel Fairman, and the destruction or concealment of documents which the House of Commons, through the Speaker, insisted that he should deliver up, baffled further research at a critical point. Enough, however, was substantiated to form the groundwork of a series of resolutions moved by Mr. Hume, declaring the abhorrence of parliament of all such secret political associations, and proposing an address to the king, asking him to cause the removal of all Orangemen and members of other secret political associations from all offices, civil or military. On behalf of the government, Lord John Russell suggested a somewhat milder proceeding—an address praying the king to take effectual measures for suppressing the societies in question. This amendment was adopted, and his majesty gave assurance that he would act up to the request of the Commons. The duke of Cumberland forthwith dissolved every lodge in which his authority was acknowledged, and recommended at the same time that the Irish associations should disband. A sudden, and to all appearance a complete, collapse of the order ensued throughout the home dominion and in remote colonial dependencies. But at no distant date the Irish lodges took, as it were, a new lease of life, reviving their old processions on certain Protestant anniversaries, and mingling occasionally in bloody frays with the exasperated Catholics. Outbreaks of the same sort of faction feuds too often mar the peace of such American and Australian communities as include a large infusion of emigrant Irish. The aggregate of wounded and slain in quarrels provoked by the yearly celebration of the battle of the Boyne can hardly have been fewer than the original losses in the stubborn encounter between William of Orange and the ex-king, James II.

The financial statement of the year, made on the 14th of August, is scarcely noteworthy, except for the late date at which it was presented. A slight reduction in duties on glass and in spirit licences swamped the very small surplus left disposable.

Early in the session Lord Brougham submitted to the Peers a string of resolutions on the subject of education for the masses. He was averse to direct interference on the part of the state in the establishment or after working of a general system of schools, on the ground that the voluntary efforts of private individuals, and zeal on the part of the several religious communions, were already in active play, supplying the need. But in the dearth of qualified instructors he saw an opening for the establishment of a normal school or college for the education of teachers, and for this want he thought it incumbent on the state to make provision. Lord Melbourne pledged his cabinet to a close and earnest consideration of the whole subject of national education. Government took a vote of 10,000*l.* for a normal school, together with the small grant towards the building of elementary schools, as in the two previous years; but three years more glided away before any result became manifest of that earnest deliberation which statesmen were at last devoting to this important subject. The leisure now at Lord Brougham's command bore further fruit in the promotion of useful discoveries and inventions. The patent law, passed this year, was the work of the indefatigable and versatile ex-chancellor. Under the old law inventions of highest importance sometimes yielded little or no benefit to their originator, from the fact that his rights lapsed before he had time to emerge from the difficulties besetting the full introduction of his discovery to the knowledge of the public. Watt's marvellous improvements on the old steam-engine had scarcely struggled into general appreciation before his exclusive rights came to an end. The duration of patents was now extended, on reasonable conditions, from fourteen to twenty-one years, and the process of registering inventions was relieved of defects which, under the old system, operated frequently in quashing an inventor's claim.

Sir James Graham, guided by the experience gained when he was first lord of the admiralty, introduced and carried a measure for encouraging voluntary enlistment into the royal navy, and thereby lessening the need for impressment. Enlistment for five years, in lieu of unlimited or life-long service, was the most popular feature in the bill with the seafaring community. The scheme embraced, too, a system of registry of seamen, with provisions for protecting their interests afloat and ashore. Next to municipal reform, this was the most important measure passed in the session. Among other legislative measures of the year were the following:—Shortening from two days to one the duration of polling for parliamentary elections in England and Wales; establishing copyright in lectures; abolishing death-punishment for letter-stealing and sacrilege; appointing inspectors of prisons, and introducing uniformity of practice in prison discipline and management; and enforcing uniformity in weights and measures. The royal assent was given to one hundred and sixty private bills, of which forty-two were concerned with improvements in towns and districts, eighteen were for railway enterprises, and ten for navigation. The toilsome and prolonged session was closed by the king in person on the 10th of September. In comparison with preceding years, back to 1832, it was held at the time to be ingloriously remarkable for the small amount of business accomplished in it; but in contrast with after times it would certainly rank as a year of rich copiousness in useful law-making. The blame of comparative barrenness in performance was largely due to the Peers in both the last sessions, for their rejection of many bills that had passed the Commons, and mutilations of more, were so frequent as to give rise to an agitation for reform in the constitution of the Upper House. The subject was agitated at public meetings, discussed in the press, and made the burden of petitions to parliament. Mr. Roebuck, in presenting petitions, towards the end of the session, for reform in the House of Lords, gave notice that he would move next year for leave to bring in a bill to take from the peers the *veto* they now possessed, and often exercised, in matters of legislation. He proposed giving them instead a suspensory power, under which they would be able to reject a bill once only; while any bill passed a second time by the Commons, and then sanctioned by the royal assent, should become law without regard to the concurrence or otherwise of the peers. Mr. Hume also took occasion to vent his resentment against what he deemed the solemn mockeries of the so-called conferences between the two Houses—meetings between peers and members, at which no word was spoken, but pieces of paper were interchanged, and at which the higher dignity of hereditary senators was asserted by their remaining seated and covered, while the representative legislators were required to stand, hat in hand. Later in the year O'Connell handled the same theme in his own strong and vehement language, at a series of public banquets held in his honour at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Manchester, and elsewhere, his most pointed shafts being aimed at the hereditary qualification for seats in the House of Lords.

The first election of town councillors under the Municipal Reform Act came off in December, and resulted in the complete discomfiture of the old monopolists of office in every large town. Only a few of the small towns returned a majority of Conservatives, so that the reformers were in an ascendancy for purposes of local government, not less decided than that overwhelming majority of the same party which was chosen at the first parliamentary election held under the Reform Bill.

Unusual briskness in home and foreign trade, with full and well-paid employment for almost every manufacturing and industrial occupation, lent their powerful aid towards lulling the fervour of party politics, and stopping the springs of social disturbance through the latter half of this year and the whole of the following one. The classes that subsist on wages were never before so well able to command a good supply of the comforts and necessaries of life in food, clothing, and house accommodation. Provisions were cheap and labour in full demand; emigration received a sudden check; poor-rates fell; the revenue on articles of general consumption went up; the police had a quiet time; prisons, asylums, and workhouses admitted from month to month numbers much smaller than they sent forth from their walls; and rustics received better wages from the farmers, in face of the inducements offered for their migration to the manufacturing towns. New mills with their towering chimneys were rising in many a valley of Yorkshire and Lancashire; the old factories were full to overflowing with orders, their only difficulty being to find hands enough. Even Macclesfield, Coventry, and Spitalfields raised no repinings on the fallen estate of silk, for that branch of trade shared in the general briskness. The potteries and foundries were not less busy than the mills; shipping was in unusual demand for a greatly expanded foreign trade; agriculture alone, in the person of the farmer and his landlord, but not of the labourer, complained of the badness of the times.

The speech from the throne, at the opening of parliament on the 4th of February, 1836, dwelt with satisfaction on these prosperous aspects of national affairs in every field of industry and enterprise, except the partial depression that was acknowledged to prevail in the farming interest. The speech regretted the continuance of civil war in Spain. A British legion had lately gone thither, to operate against Don Carlos, under authority of an order in council suspending the Foreign Enlistment Act in favour of the queen of Spain, and permitting recruits and supplies to be raised in this country for her service. Measures were to be submitted for alleviating the grievances of nonconformists, for increasing the efficiency of the church, for the commutation of tithes, and for improvements in the administration of justice. The wants of Ireland—under the three heads of municipal reform, a scheme of poor law administration, and a permanent settlement of the tithe question—formed another section of the speech. On one of the earliest days of the session ministers gratified the landed interest by appointing a select committee, chiefly of county members, to inquire into the causes of, and to propose remedies for, the depressed condition of agriculture. On announcing this step, Lord J. Russell warned the complainants not to flatter themselves with hopes that benefit could come from such an investigation, and the result showed how well founded were his mistrusts. Left to solve the puzzle in their own way, the farmers' friends got bewildered, and, at the end of the session, abandoned the tangled question in despair, without making any report. The evidence taken, if it proved anything, showed that the difficulties under which agriculture laboured were neither so severe nor so general as to warrant exceptional treatment at the hands of the legislature. The cultivation of the soil under the high rents which farmers could afford to pay in the time of war prices had proved a bad trade, comparatively, since the fall of prices that came with peace. Every remedy but the right one—the adjustment of rents to lowered profits—found favour with the landowners in whose behoof this ceaseless plaint was dinned into the ears of the public. At that time an increase of the import duty on foreign wheat, even if the

House could have been brought to the melting mood in behalf of repining landowners and their tenants, must have failed in its purpose, for during the last three years the markets had been supplied almost entirely by home produce. The average annual importation had fallen since the first ten years of the century from more than six hundred thousand quarters down to less than two-thirds of the amount in the years immediately preceding this latest outcry. One important boon to agriculture, though not limited to that interest, and not given at the cost of the community at large, was secured by the bill passed this year for the commutation of tithe in England and Wales. The vexatious claim to a tenth part of the produce of the soil was converted into a corn rent-charge, payable in money, according to the value of a fixed quantity of corn in the seven preceding years. Under the system of tithe in kind the sinking of capital in improvements of the soil was discouraged, for the tithe-owners' demands rose with the increased produce realized by such applications of capital. In eight years from the passing of the Act about half the old tithe-charge of England and Wales was duly converted under the new scheme of rent-charge. Provision was also made for enabling the tithe-payer to free his land from the burden, but the conditions of such redemption were not sufficiently tempting to induce a large proportion of settlements on the statutory basis.

The Established Church Act, foreshadowed in a paragraph of the king's speech, gave effect to the leading recommendations of the royal commission appointed early in 1834, at the instance of Sir Robert Peel. This measure of church reform corrected some glaring and scandalous inequalities in the apportionment of revenues among the bishops and the higher dignitaries on the cathedral establishments. In consideration of the real insufficiency of income belonging to about half the bishoprics, the occupants of such poor sees had been allowed to hold other clerical preferment for the sake of the extra pay, they discharging the duty by deputy at a cheap rate. This privilege had been greatly abused, and was now swept away. Some of the bishoprics were rich enough to spare from their superfluity enough to raise the remainder to a level fully adequate to all the moderate requirements of episcopal rank, and this obvious plan of rectifying inequalities was accordingly adopted. The income of the Archbishop of Canterbury was reduced to 15,000*l.*; that of the Archbishop of York to 10,500*l.*; that of the Bishop of London to 10,000*l.*; of Durham to 8000*l.*; of Winchester to 7000*l.*; and the rest from 5500*l.* to 4000*l.* Existing interests were respected, and under this saving clause one member of the episcopal bench lived long enough to receive little less than 300,000*l.* in excess of the very liberal income falling to his successors in an equal term of years. Even after richly compensating the poorer members of the episcopal bench for the lost privilege of holding benefices *in commendam*, large savings from the revenues of enormously wealthy sees remained disposable. Successive removals from see to see, on monetary considerations, formed one of the worst scandals of the old system. This temptation to migrate from one diocese to another disappeared under the levelling process, which left only a few incomes at an exalted pitch above the rest.

Several other church bills, bearing on sinecures, pluralities, the obligation of clergymen to reside within their benefices, and a new appropriation of the revenues of cathedral, and collegiate churches, were advanced some stages, but the prospect of carrying them through waned with the progress of the session, and they were dropped for a time. A bill was, however, carried, suspending new appointments to dignities in the church and to sinecure rectories, thus staying the growth of further vested interests until the whole question could be settled on a permanent footing. Other bills extinguished certain secular jurisdictions hitherto belonging to the bishops of Durham and Ely and the archbishop of York. The Marriage Act, passed in this session, may be considered another piece of church reform. It accomplished what had been attempted several years in succession—the relief of dissenters from the real grievance of being forced to comply with the ritual of the established church in order to be legally married, and avoid risks in the descent of property. Under the Act marriage may be merely a civil contract, which takes effect by simple declaration of the parties in the office of the district registrar; or it may be contracted in any place of religious worship, according to such ceremonial as the several religious communions prefer. Marriage in accordance with the old service of the established church, preceded by the publication of banns, or by licence, was left as before, the new law merely adding additional methods of contracting marriages to satisfy the scruples of those who dislike the ritual and ceremony of the state church. Notwithstanding the relaxation of the old law, large numbers of nonconformists have continued steadfast in their preference of the old marriage ceremonial in the churches of the establishment, rather than use the liberty given under the Marriage Act of 1836. Even so late as 1870, when an entirely new generation had come into being since marriages otherwise than in accordance with the rites of the established church were first made legal, less than a fourth of the whole number were celebrated in buildings registered for marriages under the Act, the remaining three-fourths and upwards having been performed in churches of the establishment. With the bill amending the marriage law was launched a measure providing a complete system of registering births, deaths, and marriages. The twin schemes, after a prosperous passage in close association from the day in which both were first submitted to the attention of parliament, became statutes on the same day. The registration bill removed another grievance of dissenters, and at the same time satisfied a really national want. Up to that time registry was limited to a record of baptisms, marriages, and burials, in accordance with the rights of the established church. The date of birth might or might not be stated at the time of baptism. The date of death, and the disease causing it, were not parts of the registry of burial. The whole system of record was insufficient even for members of the church, while for those who disowned its authority and refrained from its services there was simply no registry at all. No means existed for obtaining information on a large range of questions of high social importance, such as are now laid before the public in the registrar-general's periodical return of vital statistics. In 1833 a select committee of the House of Commons—charged with the duty of reporting on existing provisions for such registry, and the means of improving it—pronounced unanimously that not mere amendment, but fundamental reform was urgently wanted. The bill now brought forward gave effect to their recommendation—that a national civil registration should be enforced of births, marriages, and deaths, including all ranks of society, and religionists of every class. A central office in London, having under its direction a large local staff distributed over the country, is the well-known machinery by which the work is accomplished. Certified copies are sent up periodically from all the provincial offices to the general register office at Somerset House, there to be arranged, paged, bound in volumes, and indexed, for convenience of search. From either the central or the local registries can be obtained certified copies of the original entry, from the 1st of July, 1837, of any birth, marriage, or death, with the usual details that together make up an authentic record of important facts bearing on a multitude of the transactions of daily life.

Among minor yet not unimportant reforms achieved in the session of 1836, stands the reduction of the stamp duty on newspapers, from four pence to a penny per copy. A substantial cheapening of paper was at the same time ensured by the remission of about half the excise duty to which it stood liable. The higher imposts, especially the heavy stamp duty, had long been matter of earnest remonstrance, on the score that they formed a serious hindrance to the spread of information among the people. A rapid increase in the circulation of stamped newspapers, and the establishment of new ones under the encouragement of a penny stamp duty, soon compensated the loss to the exchequer, while government gained the lasting advantage of relief from the irksome duty of prosecuting swarms of petty traffickers in the illicit trade in unstamped papers. As a demonstration against the cheapening of newspapers, the marquis of Chandos, as soon as it was known the stamp duty was to be lowered, revived the motion that had been thrown out in many a session—but which was still certain to command a large measure of support—affirming the strong claims of agriculture to share in any contemplated easement of burdens. The new poor law, however, as was conclusively shown by the home secretary, had eased the burdens of the owners and tenants of farms in the past two years to an extent greatly in excess of the sum total of any possible remissions to be got from the present surplus. The rates raised in 1836 showed a saving of little less than two millions sterling, as compared with the same local burdens for the maintenance of the poor in 1834. Nor was this the only form in which the landed interest had shared substantially in the diminution of burdens. Yet one hundred and seventy two members voted with the persevering "farmers' friend," in this scramble for the coming surplus, and it was only by the narrow majority of thirty-six that ministers defeated the greedy demand.

The financial statement, presented on the 6th of May, showed a buoyant condition of revenue, as had been expected from the general prosperity among the great mass of consumers. Income stood at 46,980,000*l.*, and expenditure at 45,206,000*l.*, leaving a surplus of 1,774,000*l.* But the interest on the West Indian loan, which stood as a floating, not funded debt, absorbed all but 662,000*l.* of the excess.

Besides lowering, as already mentioned, the newspaper stamp to a penny, and throwing off half the paper duty, the budget took off part of the duty on insurance, and offered a morsel of comfort to farmers, among others, in reduced duties on taxed carts. The naval estimates included an additional five thousand seamen, against which, however, was the set off of some saving on the military force. Mr. Hume indulged in one of his customary tilts against the military, contending that five thousand soldiers might very well be struck off the muster roll, now that the Orange lodges were suppressed. The land forces at the time were rather under eighty-two thousand men, not including the Indian army. But England, argued the pertinacious economist, is a civil, not a military country; and he "wished to see an end put to that vicious system which had arisen out of the late wars—the maintenance of a preposterously large military force in time of peace." No real friend of the government, he added, desired them to keep such a force, though the Tories might.

The Irish Tithe Bill and the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill stood prominently among the failures of the session. The first of these miscarried, as in previous and subsequent years, through the unconquerable repugnance of the peers to the appropriation clause. In vain ministers gave up the thought of suppressing benefices to which belonged no congregations, and offered incomes of not less than 100*l.* to incumbents with flocks fewer than fifty in number, the payment rising with the number of resident Protestants to a maximum of 500*l.*, in addition to the glebe-house. All the merit of this large concession was blotted out, in the reckoning of Conservatives, by the announcement that ministers would stand by the pledge they had given on entering office, in regard to the appropriation clause. Under this pledge they again insisted that any portions of Irish church revenues remaining over after the reasonable wants of the clergy were satisfied, should be applied to the maintenance of schools for the Irish poor, without distinction of religious creeds. On the second reading in the Commons, Lord Stanley moved an amendment, aiming to secure to the church the whole of its revenues, regardless of the question of numbers. This raised the old issue of Protestant ascendancy, and drew from Lord John Russell the distinct avowal that it was incumbent on the imperial legislature to consult rather the interests and feelings of the great body of the Irish people, than to preserve the exclusive and exasperating superiority of a small section of them over the rest. The real point in controversy, both in the church question and the government bill for Irish municipal reform, was whether Protestant ascendancy or the general national well-being should be the guiding and cardinal principle in ruling Ireland. A three nights' debate closed at broad daylight on a June morning in a ministerial victory, soon to be followed, however, by the customary rejection by the Peers of the appropriation clause. Towards the close of the session, when the order of the day came on to consider the Lords' amendments to the Irish Tithe Bill, Lord John Russell declared that the principle of appropriation, which had been rejected again and again by the Peers, was the principle on which he and his colleagues were resolved to stand. "When we were out of office," said the ministerial leader, "we maintained that that principle was essential to a final settlement of the tithe question; and if, while we are in office, the House of Commons think proper to affirm an opposite principle, amounting to a denial of that which we asserted, of course it will be our duty to resign, and to pretend no longer to govern the councils of this country." Another lengthy debate followed. The Peers' amendments were disallowed, and the vexed question stood over till next year.

The principle of popular election of town councillors, for the proposed new municipal corporations in Irish boroughs, was not less distasteful to Conservatives than the appropriation clause in relation to church revenues. Under the old system, to be abolished by the bill now brought forward in pursuance of the pledge of ministers and the recommendation in the king's speech, Catholics were jealously excluded from corporate privileges. They were rarely admitted even as freemen, and, with few exceptions, were altogether shut out from the governing bodies. The Act of 1792, which made Catholics eligible for civic offices, had proved in practice a mere dead letter in the face of sectarian exclusiveness. Apart from the question of creeds, the Irish corporations were distinguished by even grosser abuses than those appertaining to the English and Scotch boroughs before their recent purgation. Town councillors resident far away, and not locally connected with the boroughs under their control, were by no means uncommon. The whole body of chartered burgesses, in other instances, were non-resident, being nominees of the lord of the manor, or other patron or proprietor. So rampant and notorious was the corruption in these corporate cliques, that the opponents of the Irish Municipal Reform Bill were willing enough to abolish existing corporations, and only objected to the establishment of new ones. Their hostility was founded on the not unnatural fear that popular election, on conditions like those which worked well enough in England, would in too many cases be determined in Ireland by the influence of the priests. They therefore insisted that other means ought to be devised—such as nomination by the central authority—for securing the peace and good local government, together with the efficient and impartial administration of justice. On the other hand, the Irish people were not in the mood to be debarred from equal rights with their fellow-subjects in England in the choice of municipal councils, at a time when ministers of the crown were proclaiming "there was only one way in which it was possible to pacify Ireland, and that was to promote a real union through an amelioration of her institutions—by treating her fairly—by giving her equal privileges and equal rights with England." The measure passed the Commons—not, however, by large majorities. In the Lords it was so mutilated as to leave few traces of the original. On its return to the Commons, the greater part of the amendments introduced by the Peers were disallowed; whereupon followed an angry collision between the two Houses, with many severe animadversions on the obstructive tactics of the peers. Lord Grey suggested a compromise in the nature of a scheme to secure the representation of minorities, so that no party in local representation could be established to the entire exclusion of the rest. The suggestion was not adopted, and the bill fell through. Another measure, for governing charitable trusts in England by popular election, was lost from the same cause—the inability of the Commons to accept the amendments of the Lords. Among minor failures of legislative attempts, were bills dealing with the civil disabilities of Jews, for improving the court of chancery, for amending the English Municipal Reform Bill, and another for shortening the duration of county elections.

The obstructive action of the Peers in the work of the session, was the theme of the very latest discussion in the Commons. Mr. Hume's vigorous oration on this point was still proceeding, when the Commons were summoned to hear the prorogation speech, on the 20th of August. The legislative work completed during the session, the brisk condition of trade and manufactures, and the decrease of crime in Ireland furnished topics of congratulation; to which were added expressions of confident belief that perseverance in just and impartial measures would tend to the maintenance of tranquillity, together with an expansion of the industrial resources of the sister kingdom. Meetings of constituencies, for the purpose of giving festive receptions to their representatives, and receiving from them accounts of their political stewardship, were unusually numerous in the ensuing recess. This useful observance was then of recent growth, dating only from the Reform Bill of 1832. Some of the utterances on occasions of the sort, by leaders in the political warfare of the time, are of lasting interest as masterly defences, or able and eloquent expositions of policy. Lord Morpeth's address to his constituents at Leeds is a good sample. "I value," said he, "the constitution, and will do my utmost to maintain it; but under its broad and expansive shade I would remove every obstacle, and clear away every avenue of access, to every class, to every creed, to every race that owns its sway, or courts its shelter. I would proceed in reducing and removing all the remainder of exclusive privileges and monopolies by which one class of our countrymen may be benefited to the detriment of the rest. I would give to religious as well as to civil freedom the most unobstructed range; and at one act I would desire to banish from our temples and altars the clash of sordid disputes and civil bickerings. I would cling to no abuse because it is ancient; shrink from no improvement because it is change. The destiny of parties, as of nations, is beyond human ken; but I shall always, as a member of party, recollect with pride that in four short years we have reformed the representation of the people in parliament; reformed and opened the municipal corporations of England and Scotland; swept from our blushing records the demon of slavery; opened wide the seas and shores of the globe to British trade and enterprise. And this, the legislation of four short years, has been—let the over-timid and over-bold mark this!—achieved without one form of the constitution being violated, without one breach of the law being countenanced, without one drop of human blood being spilt."

Among counter appeals, enforcing the views of opposition, was Sir R. Peel's brilliant speech at the Glasgow banquet, held in honour of his election to the post of lord rector of the university in that city. After a frank and full acknowledgment that it was necessary to strengthen and enlarge the foundations of the constitution: "Let us come," added the Conservative chief, "to the main point, for I do not wish to conciliate your confidence by hoisting false colours. I mean to support the national establishments which connect Protestantism with the state in the three countries. I mean to support, in its full integrity, the House of Lords, as an essential and indispensable condition to the maintenance of the constitution under which we live. Do you also concur in that expression of opinion? And if you do, it is a timely declaration of it. The *hour has arrived* when, if these are our feelings, we must be prepared to act upon them. The disturbing influence of foreign example has diminished; the dazzling illusion has passed away; the affections of the people are visibly gravitating again to their old centre—full of respect for property, a love of rational freedom, and an attachment to long established institutions. From these walls, I trust, a spirit will go forth to animate the desponding, and to encourage the timid. I look abroad from the spot on which I stand to the moral influence of that opinion which constitutes the cheap defence of nations. I look to it for the maintenance of that system of government which protects the rich from spoliation and the poor from oppression. I look to that spirit which will range itself under no tawdry banner of revolution, but unfurl and rally round—

'The flag that's braved a thousand years,
The battle and the breeze.'

Yes. I feel not a shadow of doubt that it will continue to float in triumph, and that the constitution, tried as it has been by the storms of adversity, will come forth purified and fortified in the rooted convictions, the feelings, the affections, of a religious, a moral, and a patriotic people."

That prosperous state of commerce which had gleamed forth in the royal speech, both at the opening and at the end of the session of 1836, was doomed to large abatement before the close of the year. Joint-stock banks, resting on the broad basis of a numerous proprietary, had enjoyed an increasing partiality ever since the disastrous panic of 1825 broke so many private banks. Fostered by public confidence, and further encouraged by the extension of privileges which fell to them on the renewal of the Bank of England charter in 1833, the joint-stock establishments multiplied too fast. Nearly thirty fresh ones sprang into being in the three years ending 1836, and forty-five others were started between January and October of that year, many of them with branch establishments in provincial towns. A keen competition for business among this host of new banks, in a period, too, of brisk trade and abundant new openings for profitable investment, fed the flame of mercantile speculation. As usual in seasons of great commercial activity, an inordinate thirst for rapid gain overcame the caution and prudence that should guide the spirit of mercantile venture. Overtrading glutted the markets and brought down prices. Then came the crash of many seemingly stable trading firms, and the collapse of not a few of the unseasoned joint-stock banks that had assisted inflated undertakings. Three American houses in London took the lead in this period of reckless trading. Their shipments of British goods, for which they gave acceptances in the second half of the year 1836, represented a total value exceeding two millions sterling. The panic which for a time closed their establishments, and many besides in London and Liverpool, operated in America with a force unexampled even by the disastrous experience of England in 1825. So overwhelming was the monetary confusion in the United States, that local and central governments, as well as all the banks, had to suspend cash payments for a long interval. The first gust of this commercial tornado burst many fresh share-bubbles in England and Ireland. Among these were cemeteries, zoological gardens, distilleries, newspapers, railroads, insurance, &c. Several of the great industries of the country were paralysed for months, causing much distress among the unemployed, and bringing largely into play the new poor law machinery. Food happily continued cheap throughout the time of scant employment and low wages, though certainly not so cheap as in the year preceding the period of trial.

The aspect of foreign affairs was not altogether reassuring. France, as then described by one of its highest public functionaries, the duke of Broglie, president of the council, was still labouring in the throes of the long revolutionary crisis which began in July, 1830. The adherents of the expelled dynasty and the republicans were not yet reconciled to the steady constitutional government which had been thus far honestly worked out by Louis Philippe. Their incessant and bitter attacks in the press on the character of the king, together with several attempts on his life, led to the framing, and excused the passing, of a series of gagging Acts, which the people at large accepted almost without objection, as needful safeguards against political and social firebrands. Revolution was again the order of the day in both the Peninsular kingdoms. The aim in both Spain and Portugal was a further advance in democratic influence beyond the mark reached by the party of progress in its latest conflict with the absolutists. Polish, Italian, and other refugees from home despotism, who had taken service in a French legion that was to aid the queen of

Spain against the Carlists, changed sides rather than be shut out from a share of the fighting at a crisis when the doubts of the French government as to its position in the squabble was staying its hands, and the action of its not over-scrupulous foreign contingent. The risk of fresh Russian inroads on the feeble empire of the sultan formed another ground of disquietude. In the late session the first distinct notes of alarm were sounded of the part likely to be played by Sebastopol in the conquest of Constantinople. Lord Dudley Stuart placed in a striking light the aggressive policy of Russia, her vast and growing armaments, her insatiable thirst for extensions of territory, and the strong probability that her government was then contemplating an early swoop on the capital of the Ottoman empire. "Who can tell," he urged, "that the Hellespont may not be subject to Russia at any moment? She has a large fleet in the Black Sea, full command of the mouths of the Danube, and of the commercial marine cities of Odessa and Trebizond. In three days she may be at Constantinople from Sebastopol; and if once there, the Dardanelles will be so fortified by Russian engineers, that she can never be expelled except by a general war. She could be in entire possession of these important straits before any expedition could be sent from this country, even if such a thing could be thought of against the enormous military force at the command of Russia. That Russia is determined to have the Dardanelles, is evident from the treaty of Umkiar-Skelessi, by which she began by excluding the ships of all other nations. The effect of this treaty was to exclude any ship of war from these straits, except with the permission of Russia. Russia has now fifteen ships of the line and seven frigates in the Black Sea. Sebastopol is only three days' sail from the Hellespont. Turkey has no force capable of resisting such an armament; the forts of the Hellespont are incapable of defence against a land force, for they are open in the rear. Russia might any day have one hundred thousand men in Constantinople before England or France could even fit out expeditions to defend it." Lord Palmerston, in his capacity of foreign secretary, hushed down, as a mere figment of the imagination, as purely visionary and unreal, this tolerably accurate forecast of a danger which eighteen years later brought on the Crimean war, the sacrifice of a hundred millions of British treasure, and an aggregate loss of life, on the part of all the belligerent forces, little short of half a million.

The session of 1837, being the last of the reign of William IV., began on the last day of January. The king was too much out of health, from general failure of his vital powers, to be able to take his wonted place in the opening ceremonial, so the duty of reading the royal speech fell to the lord chancellor. The chief topics commended to the attention of parliament were the disturbed state of Canada; the weak points lately brought to light in the working of joint-stock banks; the need of further amendments in several branches of civil and criminal law; the expediency of adjusting some questions then threatening the stability of the church; and the needs of Ireland, under the heads of municipal reform, a scheme of poor law administration, and the settlement of the tithe difficulty. Neither the speech nor the address provoked much hostile comment. The duke of Wellington, the opposition leader in the upper House, had by this time descended far down from the soaring Tory altitudes in which he had been wont to defy all the energies of the reform party. He was at length so far friendly to the discreet rectification of proved abuses, that he felt constrained to bestow on the ministerial programme of coming measures the praise that he had seldom heard a royal speech that was less liable to objection. Despite this fair beginning, however, it was well understood from the outset that the chief measures foreshadowed in the royal speech could be carried by only narrow majorities in the Commons, while it was still more certain that the Lords would handle them so roughly as utterly to defeat the purpose of their promoters. These were the bills dealing with Irish municipal government, the adjustment of Irish tithes, and the intractable subject of church rates in England and Wales. Commanding majorities were not to be got in a house elected under the influences of a Conservative ministry, and the Peers were nowise disposed to bow to the decisions of a House of Commons in which the opponents were nearly as numerous as the supporters of ministerial policy. The Irish Municipal Reform Bill was carried with great despatch through the Commons. In the Lords, however, the duke of Wellington secured a postponement of the discussion in committee, until the tithe bill also should come up from the Commons. Both bills, he urged, were marked by the same tendency to injure the church establishment which for three centuries it had been the policy of England to uphold, and as there were several other measures in the Commons affecting the interest of the church, the House should wait until they had all the bills together. This stoppage, with the interruption of all parliamentary business, that came soon after with the final illness and death of the king, frustrated both measures until the next reign. One of the other measures referred to by the duke, as boding ill for the church, was the scheme for abolishing church rates in England and Wales. The payment of this impost, for the purposes of a worship which they disowned, was hardly less distasteful to English and Welsh dissenters than the similar tax for sustaining the state church in Ireland had been to the Catholics. Parliament had abolished church rates in the sister island, and it seemed only natural to English nonconformists that the hated tribute should cease to be exacted from them. Resistance to the demand was of growing frequency. Bitter animosities were provoked by the enforcement of it. Lord Melbourne's administration now tried to close this ever-flowing source of contention, and to strengthen the position of the Church, by relieving its adversaries of one of their heaviest grievances. It was proposed to find an equivalent for the rates by an improved system of managing and letting church lands, the control of which was to be vested in a body of commissioners. By suffering the leases to run out, stopping the system of renewals on fines, and re-letting on better terms, it was calculated that a saving would be effected not less in amount than the total sum raised by church rates.

The scheme was, however, open to the obvious objection that the church was entitled to the benefit of every increase in its income that could be got through better letting, and that its own property was not the source from which to draw compensation for loss of the rates. A bitter and angry outcry was raised in and out of parliament against the measure, which was carried through the first reading by a majority of five only. This result, with the certainty that the bill could not be carried through the ordeal of committee, not to mention the hopelessness of success in the Lords, cautioned ministers to desist for the present from further efforts in the same direction. No better success attended the bill for establishing in Ireland a system of poor-law administration akin to that which had now been three years on foot in England. The measure met, certainly, an encouraging reception, but its progress was stayed by the dissolution of parliament. A series of bills amending the criminal law passed this year into statutes. Under these measures came a further diminution of capital punishments, transportation or other forms of prolonged imprisonment and penal discipline being substituted.

Many petitions were sent up against the principle and operation of the new poor law, which for many years continued to be very unpopular, chiefly because it gave no out-door relief, and was harsh in its separation of husbands and wives, parents and children. Parliament, however, gave no encouragement to the advocates of a less thrifty system of maintenance for the destitute. Private charity on an extended scale found ample field for operation in easing that pressure of temporary distress which was then fixing special attention on poor-law administration. Large subscriptions were raised for unemployed and distressed operatives in some of the great towns, especially the weavers of the metropolis.

The death of the king, and indeed the expectation of that event while yet the session was in mid career, brought a sudden halt in legislative proceedings. The first public warning that the reign was drawing to a close was given in a bulletin on the 9th of June. For many weeks before that date his majesty had suffered under difficulty of breathing, pains in the chest, occasional fainting-fits, and increasing feebleness in all his bodily functions. Natural decay, rather than specific disease, was the malady which closed his life. His advanced age, for he was in his seventy-third year, left no hopes of restoration of his failing powers. He died on the 20th of June, at Windsor, maintaining to the last a cheerful and pious resignation to the impending stroke, and evincing, in his latest utterances and actions, a generous concern for the welfare of others, such as had ever marked his unselfish nature. The loss was much regretted, for the departed monarch had gained a strong hold upon the affection of his subjects by his winning good-nature, simple tastes and habits, condescension, generosity, and the nameless homely graces that captivate the hearts of all falling within the range of their influence. Unblessed with high intellectual endowments, and lacking many of the acquirements befitting his lofty station, he yet discharged most conscientiously and diligently the duties of the regal office, never preferring his personal interests to the public welfare. His seven years' reign, though not marked by the stir and renown of successful warfare, such as signalized the prolonged sway of his two predecessors, has glories and triumphs of its own in the achievements of science and the improvement of social and political institutions, of even deeper concernment to later generations than the momentous victories by sea and land that raised England to its highest pitch of fame and influence during the reigns of his father and his brother.

The crowns of England and Hanover, which, since 1714, had been united under the Brunswick dynasty, became dissevered by the accession of the Princess Victoria to the British throne. The German kingdom, under the operation of the Salic law, which refuses inheritance of the throne to females, now fell to the duke of Cumberland, brother of the late king, and nearest male heir. England vented no regrets, but indulged rather in a decorous and quiet satisfaction at the time, over a dismemberment of dominion, which offered an escape from awkward entanglements, growing out of continental politics. The next generation, which has witnessed the downfall and pitied the utter overthrow of the old continental kingdom of the four Georges, and its absorption into the Prussian monarchy, realizes yet greater cause for thankfulness that the sundering of the crowns at the accession of Queen Victoria relieved the later years of her reign from the too probable risks and obligations of a great and costly war.

CHAPTER II.

The History of Laws and Government from 1793 to the Death of William IV.

THE union of Ireland with Great Britain as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland took place at the commencement of this period. Formerly Ireland was a separate kingdom, with a parliament of its own, in which, under the lord-lieutenant as representing the king of England, laws were passed much as in this country. Yet this power of legislation was more nominal than real. So early as Henry VII.'s time it had been provided by Poyning's Acts that all English statutes should be binding in Ireland unless otherwise stated, and that no bills should be passed by the Irish parliament which had not previously been sanctioned in draft by the king. This state of dependence was still further intensified in 1719 by 6 George I. c. 5. The Irish courts of justice were also subordinated to those of England, for a writ of error lay from the Irish to the English King's Bench, and an appeal from the Irish Chancery to the British House of Lords. The Irish naturally disliked this subordinate position, and prevailed so far that, in 1783, it was declared by 23 George III. c. 28, that the parliament and courts of Ireland had exclusive right in all matters of legislation and justice in that kingdom. From this time only can it therefore be said that Ireland enjoyed the right of making her own laws and administering justice in her own courts. But in 1800 all this was changed, for in that year the 39 & 40 George III. c. 67, was passed by which the dependence or independence of Ireland was completely taken away, and that country was, like Scotland, incorporated as an integral part of the United Kingdom. The main provisions of that celebrated Act were as follows:—The Union to commence as at 1st January, 1801; after which one imperial parliament for the United Kingdom; union of the two churches; equal rights as to trade, navigation, and foreign treaties; the laws and courts of each kingdom to remain as before till altered by parliament; appeals to be decided by the Imperial House of Lords; twenty-eight lay peers to be elected for life to represent Ireland; the Irish spiritual peers to sit by rotation of sessions; the Irish members for the House of Commons to be 100; Irish peers not elected for the Lords to be eligible for the Commons; expenditure for national purposes to be defrayed in such proportions as the imperial parliament should determine.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

For long before the union with Ireland, and indeed ever since the time of Sir William Blackstone, it had become a growing feeling in England that if the House of Commons was to give a fair representation of the great body of the people, some considerable changes in the mode of election were indispensable. The restriction of the vote to the 40*s*. freeholder had come practically to disfranchise the majority of the rural population, and the franchise applicable to boroughs was at once inadequate and anomalous. Many populous centres of trade of modern growth had never acquired the right of representation, while ancient towns now shrunk to hamlets continued, under the name of pocket boroughs, to return as their representatives the nominees of neighbouring proprietors. To remedy this state of matters various efforts were made; but for a time all reform was interdicted from terror of the Jacobins, and the subject was afterwards forgotten during the struggle with Napoleon. At the return of peace the agitation was renewed, though for long without success—many eminent statesmen defending the close-borough system as an indirect means of colonial representation. At length, in 1832, the celebrated Reform Bill became law, after encountering resistance that almost provoked rebellion. It was quickly followed by corresponding acts for Scotland and Ireland. The provisions of this important measure need not now be detailed; suffice it to say that by redistribution of seats, by extending the county qualification so as to include copyhold, leasehold, and occupancy under certain restrictions, and in the boroughs by the creation of the 10*l*. franchise, the Reform Act went far to remove the anomalies and consequent corruption of the ancient system. In 1835 was passed the Municipal Corporations Bill—a necessary supplement to the Reform Act. For long the boroughs had been close corporations, exclusive, secret, and corrupt. All this was now changed. The election of town councils was entrusted to the ratepayers, publicity was ensured in the administration of trusts and charities, and the exclusive privileges of guilds and corporate trades were abolished.

RELIGION AND THE CHURCH.

The constitution of the Church remained unaltered during this period; and though the abuses of pluralities and non-residence were the subject of grievous complaints, but little was done for their removal. In 1801, clergymen in priests' orders were debarred from sitting in the House of Commons; in 1825 they were exempted from service on juries; in 1835 they were declared ineligible as members of town councils. In 1836, holding of livings *in commendam* was abolished, and municipal corporations were disabled from exercising church patronage. Various Acts were also passed regulating the powers of ecclesiastics to lease church property.

The modern doctrine of toleration was hard to learn in England. Long after the Reformation strenuous efforts were made to repress popery on the one hand and non-conformity on the other, by placing papists and dissenters under great disabilities—depriving them, in fact, of the most valuable of their civil rights. In Ireland this system reached its height in the penal laws against Romanists, rivalling the worst forms of persecution known in Europe. Gradually Englishmen became ashamed of a policy which contradicted the grand principles of Protestantism, and this led to a series of Acts for the relief of dissenters, passed in 1779, 1812, and 1813. Yet even Protestant dissenters continued subject to great disabilities; for no one could be admitted to an office under government without taking the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the church. This was only removed in 1828, when a declaration was substituted that "upon the true faith of a Christian" the presentee would not seek to injure the church or its clergy. In the case of Roman Catholics, the progress of toleration was slower and more difficult. By Acts passed in 1778, 1791, and 1803, the more galling penalties were removed; but it was not till the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 that this sect of religionists obtained the full rights of the franchise, and a seat in either House of Parliament. Some further concessions were soon after made as to religious endowments, schools, and chapels, and by the end of this period it might be said that the main grievances affecting all classes of dissenters had been removed. Yet much still remained to be done before all men, whatever their religious opinions, could be said to be equal before the law. In justice, however, to our countrymen, it should be noticed that the obstinate intolerance shown to papists and dissenters was owing to political as well as religious motives. The Romanists had too much identified themselves with foreign interests; the nonconformists were suspected of a tendency towards democracy. It may be noticed that, in 1813, the civil consequences following upon the greater and lesser excommunications were abolished; and attendance as witnesses or respondents in the ecclesiastical courts came to be enforced by a procedure analogous to the process of the civil tribunals. From that time excommunication proper became rare, and may now be said to be practically in desuetude.

COLONIAL EMPIRE.

At no time did the colonies form integral parts of the mother-country, but were deemed distinct, though dependent, dominions. When acquired by conquest or cession, they retained their ancient laws and customs till changed by competent authority; when founded by emigration, they carried with them as much English law as was applicable to their wants. In all cases the sovereign may now appoint governors and officers both administrative and judicial. In colonies acquired by occupancy, the crown possesses no legislative powers; but those acquired by conquest or cession are subject to such laws as the sovereign in council may impose. When once the crown has directed a representative assembly to be convened for legislative purposes, the colony ceases to be subject to legislation by the crown. All colonies, whatever the nature of their constitution, are subject to the legislative control of the imperial parliament; and this holds good even when they possess a copy in miniature of the British constitution, and have a governor and two Houses of Representatives. These leading principles of colonial law seem to have settled into definite shape during this period.

From about the middle of the last century, and down to the Reform Act of 1832, the colonial interests enjoyed a species of representation in parliament which, though indirect and anomalous, was by no means ineffective. This was by means of the pocket or close boroughs, through whose somewhat impure portals West Indian planters and East Indian directors found admission to St. Stephens. It has been much regretted that in the reformed parliament some mode of directly representing the colonial interests had not been provided.

The East India Company was created for purely commercial purposes, but by conquest and cession they gradually became in effect the sovereigns of India. Abuses being found to prevail, the constitution of the company was re-arranged by statute in 1773. In 1784 the Board of Control was established to operate as a check on the directors. In 1813 the company's monopoly was greatly infringed upon. In 1832 it was entirely abolished, and they were debarred from engaging in trade; their territories were declared to be held in trust for the crown, and the local government was committed to the "Governor-General of India in Council," with powers to make laws subject to the control of the court of directors and the paramount control of parliament.

THE PRESS.

No censorship of the press has been exercised since the days of William III. Yet, to prevent liberty from degenerating into licence, certain enactments were passed during this period to ensure that no publication should issue from the press without the name of the printer and his place of business or abode. These Acts are the 39 George III. c. 79; 51 George III. c. 65; and 2 & 3 Vict. c. 12. Similar provisions, though of a more stringent nature, have been made for newspapers. The Acts now in force are 60 George III. and 1 George IV. c. 9; 11 George IV. and 1 William IV. c. 73, and 6 & 7 William IV. c. 76. The title, place of publication, and the names and addresses of the printer and publisher must be given under heavy penalties. The latter must also enter into a bond with adjected securities that he will be answerable for such fines as may be imposed for seditious or blasphemous libels. The secrecy under which Junius wrote could not now be maintained.

DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

The modes of constituting the marriage relation had long ceased to be regulated by ecclesiastical law, and were prescribed by the legislature. Still the notion that marriage was a civil contract had never found acceptance in the English mind. Hence the long continuance of the laws which refused to recognise marriage otherwise than in the face of the church, and thereby weighed heavily on the consciences of nonconformists. Gradually, however, this rigour abated. By several statutes of George IV. and William IV. great relief was given to dissenters, and churchmen were also enabled to marry *in facie ecclesiæ* without either banns or special licence. During the whole of this period, and for some time after, the common law continued to regard the marriage tie as indissoluble, and refused all divorce, properly so called, on the ground of adultery, however much aggravated, or indeed on any ground whatever. The wealthy got rid of the marriage tie by a private Act of Parliament following on a successful action of *crim. con.;* but this was of course a luxury beyond the reach of the poor. In Scotland the utmost laxity had come to prevail both as to the contraction and the dissolution of the marriage relation. Mere consent, express, or inferred from equivocal circumstances, was held to constitute marriage; and divorce might be obtained not only for simple adultery, but for wilful absence for a certain period. The evil effects of this laxity made themselves felt far beyond Scotland. Gretna Green supplied the place of the suppressed parsons of the fleet; and many an English couple who had mutually agreed to part company availed themselves of the Scotch courts for effecting their purpose. Legitimation *per subsequens matrimonium* being also recognised in Scotland, added not a little to the confusion. In many cases the English and Scotch tribunals were in open conflict. A man might be a bachelor in in England and a husband in Scotland, a respectable paterfamilias on the north, a bigamist on the south side of the Tweed; looked up to as the scion of an ancient line in Edinburgh, shunned as a bastard in London.

TENURE OF LAND.

Few or no improvements on the tenure or conveyance of land were made. From the want of compulsory registration and the complexity of modern settlements, title became more and more uncertain; and the perverse ingenuity of conveyancers continued to render deeds ever more cumbrous and verbose. The old feudal restrictions on aliening real estate were almost entirely removed, and except in the case of estates-tail no practical restriction affected the freedom of disposing by will. It being found, however, that testators often abused their powers by directing accumulations to be made for long periods of time before distribution, the Thellusson Act of 1799 placed such dispositions for accumulation under great restrictions, from which it is impossible to escape by the machinery of a trust. The legal technicality whereby the estate of a tenant in copyhold was after his death exempt from the claims of his creditors, was practically remedied in 1833, and more fully in 1838. The law of intestate succession to real estate remained in its ancient and somewhat confused state till 1833; but in that year the Inheritance Act was passed, which considerably simplified, and partially reconstructed, this branch of the law, but without departing from the old feudal doctrine of primogeniture.

Down till 1833, estates-tail remained for the most part subject to the ancient fetters—the only method of obtaining the fee simple being by the indirect and operose procedure of a fine and recovery. But in that year it was provided by the 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 74, that a tenant in-tail in possession should be enabled by an ordinary deed of conveyance duly enrolled to aliene in fee simple absolute, or for any less estate, the lands entailed; but that when the tenant in tail is not in possession, but expectant on the determination of a prior estate, he should only be able to bar the entail as regards his own issue, unless he should obtain the consent of the proprietor of the prior estate, who is called "the protector."

The ancient laws do not seem to have contemplated that the sovereign should be empowered to hold lands in a private capacity; yet early in the eighteenth century facilities had been accorded for this purpose. These were now considerably increased, and in 1800 an Act was passed enabling the reigning sovereign to hold real estate through the intervention of a trust, so that lands acquired by moneys out of the privy purse, or by gift, devise, or inheritance from subjects, should not come under the category of demesne lands, and so fall inalienably to the crown. The policy of such provisions has been doubted.

The inclosure of waste lands, and the extinction of rights of common, were found, or supposed to be, of so much importance to agriculture that many local Acts were passed for such purposes. At length, in 1801, a consolidating Act was passed, and in 1836 still greater facilities without the necessity of special Acts were conceded.

TREASON AND SEDITION.

In 1793, societies in imitation of the Jacobin Clubs of Paris were rapidly forming over the kingdom. This led to prosecutions for treason and sedition. Those in England against Hardy, Thelwall, and Horne Tooke proved unsuccessful, chiefly from the difficulty of proving overt acts in the sense then required by the law. In Scotland such prosecutions were more successful, and resulted in the conviction and transportation of Margarott, Muir, Palmer, and others. This difference seemed mainly due to the greater latitude permitted in indictments, and to the power of the Scotch judges to select instead of ballot for the jury. The consequence was that the law of treason was in 1795 somewhat enlarged so as to comprise offences not only against the crown, but against the community, and to include printing and publishing as "overt acts"; and soon after in Scotland the practice of selecting juries was abolished. In 1796, bills were introduced for giving additional security to the king's person, and for the suppression of public meetings for political purposes held with out previous notice to the magistrates, who were authorised to be present and to seize any guilty of sedition on the spot. These bills encountered great opposition as subversive of liberty; but they were ultimately carried under pressure of the dread inspired by the state of France. To this influence are attributable several legislative measures. Enactments against administering unlawful oaths and holding secret societies were multiplied. Drilling and training to the use of arms, unless with the sanction of the authorities, were made severely punishable. Anything resembling modern trades unions was at once repressed, and until 1825 a combination to raise wages was deemed conspiracy, and punished accordingly.

AMELIORATION OF MANNERS.

During all this period popular amusements partook of the ferocity of former ages. Prize-fighting with swords had, indeed, been abandoned; but the prize ring was fostered even by royalty, and the laws seemed impotent against cock-fighting and similar barbarities. Gradually cruelty to animals came to be reprobated by public opinion, yet it was only in 1822 that the legislature interfered for its prevention. Duelling was severely punishable by the law, but convictions were difficult to obtain, and popular sentiment had not yet been effectually turned against it.

CRIMINAL LAW.

Various efforts were made at different times to introduce some order into the chaos of confusion and redundancy which then, and for long after, characterized our criminal law, but without much success—the changes, as in the cases of theft and embezzlement, often creating more confusion than they removed.

Until 1 & 2 Will. IV. c. 32, the ancient Norman jurisprudence so far subsisted that to enable a man to take or sell game the qualification of a certain estate in land was required. This was now altered, so far as to vest the right of killing game in the owner of the land and in any person acting under his authority. It was made necessary, however, to procure a game certificate on which a certain duty was paid to government. In other respects the severity of the game laws was considerably augmented. In 1817 very severe laws were passed against night poaching, and these were extended in 1828. Persons convicted of this new offence, with certain aggravations, might be transported for fourteen years.

During the period now under consideration was introduced that new theory of punishment which in the present reign has produced an entire revolution in the previous practice. It had long been a received maxim in Great Britain,—a maxim advocated by Paley and others of his school,—that crimes were most effectually suppressed by the dread of capital punishment, which, though not always inflicted, might yet be held *in terrorem* over hardened offenders. Acting upon this theory, the legislature had gradually attached the penalty of death to every species of offence that seemed to threaten the interests of any of the influential classes — landowners, agriculturalists, capitalists, traders. By 1809 more than six hundred different kinds of offences had been made capital,—a state of the law unexampled in the worst periods of Roman or Oriental despotism. For long this sanguinary code did not shock public opinion, and presented no perceptible bar to the course of justice. But as civilization advanced a strong re-action began to set in, and it became more and more evident that the ancient severity defeated its own purpose. When a conviction might lead to the gallows, it became difficult to find prosecutors or informers. Witnesses and jurymen made light of their oaths, and even judges caught eagerly at any legal quibble that might save the offender's life In effect the chances of escape more than neutralized the fear of death on conviction, and the country swarmed with criminals as to whose guilt no moral doubt could be entertained. But a greater evil remained. It was observed that while death was the common penalty for so many offences, ordinary criminals were strongly tempted to murder their victims, and, indeed, any one whose evidence might facilitate conviction. Penetrated by these considerations, Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh began a crusade against the existing system, and strongly urged on the legislature and the public generally that crime was to be repressed rather by certainty of conviction than by severity of punishment; that the sanctity of human life would never be impressed on the popular imagination while it was ignored by the legislature; and that the horror of murder would never be sufficiently fostered until that greatest of crimes was singled out for the penalty of death. For long their arguments were scouted as fanciful and revolutionary, not merely by distinguished lawyers, but by eminent churchmen. At last reason prevailed over prejudice, and towards the close of this period capital punishment had become limited to murder, treason, arson, burglary, rape, and forgery.

In many other respects the barbarism of the middle ages continued to tinge our jurisprudence. The bodies of suicides were still treated with revolting indignities, and the pillory, though practically abolished in 1816, was continued in theory as the punishment of perjury and subornation to a much later period. In the earlier part of the century the right of the husband to chastise his wife, the master his servants, the tradesman his apprentices, does not seem to have been entirely denied. Nor does this appear extraordinary when it is recollected that the sentiments of Quintilian against corporal punishment in schools have not yet been fully adopted. During the earlier part of the century the mediæval notion that offences against the established form of religion were to be punished as offences against the sovereign still continued. Hence the difficulty of passing the Catholic Disabilities Act, and the punishment of free-thinkers and infidels with a severity inconsistent with modern opinions. Towards the close of the period prosecutions of this kind became rare, and were reprobated by public opinion. Yet, while offences against religion still continued to be prosecuted, State lotteries —those fertile sources of immorality—continued to flourish. They were only abolished in 1825. A curious combination of religious superstition and commercial ignorance long continued to support the laws against usury. Slowly and with difficulty was this deeply-rooted prejudice weakened. In 1818 a partial relaxation was accorded in bills and notes, and this was still further extended in 1835. Yet the laws against usury, though greatly mitigated, still continued in force throughout the whole of this period. The ancient feudal law of forfeiture for crimes was in 1814 greatly ameliorated, except in cases of treason and murder, and this amelioration was carried still further in 1834.

During this period an important change, which had long been in progress as to the conduct of criminal trials, may be said to have neared its completion. According to the ancient theory of English law, a criminal trial was a judicial inquisition, not a litigious contention. No man was supposed to be put on his trial without a *primâ facie* case demanding inquiry, and whether the crown or a private individual set the law in motion, the prosecuting counsel, equally with the judge, was expected to lay before the jury all available evidence, whether favourable or adverse. This explains certain anomalies—such as refusing the accused legal aid, and subjecting him to interrogatories. Gradually this theory was, to a certain degree, modified in practice, and a criminal trial assumed some of the features of a private litigation. Yet it was never entirely abandoned, and still subsists to many effects. The change began at the Revolution, and one of its first consequences was that the practice of interrogating the prisoner at the trial began to be disused, on the principle, then universal, that a defendant was not a competent witness. Long before the close of the eighteenth century it had become unknown, but until 1848 it was still competent, though not usual, to question him when before the magistrates prior to committal. The second consequence was the gradual concession of legal aid in the conduct of the defence; though it was not till 1837 that the right of being defended throughout the entire trial by counsel and attorney was fully recognised. Even now no provision is made for professional aid to such as cannot procure it for themselves—the great majority of prisoners—though such a provision has existed in Scotland for many centuries. During this period also the last traces of the jurors being witnesses—their original function—entirely disappeared. Henceforth they were required to base their verdict on the evidence led in open court, and could not supplement it by their private knowledge.

COMMERCIAL LAW.

During this period the English law of bankruptcy gradually matured itself. By degrees a distinction was made unknown to the ancient law between innocent and fraudulent insolvency, and this led to the Act of 1813, by which, on the principle of the Roman *Cessio bonorum*, insolvents might obtain relief on surrender of their estate. The first Bankruptcy Consolidation Act was passed in 1825. The law merchant was also greatly advanced during this period, and most of the leading doctrines were established that have since been so fully elaborated. This was brought about partly because England had become the great centre of the commerce of the world, partly from the elasticity of the courts of equity, partly because English judges were not ashamed to receive instruction from mercantile men as to the usage and custom of trade. Very little was directly borrowed from the civilians; yet it is observable that, starting from very different stand-points, and following very different routes, the Roman and the English jurists have frequently arrived at similar results.

The important subject of copyright was first dealt with in Queen Anne's reign. In 1801 the monopoly was limited to fourteen years, and fourteen years longer if the author were alive at the end of the first term. In 1814 the first term was extended to twenty-eight years, and the second to life. Patent rights have always been conferred by the crown. In 1835 the mode of conferring was regulated by statute.

Some alterations were made on the Bank of England during this period. In 1797, owing to a temporary failure in public credit, it was restrained for a limited time from making payments in cash. This Act was afterwards continued by subsequent Acts till 1823, when the restriction ceased. In 1826 the Bank consented to an arrangement by which it was empowered to establish district banks of its own, on condition of surrendering a part of its exclusive privileges, so as to admit of the establishing of joint-stock banks of issue. This arrangement was carried into effect by 7 Geo. IV. c. 46, and the new joint-stock banks were placed under various successive regulations.

POOR LAWS.

Soon after the Reformation provisions for the compulsory relief of the poor were found necessary; but these proving inadequate, led in 1782 to an act authorising unions of parishes. This was followed by the Vestry Act of 1819, which placed the overseers under the control of the vestries. Bad administration and waste of funds still continuing to prevail, a royal commission was issued in 1833 to make inquiries. Their recommendations were embodied in the Act of 1834, which placed parochial funds and the care of the poor under the control of the Poor Law Commissioners.

SLAVE TRADE.

Ever since the acquisition of the West Indian Colonies, their produce had been raised by slave-labour, and several statutes had sanctioned that system. Its atrocity, which is said to have exceeded the worst examples of pagan antiquity, was at length so forcibly urged on the public mind that, in 1805 and 1806, the importation of negroes from Africa was prohibited. In 1807 a still stronger measure was taken, and by 47 George III. c. 36, the trading in slaves was formally abolished, and all engaging in the traffic were subjected to serious penalties over and above forfeiture. These measures were not passed without long and obstinate opposition; and many distinguished men defended the slave-trade on the ground that an African savage made the slave of an English master was in a far better position than when enjoying the wild freedom of Congo or Angola. The effect of these measures was to prevent the enslavement of negroes for the future; but they still left unameliorated the condition of those already deprived of their freedom. To remedy this, efforts were made to render the colonial legislatures guardians of the negroes within their bounds, but without any good results. At length, after another protracted interval of opposition, an Act was passed in 1833, by which the system of slavery itself was abolished as from 1st August, 1834. This measure was not, however, intended to give the negroes an immediate right to the full status of freemen, for a certain interval of probation was interposed, during which they were to continue in a state of apprenticeship to their former masters. This period was afterwards shortened by the colonial legislatures, the masters themselves finding that it was not for their interests to continue the apprentice system. Yet the freedom of the negroes was not attained without vast outlay on the part of England; for it was thought proper to award the sum of twenty millions as compensation to the slave-owners. Besides the Acts just mentioned, numerous statutes have passed from time to time declaring the slave-trade piracy, and providing for its more effectual suppression in conjunction with foreign powers.

From the time of the Tudors all traces of villenage had disappeared in England. It was not so in Scotland. As late as the year 1799 there were villeins regardant in that country in the case of the salters and colliers, who were bought and sold as *fundo annexi*. This blot was only removed in that year by 39 George III. c. 56. But though in England anything approaching such a state of matters had been long unknown, the relation between master and servant still continued to bear evidence of an earlier usage. The old retainer had not yet quite passed into the modern menial, with whom service is no inheritance, and whose relation to his master is defined by mere mercantile contract. The change was, however, rapidly taking place, and hence the law began more minutely to define the rights, duties, and liabilities of each.

TRADE LAWS.

Formerly it was unlawful for a man to exercise a trade unless after an apprenticeship of seven years. This was greatly modified in 1813, and in 1835 all such restrictions on the freedom of trade were abolished, except as to the City of London. Yet, where the nature of the thing requires protection by joint action, such protection when lost in one form will be sought for in another. There always has been a certain antagonism between capital and labour—employers and employed. In old times the constituted authorities regulated the rate of wages; and to a late period the trade guilds, with all their anomalies, gave protection, after a fashion, both to masters and workmen. As those relics of the old time disappeared, the workmen sought protection against their masters in trades unions; the masters against their workmen in associations—the weapon of the former being the strike, of the latter the lock-out. The ancient laws of England had not made provision for this altered state of affairs; and the principles inaugurated in very different circumstances might be applicable in spirit, but not in letter. It was, no doubt, true that the common law treated all combinations against the liberty of trade as conspiracies; but when the tribunals applied this principle to modern trades unions, they forgot that masters may also conspire, and have even greater facilities than workmen for carrying out their resolutions. It cannot, therefore, be doubted that in treating all combinations among workmen as conspiracies, they were giving effect to the letter, but departing from the spirit of English law. The result was not to put down trades unions, but to drive into criminal acts those whom the law would not permit to attain their ends by open combination. After much evil had been done, the legislature interposed, in 1824 and 1825, so far as to abolish the laws against combination, but not to legalize trades unions in the sense of allowing them a *locus standi in judicio*.

At this time the absurd laws which prohibited artisans from emigrating and machinery from being exported were repealed.

It had long been found that the practice of employing children and women in public works was increasing to a degree injurious to health, and inimical to education and domestic habits. This led to the passing of various Acts restricting such employment, and in the case of children under a certain age prohibiting it altogether. Certain provisions also began to be made for promoting ventilation and the safety of workmen, particularly in mines. These Acts did not pass without much opposition.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

As early as the time of James I. attempts had been made to prevent the introduction and spread of pestilential and contagious diseases. In 1825 a consolidating Act was passed as to quarantine. Beyond this, however, little was done by general legislation to promote the public health. Excess in the use of alcoholic liquors assumed an alarming increase during this period. This led to strenuous efforts being made, first in the cause of temperance, afterwards in that of total abstinence. The legislature also attemped to second these efforts, by increasing the taxes on intoxicants, by stringent licensing provisions, and by rendering tippling debts difficult or impossible of recovery.

TRUCK ACTS.

In order to prevent workmen from being defrauded by their masters keeping stores and supplying them with goods at high prices and of inferior quality, divers statutes were passed from time to time. The most important was in 1831; yet the evil was by no means repressed.

PUBLIC CONVEYANCES.

Towards the close of this period several Acts were passed for the regulation of stage-coaches and canal transit, then the general modes of conveyance. Many special Acts, also, applicable to railways and steam-navigation as these gradually came into use, were passed.

CONSTITUTION OF THE TRIBUNALS.

During this period comparatively little alteration was made on the constitution of the tribunals, either superior or inferior. In 1813 the office of Vice-Chancellor was created in Chancery, and some further improvements were introduced in the reign of William IV. The superior courts of law were also strengthened by giving an additional judge to each—thus making the whole fifteen instead of twelve. In Scotland the Court of Session was separated into two divisions, and in 1815 jury trial in civil causes, which had for long been almost entirely disused, was re-introduced as a modification of the English form. Formerly the rules as to service and exemption from service on juries had in England to be extracted from numerous statutes, customs, and charters; the fragmentary and contradictory nature of which involved the subject in much confusion. This was, to a certain extent, remedied by 6 Geo. IV. c. 50, sec. 2. Similar improvements also took place in Ireland and Scotland. In England the distinction between law and equity was still kept up, and, if anything, intensified. But the original theory that the function of equity was to supplement the defects or correct the rigour of the common law, was being lost in the practice which assigned certain proceedings to the law courts, and certain others to Chancery. The distinction was, in fact, becoming a mere division of jurisdiction ever more and more sharply defined. The time-honoured system of special-pleading continued. Its advantages were clear separation of the law from the fact, and the evolution of the issue with mechanical certainty. Pushed, however, to extremes, as it was in the early part of this period, when special demurrers were encouraged, it tended to substitute shadow for substance, and too often sacrificed the ends of justice to arbitrary technicalities. In the Court of Chancery, the doctrine that neither a partnership nor a company unincorporated could sue or be sued without joinder of all the partners, was so rigorously enforced as to deprive such associations of the benefit of the law, and to necessitate legislative intervention in the succeeding period. In Scotland pleading at large, after the continental fashion, continued till 1825, when considerable approaches were made to the English system. In Ireland the forms of procedure closely followed, though they did not always coincide with, those of England. It may be interesting to note that "wager of battel" remained competent in England till 1819, when it was abolished by 59 George III. c. 46, in consequence of one Abraham Thornton having offered it on appeal in a civil cause. "Wager of law," which consisted in the defendant's discharging himself of the claim by his own oath, supported by those of eleven of his neighbours, that he was worthy of credit, was abolished in 1833, by 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 42, sec. 13. An instance of it occurred as late as 1824. In Scotland the curious practice of referring the cause to the oath of the opposite party still subsists. From the unsuitableness of many of the old forms of action to the requirements of modern times, the practice of trying causes on feigned issues, as in trover and ejectment, came to be extensively used. Towards the close of the period real actions were abolished, and considerable progress made to a more simple and rational procedure. In short, the ancient maxim that the essence of law was to be found in form was much departed from.

CHAPTER III.

History of Religion from A.D. 1789 to A.D. 1837.

The state of religion in Britain at the close of last century, though better than it had been before the Methodist revival, was still anything but satisfactory. Wesley and Whitfield and their coadjutors had indeed awakened a new life among the Kingswood colliers and the Yorkshire weavers, and had even touched with hope of amendment the rough humours of Bartholomew Fair. But their influence had mainly told among the poor, and the creation of a new sect had been unfavourable to their power in leavening the Established Church. They professed indeed not to be a separate community. For awhile all Wesley's converts communicated in the parish church, and had their children baptized by the parish priest. For a season also he himself declined to ordain ministers for England, even after consecrating bishops for America. But in the longrun he was forced to give way, in spite of his own repugnance to these steps, and his theoretic views in favour of episcopal succession, and the determined opposition of his brothers. All great Reformers find that they are compelled sooner or later to follow the course of events, and to modify their opinions by the altered circumstances of the case. The tide of Methodism therefore carried both Wesley and Whitfield much farther than they at first intended; but while they may be easily justified in the course they adopted, it did not tend to favour the growth of evangelical principles within the Church in which they at first arose. Oxford might be taught by her learned sons while they remained in the national Zion; but so soon as they became leaders of a dissenting community, the halls and colleges were closed to them for ever. Thus the movement was arrested in the place where it began. Most of the established clergy set themselves to oppose what they might have looked on favourably so long as it was merely a sort of chapel to assist the national church. The nobility and gentry had never taken kindly to Methodism, and, after the separation, were disposed rather to present fox-hunting parsons to their livings than any who had even a suspicion of spiritual zeal. There were, no doubt, a number of evangelical clergy who had received a high religious impulse from the movement, and who continued to preach the doctrines of the new birth and justification by faith alone in their several parishes, with good results. But, on the whole, there was a reaction not only in the universities, but over the whole Church where ecclesiastical traditions prevailed more and more over the deeper convictions of religious life. Thus Wesleyanism, having largely exhausted its first fresh energies, had begun to crystallize and stiffen into a sect, while the national Church, recoiling from dissent, threatened to become as indifferent as it had been before the young scholars of Lincoln's set themselves to awaken it.

What still further tended to the same result, was the effect produced on the older dissenting communities by the outburst of the French Revolution. The traditions of the Commonwealth still lingered among the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists of England, who could not forget St. Bartholomew's Day, and the Five-Mile Act, and who were still suffering from Test and Corporation Laws, and other civil disabilities. They hated oppression, and cherished the free principles of Baxter and Sydney, of Russell and Howe and Vane. Therefore when the people of France arose, and cast off the yoke of what had once been a splendid tyranny, but had latterly become one of the most ignoble that ever afflicted and disgraced a nation, their efforts met with no little sympathy and encouragement from the descendants of Cromwell's Ironsides, and the Roundheads of the Long Parliament. It seemed to them as if France was girding herself to do the work which their fathers had done in England 150 years before. They hated the Church of Rome, and fully expected that it would fall like Jericho at the sound of the trumpet of Liberty. They hated no less oppressive governments; and doubtless anticipated that freedom must soon cross the Channel, and unloose their own bonds. Some of them were republican by conviction, but all, however loyal to the throne, longed for more political liberty and social recognition. In the North they formed, to a large extent, the men who have chiefly raised England to its present lofty position, as the nation whose merchants are princes. Just as in France, before the *dragonnades*, the Protestants had been the skilled artizans, and very strength of the nation; so were the dissenting bodies now the back-bone of our industrial communities. The weavers of York and Lancashire mainly belonged to these sturdy descendants of the pious Commonwealth men. The vigorous enterprise of the country pertained, in a great measure, to men who were subjected to galling and vexatious civil disabilities. No wonder that they looked up, and began to hope anew, when the fierce outbreak of revolution blazed up from the Parisian *halles* and boulevards. But this, however natural in their circumstances, had an unfavourable influence on the religion of the country. Dissent came to be regarded with suspicion, as a political and dangerous force in the land. The Established Church drew further off, and lent itself more to reactionary measures. Presbyterians grew more Arian, Independents more radical than ever, while the squire and rector drank confusion to them both. In the midst of these conflicting parties the still small voice of Christian charity could hardly make itself heard at all.

Yet it was at this stage that the Protestantism of Britain, for the first time almost, began to recognize one of the primary duties of a Christian Church. Among our Lord's last words to his disciples was the command to "go and preach the Gospel among all nations, baptizing them," according to the ritual appointed for that sacrament. And in the earlier days of Christianity that order had been carried out with unwearying energy and self-sacrificing devotion. Even in the ages we are fain to call "dark," we find some of the most splendid examples of missionary zeal, who rebuke by their courageous labours the timid faith of more enlightened times. But ever since the Reformation almost nothing had been done, by any of the churches which then broke away from the Roman communion, to diffuse the blessings of the Gospel among the heathen. Presbyterian Holland had splendid colonies in the Indian Archipelago; but while bearing their spices to the markets of Amsterdam, the Dutch had done little or nothing to carry the "good news" to the Malay or Cingalese. Nor was England anywise better than her Presbyterian rival in commerce. She had become master of North America and of India, but the Red-Indian was dying out on his prairies without the knowledge of Christ, and the Hindoo prized his shastres, but never heard of the Bible. A few Moravian missionaries indeed had found their way to Greenland and the West Indian Islands, and showed the old spirit of the apostles wherever they went. A few pious Germans also had preached the gospel at Tinnevelly. But on the whole, the mission spirit of Christianity had, for nearly two centuries, found its noblest votaries in the Church of Loyola and Xavier and Vanbeest, and the chief trophies of its power had been gathered in by priests of the Order of Jesus. While Holland, England and Germany had been wasting their strength in sectarian quarrels and dogmatic discussions, or in the desolating wars of rival churchmen and politicians, these devoted, if not always wise or spiritual, men had conquered in South America a new world to compensate for their losses in Europe; and even in India, China and Japan had got such a footing that no changes of dynasty, or revolutions, or persecutions have been able altogether to destroy their hold. It is sad to think that the Protestant churches should have been so long blind to this primary duty—sadder still to know that, when, at last, the day dawned, it was met with such a host of prejudices, and had so long to struggle with the incredulity and contempt and even hatred of professing Christians.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had been in existence, indeed, for a century, having been established in 1698 for the purpose of diffusing Bibles and Prayer Books through the empire. But Bibles and Prayer Books had not been diffused by it, either in England or elsewhere, to any perceptible amount; and it is doubtful if it did anything whatever beyond maintaining a secretary to write annual Reports. Nor had the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which came into existence in 1704, been much more diligent in propagating the Gospel than its neighbour in promoting Christian knowledge. It had, indeed, helped to maintain Schultz and Schwartz in Madras, where these pious Germans were unwearied in good works; it had also sent some missionaries to British America, who, however, laboured chiefly among the colonists; but it had not stirred one throb of mission zeal in the heart of Protestant England. Of the Nonconformist bodies not one even pretended to do such work, if we except Jonathan Edwards and the saintly Brainerd in America. Wretched, therefore, as these societies were, they were the only recognition of the Church's mission duty then to be found in all England; and so far the Establishment has the credit of bearing witness to the command of its Lord, which all the other Churches had dropt out of sight, and all were alike disobeying. Curiously enough also, when the Christian conscience did at last awake to its duty on this head, it was among the extreme Calvinistic Baptists who had actually come to believe that it was not the Church's duty to preach the Gospel to any but the elect. Nowhere had the doctrines of predestination and grace been driven to such absurd extremes as among these "Particular Baptists." When the first proposal to send missionaries to the heathen came before their Conference, one of their most honoured, and deservedly honoured, ministers ordered the mover to sit down, adding that when God chose to convert the Heathen, He could do it without help from him. Of all the sects, therefore, this was about the last in which we should have expected any movement of the kind to arise, but for the fact that, though its theology had strangely run to seed, there still lingered in it a real, though hard and grim, kind of spiritual life. It was in 1792, in the house of a widow living at Kettering, that the Baptist Missionary Society was formed, and it owed its existence to the persistent enthusiasm of one who was at first stigmatized as "an inspired cobbler," though he lived to sit in the durbar of princes, and to be acknowledged as the benefactor of his race. William Carey has the glory of originating English Missions in India, and next to him was the Baptist minister Andrew Fuller, as solid and sturdy a mind, and as sound a heart as ever England contributed to the service of Christ. Carey had been at first a shoemaker, and not very successful in his trade, as indeed was to be expected in the case of a man whose head was full of Sanskrit when he should have been thinking only of leather. Of course he had tremendous difficulties to contend with ere he could persuade the poor dissenting churches to send out a mission to win for Christ the empire that Clive had won for England. And after he and Fuller had so far gained their end, and persuaded the Baptist Conference that God had called them to this work, they found their troubles only beginning. Everywhere outside of their little sect the idea was scouted and ridiculed. Old Indians solemnly warned the Court of Directors that, the day a missionary landed at Calcutta, their dominion would be substantially lost. Philosophical nabobs depicted the quiet Bengalee as a personage whose moral worth was such that Christianity would only spoil him. Carey was forbidden to get a passage out in any of the Company's ships, and finally was compelled to reside in the Danish station at Serampore. There he and his coadjutors laboured for many years, making few converts, indeed, but preparing the way by translating the religious literature of England, and by making English scholars, in turn, acquainted with the stores of Eastern lore. The great Christian pioneer came, in due season, to be consulted and honoured by the authorities who had at first refused him a landing in British territory; and he was followed, though not till after many years, by a noble band of fellow-labourers, by Heber and Cotton and Wilson from the Anglican Church, by Duff and the educational institutes of the Scottish establishment. Nor have the labours of the missionary societies of England been limited to the Indian continent. By-and-by the South Sea Islands had their Williams, and his band of devoted brothers, facing the horrors of cannibal Fijis; and the negro, both in the West Indies, and in his native Africa, was brought more or less under the civilizing influence of Christian truth. Thus amid the shout and riot of the French Revolution the Protestant faith of England began to put forth the signs of a fresh springtide whose fruits were in due season to be gathered from every country under heaven. Though late in entering on this work, the churches of Britain went at last with noble enthusiasm into it, and found in such men as Martyn and Duff, Marshman and Williams, Moffat and Livingstone and Ellis, the stuff of which heroes are made, and the wisdom and the courage by which the world is subdued.

It was characteristic, however, of the confused ecclesiastical organization of England that all this mission work was carried on, not by the churches as such, but by societies quite independent of the ecclesiastical authorities. The first of these was, as we have seen, the Baptist Missionary Society, and as that community was formed on Independent principles, each congregation forming a separate church, there could be, of course, no central power controlling their united energies, except a society specially for that purpose. The next in order of time was the London Missionary Society, founded in 1795. Its constitution rendered any proper church action in its affairs still more impracticable, inasmuch as it rested on the co-operation of Evangelical Anglicans, Evangelical Presbyterians, Calvinistic Methodists, and Independents who had retained the doctrine of the Puritans more generally than any other of the Nonconformist bodies. This association was closely akin to the Evangelical Alliance which arose half a century after, only its object was strictly of a missionary kind and had a single definite end, while the purpose of the other was somewhat vague. The fate of both was unsatisfactory. It was soon found that the Independents, being the most numerous, had naturally the whole sway. Hence jealousies, disputes, quarrels, estrangements, and finally another Society, in 1800, called the Church Missionary Society. Not one of these was under any proper ecclesiastical control. No church in England could act in its corporate capacity as a missionary power. It is as if our Lord's apostles could not have obeyed their Master's command without forming a special society for the purpose. Thoughtful students of history will sooner or later be struck with this fact, as a clear break-down in the ecclesiastical organization of the country. These societies prove indeed the inherent vitality of religion in England; and it was well that what the Church could not do should be done in this way, or in any way, rather than be left undone. But it must ever remain a striking rebuke of pretentious ecclesiastical theories, that they were incapable, without a supplementary "Society," of fulfilling the last injunction of their Master. The only other society taking its rise at this time, was the British and Foreign Bible Society, which was founded in 1804. As it was properly a mercantile affair, concerned with printing and publishing, it differed from the missionary work of the Church, and very naturally depended on a separate association. It was first suggested by the great want of Welsh Bibles, a want that sorely grieved the Calvinistic Methodists in that part of the country. The same failure in the supply of Bibles had been felt in Ireland and in Scotland, wherever the Erse language prevailed; and for want of them neither Protestantism nor civilization had made way in those districts. But it was not only among the Celtic part of the population that this evil was felt. It was found, on investigation, that very few of the poor either in England or Scotland were in possession of a Bible. Monopoly had made it too dear, and indifference had made people careless whether it were dear or cheap. Nor had monopoly secured the accuracy which it is supposed to guarantee. On the contrary, the editions of the Bible were, at that time, extremely inaccurate, at any rate in Scotland. Yet for all this scarcity, no attempt was made to get rid of the monopoly, on which one or two families were wallowing in wealth. England still believed in the good of a system which sacrificed the many to the few. All therefore that was tried, was to establish a society to provide cheap Bibles for all peoples, each in his own tongue wherein they were born. Certainly the results have been not a little gratifying. Not only have all English-speaking peoples had the Word of God brought within the reach of the very poorest; but the Scriptures have been translated into every language under heaven, and, in whole or in part, are circulated in almost every nation on the face of the earth. This Society has always been, and still remains, one of the most Catholic, embracing all sects of the Prostestant Church; and though some extreme Trinitarians have split off because the Socinians took part in it, and some others have left because of the Apocryphal books which were printed along with the Canonical, the Bible Society is still one of the most popular and successful of all those associations which arose from the revived Evangelicalism of this century. The Pope denounced it, at first, as an invention of the Devil; and Romanists everywhere strove to arrest its operations. At present, they affect to ridicule its labours, and inform us that the Bibles distributed in Spain come back to us as wrappings for oranges. But in every battle many a bullet is fired into the air for one that hits the mark, and yet the battle is won for all that; and however light they make of it, they manifestly do not like it, but have an uneasy feeling that this Bible Society is one of the most effective instruments for establishing the truth of Christ. Closely akin to it, indeed practically one with it, was the Religious Tract and Book Society, founded shortly after, and maintained chiefly by the same parties. It also has done good service, doubtless, by diffusing a wholesome kind of literature among the people.

But the awakened religious life of the country did not confine its efforts to the diffusion of Bibles, and establishing of foreign missions. It is not uncommon to hear objections against such labours, on the ground that there are practical heathens at home who are quite as much needing to be Christianised as negroes in Africa, or cannibals in the South Seas: and charity, it is urged, ought to begin at home. But that kind of truism would generally tell with more effect against those who are readiest to urge it, than against those whom it is meant to rebuke. For the men who speak or write in that strain are not, as a rule, much given to missions either at home or abroad: whereas the men who have laboured most devotedly for the evangelizing of the heathen are also the men who are most earnestly doing good in the *slums* of our great cities, and the moral wastes of the "black country." So it was found now in England. The labours of Fuller and Ryland were as arduous at home as their efforts were zealous for India. The spirit of Newton, too, and of Scott and Simeon and Cecil had leavened a considerable portion of the Established Clergy, so that they could not rest without a larger sphere of activity than what was afforded by mere parochial work. That parochial work was discharged by them, indeed, with unwearying diligence: nor was their abundant service of the merely routine kind, but really sprung from vital principle, and from large human sympathy, and from Christian love. The pulpit was not, perhaps, very eloquent, but it was earnest; and there was heart, at least, if not very searching thought, in its prelections. But the week-day work of visitation, teaching, warning, rebuking and comforting was maintained in great efficiency, so that the Church became slowly acquainted with the condition of the poor, and alive to a sense of its duty to them. Very likely, from the want of strenuous thought, that duty was frequently done in mistaken ways. There was a want of confidence in education, and a superabundant reliance on charity. Still the benevolent spirit of the Church was awakened, and, in ways more or less imperfect and confused, Christianity began to consider the poor more than it had been wont to do. Philanthropy was recognized as an element of Christian faith, at least, as important as predestination; and if the remedy for the ills and miseries of society was sought rather in works of charity than in establishing righteousness, still something had been gained for religion when attention had been drawn to the condition of the people, and the Church was asking herself what she ought to do for them, and how to do it best? Very likely it was the French Revolution, with its terrible discovery of what a neglected and impoverished population might become, which aroused the Church to inquire into the state of the country, and set herself to amend it. There may have been therefore something of fear as well of philanthropy prompting the new interest of the clergy in the poorer classes. But, however it originated, it is in the early part of the nineteenth century that we begin to find the old ecclesiastical questions about orders and dogmas slowly giving place to more practical matters, and churchmen looking less to the favours of statesmen and more to the well-being of their flocks. The ordinary reader of history may not have observed this change so early, though he cannot have failed to note how it has gradually come to be the characteristic feature of modern Christian life. But if he look narrowly into the matter, he will find that it was in the first quarter of this century, and largely under the influence of the Evangelical churchmen, that benevolence began to rise above dogma, and schemes, more or less wise, were formed for alleviating the ills and miseries of life.

This new philanthropic spirit showed itself further in the noble struggle to abolish the horrible slave trade, and to set the African free. The institution of modern slavery in the West had, strangely enough, grown up largely under the influence of the Christian Church. Las Casas, pitying the condition of the oppressed Caribs and Peruvians, who were being rapidly exterminated by their avaricious Spanish conquerors, had urged that negroes might be brought from Africa, who would be better able to work in the gold and silver mines, or to clear the swamps and jungles. He pleaded with all the warmth of an enthusiastic compassion on behalf of the injured Aztec, and seems never to have dreamed that he was proposing to remedy one iniquity by another quite as heinous, and in the long run even worse. The religion of those times seems indeed to have accepted African slavery as the normal condition of the children of Ham—a fulfilment of destiny, which involved no guilt in those who accomplished the prophecy, however nefarious the means used might be, and however dreadful the result. Therefore the New England Puritan, as well as the Cavalier planter of Virginia, accepted negro slavery without compunction, and carried on the traffic with no fine scruples, or nice inquiry into the horrors of "the middle passage." Even a man like John Newton, and that after his conversion, too, could still remain skipper of a slave-trader, and regard himself not as a man-stealer, but only as a gaoler who had an unpleasant kind of profession allotted to him, which he would rather leave, if possible, but in which he saw no violation of the law of God: and he carried on his devout meditations and Biblical studies, with much composure, amid the clanking of fetters, and the howling of pent-up victims dying of thirst and madness. Naturally, if those who came into closest contact with this iniquity could be so callous, the merchants of London and Bristol and Glasgow who merely knew it as a profitable trade, and the planters who saw not how else they could grow their sugar and tobacco, were still more indifferent to the evils of slavery and the slave trade. What could they do without slaves? How find hands to hoe the cane, or gather the leaf? European labour could not be had, nor could it bear the climate even if it had been abundant. African labour could only be relied on when it might be enforced by the lash of absolute and irresponsible power. Thus good men reconciled themselves to it as a necessity, and even some Christian ministers went so far as to call it a blessing, and the only way to Christianize the African, while the people as a whole were satisfied that it was, at any rate, a profitable institution which brought dollars to their purses, and honours to their names.

But an awakened Christian life, touched by some philanthropic compassion for human suffering, could not thus regard what Wesley called "the sum of all villainies." And already in 1789 Wilberforce had proposed the abolition of the slave trade in a speech of rare eloquence and power. With this great cause the name of Wilberforce is inseparably and most honourably connected; and worthily associated with him were Sharpe and Clarkson, Macaulay and Buxton, and finally Brougham. But Wilberforce was the true leader, and to him the honour is due of substantially devoting a whole life, and the whole resources at once of great wealth, a fine intellect, and splendid eloquence, to deliver the negro from oppression, and England from a wrong that disgraced her free Christian name. He was identified with the Evangelical party in the Church, with the Scotts and Simeons and Cecils, and was at once an earnest and intelligent upholder of their general views of doctrine and polity. Therefore whatever failures they made, and whatever blemishes disfigured their work, they are entitled, at least, to the high honour of being among the first and most faithful of those who laboured to deliver our land from the stigma of African slavery. They were not of course alone. The Nonconformist bodies went as earnestly into the grand struggle as any one, and from their hearty love of liberty might have been relied on to sustain the cause even should all others fail. Pitt also, though restrained by political considerations from taking the part which his instincts prompted, was yet on their side. And the foremost clergy of the Scottish Church ere long joined in the holy crusade. Still it is specially to Wilberforce and the party with which he was associated that we owe the abolition of African slavery; for without the social and political influence which the Evangelical section of the Church brought into play, it would certainly have taken a much longer time to secure the desired end, even had all the Nonconformist bodies been united with the advanced liberals to prosecute the cause of manumission. As it was, the slave trade was only abolished in 1807 after twenty years of unremitting labour. It was reserved for Brougham at length in 1834 to complete the work of Wilberforce by the entire abolition of African slavery in all the possessions and colonies of England, and to declare that man should not hold his brother man as "chattels" wherever our law reigns supreme. Of course, this enactment belongs to the political history of the time; but it was the outcome of its religious life, and one of its very noblest fruits. We may make allowances for men with partial information, and under the influence of traditional ideas, and may for a time excuse in their case even so great a social crime and injustice as the slave trade. But with the Bible freely circulating as it now was through the agency of the great Bible Society, and with the growth of Christian knowledge consequent on that, it would have been hard to continue long to believe in the integrity of our religious profession, if we had persisted in maintaining an institution which was so flagrant a violation of the golden rule "to do to others as we would that they also should do unto us." Therefore it was a great service to our British Christianity which was rendered by Wilberforce and his friends, when they wiped from it the stain of the slave trade, and finally swept from the statute book the stigma of slavery altogether. It showed that Evangelical religion was a vital power that would not tolerate known wrong, and would not do it; and the subsequent action of the legislature in making and enforcing treaties to destroy the infamous traffic is a happy indication of the influence of Christian morality on legislation, which it is to be hoped will be followed up, one day, in eastern Africa as it has been in the west, and carried on with such vigour and efficiency that the horrors which afflicted the soul of Livingstone, and prompted the expedition of Baker, may soon disappear from those regions, and afford some chance to the unhappy negro of social well-being and industrial development, and religious progress. For nothing is more clear than this, that it is the existence of the Portuguese and Arab slave trade which hinders the people of Eastern and Central Africa from taking their place at last in the march of civilization among the nations of the West.

The first quarter of the century was thus fruitful of much Christian work, and that of a kind in which all branches of the Church could unite, and labour harmoniously together. The evangelical or Calvinistic party within the Church certainly took the lead; but they were heartily supported by many of the dissenting communities, and in mission enterprise especially the latter were generous rivals, scarcely if at all behind their wealthier and more influential competitors. Over all England the Churches began to manifest a new life, and in the simple effort to do their duty discovered quite unexpected resources of charity and power. About the end of the first quarter of the century Raikes established Sunday schools, and speedily drew from the ranks of Christian membership multitudes of devoted labourers who cheerfully gave up a portion of the day of rest to instruct the children of the poor. There were some, especially in Scotland, who fancied that these schools interfered with the duty of parents whose proper business it was to teach their children the truths of religion. But their opposition failed to arrest the progress of this useful institution, because it was felt that many parents utterly neglected the Christian education of their offspring, that many more were unable to undertake it, and that even those who were both able and willing would find the Sunday school rather a help than a hindrance to their work. Wherever the ministry were cold and indifferent, the Sunday school made its way only slowly, and in spite of discouragement; but in every parish or congregation where the pastor was in earnest, it rapidly grew up as a valuable aid to the labours of the clergy, and a wholesome vent for the enthusiasm of Christian zeal. Ere long, too, Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell, seeing the suffering and misery produced by the improvident habits of the working classes, whose increasing prosperity failed to add to their comfort, because their higher wages were not accompanied by corresponding thrift and prudence, invented the system of savings'. banks, and pressed it both on the nation and on parliament. These banks were at first private establishments, carried on by Christian men anxious for the well-being of the people. But the large sums which grew out of the gathered "littles" of the thrifty poor soon became a serious temptation to speculators whose failures or defalcations would have spread terrible ravages among the working class. In Shetland, to this day, it is difficult to get the people to confide in any bank whatever, owing to some unfortunate experiences of this kind. Like the French peasant, the Shetlander hoards his money in a stocking, when he does not squander it as fast as it is made. It was therefore found necessary to pass an act of parliament granting the security of the nation to these banks, and guaranteeing an interest of 4 per cent., at first, to depositors, with a half per cent. over and above for expenses of management. Financiers have sometimes complained that they cost the nation a considerable sum, the interest given being somewhat above the average of the consolidated funds. But besides that the large sum thus entrusted to the government—it is at present over 38 millions—has been made available for converting 5 per cents. into 3 or 4, and has otherwise saved moneys to the nation, it may be doubted whether the alleged cost is not far more than repaid to the country at large by the improved condition of the people, and the solid independence which is fostered by their more provident habits. Latterly the interest has been reduced to 3 per cent. without injuring the prosperity of the institution. Of course ever since the act guaranteeing the national security, these banks have passed from the control of the Churches, and taken their place among the public institutions of the land. But they were originally fruits of the revived interest on behalf of the people manifested by the Church in the earlier part of the century, and must ever be regarded as proper fruits of Christian zeal and benevolence. Not a little of our modern civilisation was in this way fashioned in an ecclesiastical mould, and if a time came when it had to be removed from its original association with the Church, and settled on its own proper footing, that is no reason why history should not readily acknowledge how much the nation is indebted to the Church for many of its most cherished secular institutions. We may add that there is still one branch of the savings' bank system which remains largely under the management of the Church, viz., the penny savings' banks. These were first established by a Glasgow gentleman, in 1850, in connection with home mission work carried on in the poorest quarter of that city. They spread rapidly, and soon formed an important element of home mission work in London and elsewhere. In Scotland they became feeders to the N. S. savings' banks, all deposits above 20 shillings being transferred to the main office, thus reducing the risk to depositors to quite an insignificant sum. In England this wise provision has not yet been generally adopted, which is a pity: for the penny savings' bank must always belong to the domain of Christian benevolence, as it requires a large voluntary agency to work it, and such labour is always open to abuse without some guarantee of this kind.

The first half of the century then may be called the palmy days of the Evangelical portion of the Church, under which title we embrace not only the Calvinistic clergy, but also the Wesleyan community, whose Arminian proclivities were largely forgotten in the general harmony of their other views with those professed by the followers of Newton and of Fuller. Everywhere there was a great and varied religious activity. There might be now and then a want of Christian charity, but there was abundant service. Exeter Hall was not always remarkable for the depth of its thought, or the purity of its eloquence; but it was associated with manifold efforts to do good. And if the public manifestoes of the party had to endure some qualification and subtraction, in virtue of their frequent self-confidence, their bad taste, and their habit of denouncing every one who happened to differ from them, yet the pictures presented by the parishes and congregations of those good men who cheered to the echo the most violent tirades of their chosen orators, were among the most cheering and hopeful spectacles on which Christian eyes could rest. There was earnest preaching in the pulpits, and if the theology was rather cut and dry, the practical energy of the preacher was what the people chiefly saw. There was diligent visitation of their flocks. The Sabbath school flourished, though the catechism often did not get much farther than the ears of the children. Missionary societies, Bible societies, savings' banks, Dorcas societies, Young Men's Christian institutes, classes, clubs, agencies of all kinds were at work, which if mere machinery could save the world, would have speedily brought the millennium they longed for so earnestly. And doubtless much good was done. Evangelicalism was not what it thought itself—the consummation of Christian truth and life: but it was an important stage in the progress of the Church, for it showed how the Puritanism of the 17th century might clothe itself with the kindlier humanities of Christian benevolence. Clinging to the hard formularies of a traditional faith, it put into them the vital energy of "good will toward men," and consecrated thereby doctrines which, if in part truly divine, were also in part mere dogmas of human authority.

But the quiet and the harmony which for a season prevailed through the Churches in virtue of these benevolent activities, were not to be of long continuance. It was not natural that they should. Conscience cannot be awakened to a sense of duty, and still blind to the sense of right. It will not long do for men to say, "We will do this, because it is our duty to do it; but you must not demand that, because it is your right to get it." For it is only by establishing righteousness, and acknowledging its claims fully, that we ever get to a solid and clear way of life. There is a sense of favour shown in doing a duty when the right is not admitted, which is irritating to the one party, as if he only received as a benefit what he was entitled to demand as of justice; and which is also injurious to the other, as if he might claim the credit of a supererogatory service, when he was only doing what he ought to do. This was the sort of half-awakened conscience of duty which the Evangelical party liked, and which they were fain to maintain, if possible, by law of the land. They would be kind to the poor, without acknowledging the rights of the poor. They would be tolerant of Dissenters, without acknowledging the rights of Dissenters. They would stop at this half-way house of duty, without going on to the end, and admitting the rights of those for whom they were ready to manifest a patronising goodness, or a merciful forbearance. But this was a state of things which could not last; and ere long there were mutterings of coming storm, and threatenings of violent conflict among those who seemed to be so serenely working together for the common good of Christendom.

The first causes of discord were the Test and Corporations Acts, and the Roman Catholic Disabilities Laws. Out of these, indeed were to arise still other quarrels, which at first appeared merely as side issues of quite a subordinate kind, and whose deeper meanings were hardly at first suspected, though they are now seen to involve far more radical matters than any which were implied in the original disputes—matters threatening indeed the very existence of Established Churches.

The Test and Corporations Acts were a remnant of the theory of Established Churches, as that theory was held before the Law of Toleration. After that, they were an anachronism—the fragment of an exploded doctrine trying to maintain its right to exist when its foundation had been utterly destroyed. They belonged entirely to a by-past state of things. They had outlived the dogma out of which they originally grew. That dogma, as laid down by Hooker, implied that the Church embraced the whole nation, and that no one who dissented from the ecclesiastical establishment had properly any civil rights in the land. Citizenship and churchmanship were convertible terms; at least the forsaking of the Church implied the forfeiture of the privileges of citizenship. It will sound strange to many at the present day to read that, up to the close of the first quarter of this century, a Dissenter was not entitled to hold office in any of the ancient corporations of our cities. Only a member of the Established Church had a right to act as mayor or sheriff; and if a Nonconformist was elected to the office he was liable to a severe fine. This became an instrument of gross oppression and extortion; and early in the reign of George III. it was found that the City of London had levied 15,000*l.* from parties who had been chosen sheriffs, not to do the duties of that office, but only to be fined for nonconformity. And because holding office under government seemed to require special guarantees for the loyalty of the official, it was considered a proper and necessary test of such an one's character that he should be required to communicate in his parish church. No man could be appointed to gauge a beer barrel, who did not submit to this test. No one could search luggage at the custom house, who had not gone through this mockery of communion. To the thoughtful Christian it must have been very revolting thus to prostitute the most sacred ordinance of his religion. Yet there were many good men who clung to it as a necessary bulwark of the national faith; and even of those who specially suffered from it, and felt the grievance of it, there were not a few who were slow to move against it, lest its abolition should open a door to the enfranchisement of Roman Catholics, They were ready to suffer injustice themselves rather than to consent to do justice to their fellow citizens of that communion. The tradition of hatred and fear of Romanism was stronger among the Protestant Dissenters than it was even in the Church. They had at first consented to their own exclusion from these privileges in the hope of breaking the power of that community which was identified in their minds, not only with superstitious rites, but with disloyal plots, and with hatred of the laws and liberties of the country. That had been true of the papal adherents a century and a half before, and for the sake of the public weal, the Protestant Dissenters had consented to let their own hands be bound in order to effectually restrain them; for there was no party in the nation animated by a higher public spirit than the Independents, Baptists, and Presbyterians at the end of the 17th century. The same ideas were found largely prevailing among them at the beginning of the 19th; and of course, it was not hard to find reasons for their suspicion of Roman Catholics both in the history of their conduct, and in the principles of their church. Hence the Test and Corporations Acts were not much objected to until the Catholic Disabilities had been brought to the forefront. The more deserving part of the community were far less forward with their just claims than the restless Irish Romanists. Indeed, the Protestant Dissenters were for a period somewhat divided, fearing that the assertion of their own rights would imply, as it certainly did, the granting of a like equality to Romanists. And it took some time, and large discussion of the question, to persuade them that they must do justice to others ere they could righteously demand it for themselves. It was only in 1827 that the motion was finally resolved on to move for the abolition of the Test and Corporations Acts, and next year Lord John Russell, whose name is so honourably associated with all the progress of the last half century, brought forward a measure in parliament for that purpose. He did so in a temperate speech. He did not admit that every restraint or disqualification imposed on account of religious belief was in the nature of persecution. He held that restrictions might be, at least, temporarily justifiable, if the religion was bound up with social or political principles hostile to the State. But he claimed an absolute equality of right on the part of the Protestant Dissenters of England, who were confessedly among the most loyal subjects of the realm. Whether the ground he took was the right one may be questioned; but it is beyond a doubt that it was the wise and politic one. A more absolute principle would have certainly provoked an opposition which it was undesirable to arouse; and it might also have divided the very supporters of the Bill. As it was, after the introduction of a declaration to the effect that no dissenting magistrate or official would use his influence for the subverting of the Established Church, the Wellington and Peel government accepted the measure, and lent it their hearty support. It was opposed in all its stages through the upper house by Lord Eldon, who spoke of it as a virtual disestablishment of the episcopal church. But many of the bishops themselves both spoke and voted in its favour, denouncing the Test as a profanation of a holy ordinance, which it certainly was. In the Commons, it was resisted by Sir R. Inglis, as representing the "high and dry" element of the establishment. But Russell and Brougham in the lower House, Holland and Lansdowne in the upper, supported it in speeches of such convincing eloquence that government was compelled to take their part, and the Bill received the royal assent on the 9th of May, 1828.

There were some, however, who clearly saw that this was only part of a much more general principle, and that the Whigs could not stop short at any half measures of this kind. Notably amongst these was the late Lord Palmerston, who, however, mistakenly we think, even went so far as to decline voting for the measure unless the Catholic claims were also admitted. No doubt he was right in principle, and, as a far-seeing politician, discerned what the Liberal party must come to at last. Righteousness must, sooner or later, be done to all citizens, no matter what their religious opinions might be. But that is no reason why a partial wrong may not be righted in the meantime. The country was, so far, prepared for the abolition of the Test and Corporations Acts. Even the Church, on the whole, shrank from continuing such a mockery of her sacred ordinance. It was clearly right and wise, therefore, to get rid of what all substantially admitted to be an evil. Moreover, the removal of one wrong always paves the way for the removal of another; and it is easier to get rid of any still lingering evil when you have broken the back of the principle or prejudice on which it rests. Palmerston, who in his latter days was generally looked on as rather a shifty politician than a man who was mastered by ideas of right, appears, in this case, more in favour of abstract right than of political expediency. Yet he was quite correct in holding that the Liberal party must, sooner or later, give to the Roman Catholics the same civil rights as they claimed for Protestant Dissenters. This question had been before the public long before the other, though the parties concerned were very much less deserving of the consideration of Parliament. It was Ireland, of course, that was specially affected by these laws; and Ireland, whatever wrongs it had suffered, had also long been a thorn in the side of government, a plague, a trouble, and a fear. We have no desire to justify the action of Parliament with regard to that portion of our dominions. It had been often unjust, always inconsiderate, guided chiefly by prejudice and ignorance, and a kind of alarm which is unworthy of a great and powerful government. No statesman now-a-days will defend the line of action pursued in that country. No church will maintain that our treatment of Roman Catholics was either wise or just. Even the fanatical Orangeman would hesitate before he brought back on his country the days of the Clares and the Yelvertons, the "Croppies and Whiteboys." That country had been wretchedly misgoverned, and never so much so as when it was left to its own parliament to manage for itself. So far as we can see, there is no hope for Ireland except the removal of power, in a great measure, from itself into the calmer and clearer atmosphere of

English opinion, where, indeed, occasional and temporary ignorance may delay justice for a time, but where in the long run righteousness is far more likely to be done, than amid the irreconcileable conflicts of rival policies and religions, which have so long disturbed that unhappy island.

It was not however in Ireland only that the Roman Catholics lay under civil disabilities. The laws were almost equally severe on them in England and in Scotland. But it was chiefly from Ireland that the outcry came, and there also the danger was greatest, and the political injustice most obvious. It might be oppressive to deprive a small minority of their natural rights on account of their religious opinions. But it was both iniquitous and dangerous to not only maintain with peculiar rights and privileges the religion of a fraction of the people, but also to make the worship of the great majority penal, as was done there. No doubt, at the time when those Acts were passed, statesmen might plead that Romanism was inconsistent with loyalty; and the mass of Protestant England, shuddering at the remembrance of massacres, demanded stern measures of repression, and would be satisfied with nothing else. Therefore, it had been made a crime to celebrate mass. A Jesuit priest could only enter the country at the risk of his life. Monks and nuns dared not show face in the land, nor were any bequests lawful made for their support. No Roman Catholic gentleman could represent his fellow countrymen in Parliament, or sit on the bench of Justice among his brother squires. The highest noble in England, illustrious for his birth and for the great services of his family, was incapable of serving the State even in the meanest post. We cannot wonder that they fretted under these restraints, which might be politic and justifiable at the time of their enactment, but manifestly were no longer excusable. For the Catholic was not now disloyal to the crown, or if he were, it was only because he was driven to acts of rebellion by the oppression under which he groaned. Every statesman, who wished to unite the whole people in devotion to the throne and constitution, ought to have seen that nothing was more urgently needed for this than the abolition of these laws. And the Church, strong in her right, ought never to have leaned for a moment on the perpetuation of so clear a wrong. Yet the great majority of the Church, and many even of the Dissenters, were persuaded that the Roman Catholic religion, being a policy as well as a religion, could not safely be trusted with the liberties enjoyed by other churches. All the prejudice of the country was arrayed against its claim. All the tradition of former struggles for liberty went to strengthen that prejudice. People were more afraid of a Jesuit than of an army in battle array, and would sooner have seen Napoleon on their shores than a mass or procession in their streets. We cannot altogether blame them, either, remembering the story and the struggle of former times. Yet manifestly it was both unjust and dangerous to persist in maintaining these laws.

At this time also a champion arose whose power no government could afford to trifle with. Daniel O'Connell was an astute and daring agitator, a master of the rhetoric by which the hearts of his countrymen are stirred; a man who, if he could not exactly guide the whirlwind of popular passion, had yet a singular faculty for rousing it just as far as was necessary to alarm government, without actually letting it loose, and so putting its force or its weakness to the proof. With some droll humour, and an immense power of invective, he had the confidence of his countrymen, and was able to keep a threatening cloud steadily hanging over Ireland without ever breaking into rebellion. No doubt this, quite as much as the righteousness of his cause, helped to win success in the end. The cause was right; but greater orators and nobler characters than O'Connell had pleaded for justice to Ireland, and pleaded in vain, till the vast gatherings of enthusiastic mobs, and cries for Repeal of the Union terrified statesmen into an act of tardy justice. It was in 1829 that these Acts were finally abolished by the government of Wellington, which had been expressly chosen for the purpose of maintaining them in force, but which could not persist in a line of action that every day threatened the peace and integrity of the empire. Indeed, the time was now passed when such restrictions were either necessary or practicable. Yet the results have not been such as to fulfil the sanguine anticipation of those who moved for their abolition. It was hoped that, having once received their just rights, the Irish Catholics would close their ears against seditious speeches; that a feeling of gratitude would take the place of their ancient discontent; that their priests who might now be educated at home would become more English in their sympathies; and that their representatives in parliament would be satisfied to watch over the interests of their party there, as the members of other sects did, without seeking to secure their own ends by embarrassing the general course of Imperial legislation. In all these respects, expectation has been disappointed. As to any sense of gratitude it was perhaps unreasonable to look for that. Gratitude is only due for favour received, and they might very fairly plead that it was absurd to require them to be grateful, because they had wrung from the fears of a reluctant majority the rights of which they had long been deprived. But the old discontent is nearly as strong to-day as it was half a century ago. The people of Ireland are as ready as they were in the days of O'Connell to hear and applaud language whose treason is hardly even veiled. The priest trained in Maynooth, at the national expense, has turned out not only less of the scholar and gentleman, but even less of the dutiful and loyal citizen, than his predecessor from the Irish colleges in France or Italy or Spain. As to the conduct of the Roman Catholics in parliament it was only to be anticipated that their declaration not to use their place or influence against the Established Church would prove, like all such weak measures, practically a dead letter. But it is not to be denied that, with few exceptions, they have not taken their places in St. Stephens as statesmen to consult for the public good, but only as delegates of their party to subordinate all wholesome legislation to the interests of their church. Very possibly this was the inevitable consequence of long-continued injustice; and we will hope that, as they come to see how desirous the people of Britain are to establish righteousness in all the Empire, they may yet cast off the yoke of faction, and blend as a wholesome element with the general current of national life. Late events, indeed, have tended not a little to discourage this hope. The proclamation of the Vatican Council declaring the infallibility of the Pope, and the Syllabus which claims on his behalf a supremacy over the civil power, are disquieting elements which statesmen cannot help viewing with some alarm. The language of Archbishop Doyle, and of the great majority of Catholics before the passing of these acts, is very different from that of Dr. Manning and the Ultramontane party to-day. And while no British statesman could ever dream of re-imposing those disabilities, the British people can hardly help watching with some alarm the resurrection of the principles of Hildebrand and of the pretensions of the Middle Ages in this nineteenth century of Christian history.

The struggle which arose in connection with these two measures left some unhappy results among the Protestant part of the community, which finally ended in a great movement, the end of which has not yet come. For when the Dissenters were contending against the Test and Corporations Acts, the Roman Catholics generously came to their aid, and helped them in a cause which was also virtually their own. In like manner the Dissenters, as a rule, stood by their Catholic fellow-subjects in their demand for the removal of unfair restraints and disabilities. It was natural that they should thus array themselves side by side in a quarrel which involved the common interests of both. The Catholic strengthened his cause by abolishing, as far as his power went, the Test and Corporations Acts. And the Dissenter could not but feel that, in seeking justice for himself, he was bound no less to claim it for his Catholic fellow-citizen, and that all the more because the Catholic fellow-citizen had generously stood by him. Thus, with a few exticepons, the Catholics and the Dissenters found themselves irresistibly drawn together into the ranks of a common Liberalism. They came to public meetings, and moved and seconded each other's resolutions. They went together to the polling booth. They trusted the same political leaders, and contended against the same opponents. It was only their common grievances which produced this union; in all other respects they were as wide asunder as the poles—separated at once in feeling and in principle far more thoroughly than either of them was from the Established Church. No one supposed for a moment that the Roman Catholic looked more kindly on the doctrine and discipline of the Presbyterian or Independent than he did on those of the prelatic establishment, or would show them more favour if he had the power. It was recognised, as a matter of course, that however the Catholic might for present purposes co-operate with the Dissenter, he had no liking for the descendant of the Ironsides and Twelfth-Monarchy-men, and still less for the successors of Rutherford and Gillespie. But the same common-sense view was not taken of the Dissenters. It was supposed that they, in the blindness of party spirit, were ready to coalesce with Catholics in their hatred of the Church established by law. Thus a feeling of soreness and alienation grew up even among those who had lately been working together as brethren in the common cause of Christianity. Evangelical churchmen and dissenters had, for a season, sat together on a general mission board. They had met to speak for the Bible Society on the platform of Exeter Hall, under the presidency of serviceable Lord Teignmouth. They had blended their benevolent oratory in the cause of the oppressed negro under the leadership of Wilberforce and Brougham. And now it seemed as if the latter had ungratefully turned from this companionship to make friends with those who were equally the enemies of the English Bible and of English freedom. For deeply as the Evangelical party in the Church concerned itself with these matters, it was still more passionately bound to the Protestant faith. It held the Pope to be Antichrist. It regarded the Romish system as the very ripest invention of the enemy of souls. It looked on a Jesuit priest as a worse enemy of man than a Jamaica slave-driver. It reckoned the bonds imposed on Catholics as the first condition of Christian freedom. Therefore it was with a feeling of soreness and irritation that the Evangelical party saw the drawing together of Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics to secure even the most reasonable ends. It seemed like a desertion of the great cause, a falling away from the faith. They could easier pardon the blinded Catholic than his Dissenting companion who had seconded their motions at Exeter Hall. The ties of natural brotherhood seemed to be wantonly broken by this alliance. It appeared like a terrible portent of coming times of "falling away" to see the Calvinistic Baptist supporting the Catholic priest, and the pious Independent backing the wild Irish whom Cromwell had so pitilessly crushed. No wonder that, amid the darkness and hopelessness of the times, they began to long for millennial days; though it was strange that they should cleave to an unrighteous series of Acts of Parliament, and fancy that the millennium might possibly come to establish them in perpetuity.

There had thus arisen a feeling of alienation among those who had so lately been labouring together for the good of the country and of the race; and that feeling was still further intensified by a variety of circumstances that rose, naturally enough, out of the revived life of religion in the land.

One cause of discord was the very laudable effort to educate the people. In Scotland this foremost duty of the state had been pretty satisfactorily done by a system of parish schools, suggested first by John Knox, and subsequently carried out in the spirit of that great Reformer, yet with adaptations tolerably suited to the times. In those schools a good, wholesome education might be got by the very poorest of the people, at a cost quite within their reach; and while the religious element was provided, it was not enforced, but left free to the choice of the parent. On the whole, it had worked admirably, except that it had not kept pace with the growth of the population. In England, though private charity had established and endowed many valuable schools, there was no systematic education provided for the people, and the masses of the poor were left in utter ignorance. Many of those Endowed schools, too, though intended only for the poor, were available in reality only for the rich. Others, though they had grown wealthy in the progress of the country, used their new wealth practically to aggrandise the teachers, not to multiply the beneficiaries, and diffuse education. In some the children were treated as paupers, whom it was well not to teach to be above their condition. And altogether England, with immense riches, and no small endowments for educational purposes, was one of the worst instructed countries of Europe. In these circumstances, a young Quaker gentleman, of the name of Lancaster, began to do a little for the education of children in his own neighbourhood. The work naturally grew upon him; and as his own hands were full, he used the more advanced of his pupils to prepare the younger ones, and make them ready to enter his own classes. The system developed naturally, and naturally suggested to him a plan by which a limited number of teachers might yet overtake the educational wants of the country; for the country, though it sorely wanted teaching, grudged the expense of it greatly, not knowing that in the longrun it is the best paying of all kinds of expenditure. The result was that the Lancastrian system became very popular. Lords and royal dukes went to see it, and expressed their extreme admiration of its results. But Mr. Lancaster, as a Quaker, though deeply religious, was not very dogmatic; and while striving to instil the first principles of piety and duty into the children—a work which he found easy and unobjectionable—was not inclined to introduce the Church Catechism into his schools. He would give undenominational religious instruction, and he found no one among the people themselves caring to oppose that, and no difficulty in giving it; but he would not consent to teach the dogmas of any particular sect, not even his own. But the Church of England, which had so long neglected her duty in this matter, and had neither sought the means of educating the people, nor faithfully used those at her disposal, no sooner heard of a diligent labourer who was seeking to supplement her shortcomings, than she took fire at the idea that her Catechism was not to be the chief medium of instruction. Lancaster's schools were represented as a covert attack on the Established Church, as an insidious effort on the part of dissenters to alienate the people from the national temples. Dr. Bell, therefore, suggested another method in the interest of the Church, and the rival systems of Bell and Lancaster for a period agitated the whole country—the real issue being Catechism or no Catechism, Church or Dissent. Yet good arose from the agitation; for an impulse was given to the education of the poor which has never since been arrested. "British Schools" and "National Schools" rose in every considerable town; and, if the dividing lines of sects were more clearly and more sharply drawn, at least the education of the people also in general knowledge made not a little progress. In the end, the Lancasterian idea of undenominational religious teaching has gained the day in parliament, though throughout the nation the influence and the wealth and the contributions of the Church have gone far to perpetuate sectarian teaching in England.

Ere long another question, also rising out of the revived life of the Church, tended still more to widen the rupture between Evangelical Churchmen and Evangelical Dissenters. In the year 1801 a discussion in the House of Commons on the subject of clergymen holding pluralities, farming, or carrying on trades, elicited some important statistics with regard to the value of livings in the Church of England. It appeared, on the authority of Sir William Scott (afterwards Lord Stowell) that the Act of Queen Anne, granting the first-fruits for the augmentation of small livings, had not very materially improved the position of the poorer clergy. There were conditions attached to it increasing the power of the bishops, which seem to have prevented many parishes from applying for aid from the fund, so that it only distributed at that period between 14,000*l.* and 15,000*l.* per annum. There were still, therefore, over 6000 livings which did not exceed in average value 85*l.* per annum, and of these a large proportion were under 30*l.*, while some were so low as 45*s.* In 1804 it appeared that, even in the city of London, of the 50 livings there the value of the highest was only 200*l.* and many were not above 100*l.* per annum. It would not have been remarkable if the incumbents of such charges tried to eke out their incomes by joining two or three of them together, or even by trading and farming as they had opportunity. But it was further shown that the greater number of pluralities were held by those who already enjoyed the better endowed livings, and who thus increased their own affluence at the expense of the poorer parishes. To the scandal of the Church it was found, in 1807, that in the 11,164 parishes of England only 4412 had resident incumbents, or little more than one clergyman for every three parishes, so that many districts only enjoyed the benefits of religious instruction once a week, or perhaps only once a month, the curate receiving from the incumbent, it may be, only 16*l.* a-year. To amend this state of things, in 1809, a grant of 100,000*l.*, was made to the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, and a more stringent rule was laid down as to residence, while clergymen were forbidden to farm above 80 acres without special license from the bishop of their diocese, or to carry on any kind of trade for the lucre of gain. But the bill did not apply to Ireland, where the evils of non-residence were still more aggravated. For owing to an old act in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the lord-lieutenant and privy council were authorised to conjoin or divide parishes as might seem to them necessary. There had been, however, very few examples of the latter process, but many parishes had been consolidated in order to increase the livings of the clergy, and, in some districts, this had been carried so far that Protestantism had actually died out for want of a minister to baptize the children, or a place of worship to attend. Several debates, at various times, took place in parliament on this subject; but little was done to amend it, until it was found necessary at last to frame a measure for Ireland of a more sweeping character than any statesman at present contemplates on behalf of England. These facts, however, created a good deal of dissatisfaction over the country, and this was further increased by the proposed method of removing the evil.

It could not long escape the notice of earnest-minded men that, both in England and Scotland, the population had largely outgrown the means of religious instruction. Of course, there were districts in which the fluctuations of the population had been such that there were, in reality, more churches than there were people to fill them. The glades and dales where old churches abounded were, in a great measure, depopulated; but the great centres of industry—the weaving and mining districts—were woefully destitute of the means of Christian training. A Church at all alive to its duty could not possibly witness the actual state of things in those neighbourhoods without trying to do something to amend it. Much had been done, indeed, by the various dissenting bodies. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists had provided for the colliers and slate quarriers of the Principality, and were indeed the only Christian community that had any hold on that simple people. Wesleyan Methodism had largely taken possession of Yorkshire, and had its churches all over the land. The Independents and Baptists had not been idle; and when the census was taken, it appeared that the various dissenting communities had actually more churches, built and maintained by their voluntary contributions, than the Established Church with all the backing of the State. Still it is certain that there was need of more churches, and more labourers, and more abundant energies to overtake the spiritual destitution of the land; and that, though £1,000,000 sterling had been voted for the purpose in 1818. No one denied that there were many places yet unprovided for. No one could question that it was the duty of the Church to provide for them. Nor could any one reasonably object to the Established Church for bringing it under the notice of parliament, and asking that, if there was to be an Established Church in the land, it might be enabled tolerably to do its duty to the people whom it was appointed to instruct in the things of God. So far there could be very little dispute. The Church was only wakening to a sense of its duty when it asked that it might be put fairly in a position to do what was expected of it. But it was a grievous mistake which was made when the "spiritual destitution" case was presented in such a way as to take substantially no cognisance of what had been done by other churches. All the efforts and sacrifices of dissenting communities were ignored, and a demand was made on parliament to supply out of the national funds wants, one half, at least, of which had already been provided for by the voluntary contributions of various religious sects. This was not only a blunder, it was really an insolent setting aside of all the pious effort of other churches, as if that effort had left the people "practical heathens" still. Had the wants of the growing population been presented in such a way as to show that the Church was only anxious to provide Christian teaching for those who had none, government would probably have listened favourably to a demand which sprung simply from a desire to see all religiously taught and cared for. But manifestly what the Church asked was as much for its own aggrandisement as for the good of the nation. Indeed, the Dissenters could not but feel that this demand for public funds, which utterly ignored all that they had done, and spoke of their most flourishing and successful fields of labour as no better than the "outlying heathenism" of the country, was a gross insult to their religious character; and when they called to mind how much they, in their deep poverty, had done to supply the want which the wealthy establishment had neglected, it is no wonder that they objected stoutly to the application of national moneys to any such object. Their feelings were justly injured. Their faithful services had been slighted. Their place as a religious power in the nation was denied to them. The labours of men like Hall, and Foster, and Ryland, and Jay, were treated as if they had been little better than those of so many pagan teachers. It really is not to be wondered at if they resented this demand on the part of the Established Church as a gross injustice to them; and it was this which drove them to ask of the State not mere toleration, but absolute equality as their natural and inalienable right.

In this way the atmosphere was gradually prepared for the assertion of the Voluntary principle, and for the great controversy which was soon to agitate all the churches of Britain. The soreness which the Evangelical party felt at the union of Dissenters and Catholics led to an alienation where before there had been, in a great measure, union. Education, church extension, pluralities, and church rates still further increased this separation. And now this harsh and unjust treatment brought things to a head, and gave rise to a controversy which has done more than any other to embitter the relations of the various Protestant communities in England.

It was not indeed exactly a new thing in the land. The history of dissent during the 18th century showed, every now and then, that there was a growing feeling in the country opposed to established churches; not on account of their doctrine, or discipline, or want of discipline; nor on account of their bishops, prayer books, or general ritual, but simply on the ground of their being established churches, supported, not by those who believed in them, but for them out of the national resources. The original objection to the Church had been, at least in England, that it was not formed on the Scriptural platform of the Church of Christ. The Presbyterians disliked its episcopal authority, and the Independents rejected its uniformity of ritual and government. But during the 17th century almost no one objected to it as an Established Church, for the prevailing ecclesiastical theory was that the nation and the Church were the same, only viewed under different aspects. But now towards the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, an entirely different theory began to gain ground among us. It was in England certainly that the question first began to assume this form; but it was in Scotland that it took most definite shape, and became an effective instrument of political warfare. The English had it forced on them because of their practical grievances; the Scotch expressed it as a theoretic wrong, a false principle which conscience objected to, and refused to carry out. It is not necessary to go into details; suffice it that the doctrine of established churches was now directly assailed. It was said that the State had nothing to do with religion, but to let it alone. It was argued that it was unjust to compel Dissenters to pay for the maintenance of a church to which they objected, and of whose services they could not avail themselves. It was insisted that Christ left His Church to be maintained by the free-will offerings of His people, and that as far as men departed from that rule they were departing from His law. It was urged that Christians were depriving themselves of a privilege when they did not act on this principle, and that by relying on State aid they were leaning on a crutch, and hindering themselves from that free walking in their own strength which was characteristic of religious health. But above all, it was said to be unjust to give place, and privilege, and endowment to men simply in virtue of their opinions. It led some to profess views which they did not really hold. It was unfavourable to truth which the supporters of established churches professed themselves so anxious to uphold. Altogether it was an anomaly which would not be tolerated in any other province, for were any party in the State to propose to plant a teacher of Whig or Tory ideas in every parish, and to endow him with national funds, such a party would be scouted as handicapping opinions which ought to be left to their own truth or falsehood. In this way the new dogma of voluntaryism was at first maintained, and associations were formed all over the country for its diffusion. Of course, so bold a line of action provoked a vigorous opposition. Wherever a Voluntary lecturer came, there an Establishment one was ready to oppose him. Church societies rose up to do battle with anti-Church ones. Never since the 17th century had the land been so agitated by Church questions of one kind or other. The logic of the Puritans was furbished up to provide effective weapons for this warfare. And the hatreds of the Cavaliers and Roundheads were quickened into renovated life. Yet the question which agitated the country was much shallower than any which then troubled the people. It was not a matter of vital doctrine, as at the Reformation. It was not a matter of vital discipline, as in Laud's times. It was not a matter of vital freedom, as in Cromwell's days. It was only a matter of payment of stipend, and of social distinction. No doubt these things involved questions of political righteousness, too, which sooner or later must have weight in the counsels of Christian nations. But in their direct and immediate action they were not questions which might have been expected greatly to agitate Christian churches. One might have hoped that the payment of the tribute money by our Lord, and his command to "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," would have been sufficient to cast them into the fitting subordination proper to all such matters. But instead of that they grew to be the supreme questions of the time. Dr. Chalmers, indeed, tried to lift them into a higher platform, while certainly ignoring the logic of voluntaryism. It was sincerely done on his part, for his supreme object was the Christianizing of the people, not the aggrandizing of the Church. Holding, therefore, quite truly, that the ordinary law of supply and demand did not apply in matters of religion, just because the demand was less the greater the need was, he insisted that it was the duty of the State to provide for the destitute and negligent people. It was, no doubt, the duty of some one to do this—but ordinary readers of the Bible would have said that it was the business of the Church, just as it was her concern to establish missions among the heathen. No doubt, Chalmers begged the whole question, and while enforcing a sound principle with all the eloquence of his passionate nature, and all the benevolence of a noble Christian spirit, he yet really missed the mark. The English Church at that time was so poor in men of ability, that it was glad to avail itself of his services; but though there was no one on the other side of equal genius to maintain the cause of voluntaryism, certain it is that that cause has grown not a little during the last forty years. It is not likely that any statesman of the present day would contemplate the establishment of a particular Church were he legislating for a new country; but neither is it likely that he would propose willingly to disturb existing ecclesiastical institutions which have wrought themselves into the habits and affections of the people, at least, as long as they are doing their work with tolerable efficiency. If, indeed, any Church shall alienate the majority of the people from her altars, she cannot long hope to retain endowment and ascendancy, for parliament is now the embodied opinion of the majority. But unless the Established Churches, by their internal divisions, render their position untenable, it is not probable that any government will meddle with them on the ground of abstract principle. At the same time, one good result of the Voluntary controversy has been, that it has taught all Churches how much more they can do for themselves than they once imagined possible, and how much more pleasant it is to contribute freely than to dun parliament for money, and have to pass through the ordeal of its free discussions. Thus the question has entered on a new phase, and probably the time is not far distant when all Churches will look on establishment as comparatively a matter of little moment beside the far deeper questions which are now stirring the religious world. For whether the State and the Church are but different aspects of the same entity, or whether they are separate and independent authorities which enter into a treaty for their mutual advantage, or whether they are powers whose essential natures are so different that they cannot unite without injury to both, and had best stand for ever apart; certain it is that the issues which have lately been raised summon Christians of all kinds to look to the defence of infinitely more vital truths, and, whether established or not, to see to the maintenance of the Faith.

CHAPTER IV.

History of Literature, Science, and Art, from A.D. 1790 to A.D. 1837.

PART I.—POETIC LITERATURE.

SECTION I.

LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERIOD.

IN no period of the world's history has the activity of the human mind been greater than in that which intervenes between the execution of Louis XVI. of France and the present time, and in no department of human affairs has that activity been more conspicuous, or its achievements more splendid or substantial, than in the department of literature. In the intellectual history of England the names of Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, and Newton are still indeed admitted, without dissentient voice, to occupy a higher position than can be assigned to those of any of their successors; but English literature, during the period in question, has been distinguished by so much variety, power, and brilliancy, by an imaginative luxuriance so rich and a mental penetration so intense, by research so keen and intrepid and comprehension so vast, by speculation so bold and analysis so piercing, above all by so high an average of excellence, that it possesses extraordinary interest for the intelligent inquirer, and must occupy a place of eminent consideration in the history of mankind.

Numerous causes have conspired to produce this result.

The French Revolution communicated a profound excitement to all eager and ardent minds, created new hopes and aspirations, and roused every energy of the intellect and the heart to intense and tumultuous action. Principles rushed into angry collision, and the collision of principles became almost without an interval the collision of armies and the clamour of contending nations. The patriotic emotions were intensified throughout Europe, and in no quarter did they glow with more vivid intensity than in England, representing as she did the opposition presented by the stabler element of European life to the incarnation of revolution and military despotism in the person of Napoleon. It is the testimony of universal history that no influence conduces more to brace and inspire the mind to high general activity than an elevated state of the patriotic feeling, and in the poems of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, and Byron, strongly as the characteristic is modified in each by force of individual genius and circumstance, we are sensible of a proud and lofty inspiration derived from the martial spirit and the natural enthusiasm of the time.

Connected with the influence derived from the imposing position assumed by Great Britain in the political system of the world, was that of the advance of the nation in material prosperity. Industry had been stimulated, wealth had increased, population had extended. Agriculture had made great progress, especially in the various branches of stock-farming. Mechanical invention had created a new era of manufactures. Chemistry had been successfully applied to the arts. The number of men possessed of wealth—the class of cultured and leisured persons—had become so great that literature passed for ever out of the house of bondage to kings and nobles, and found its sole patron in the people. Modern British literature can say with Schiller, representative in this as in many other respects of what is best and most beautiful in the spirit of our time, "The public is now all to me, my study, my sovereign, my confidant. To the public alone I from this time belong; before this and no other tribunal will I place myself; this alone do I reverence and fear. Something majestic hovers before me, as I determine now to wear no other fetters but the sentence of the world, to appeal to no other throne but the soul of man." For literature, as for all forms of human activity, means, sooner or later, liberty, health, and vigour. Not only had that sycophancy of authors which, from the days of Horace to those of Dryden, brought genius into sorrowful companionship with meanness, become a thing obsolete and impossible, but artificial modes of thought and expression, which had contrived to flourish as long as coteries and pedants ruled in literature, were found powerless to charm the strong popular heart. So late as the time of Swift it was possible for that masculine writer, in poetically describing the most terrible and tragic episode in his history, his hapless love affair with Esther Vanhomrigh, to enclose the narrative in a wretched pinchbeck setting, gaudy with nymphs and shepherds, Cupid and Lucina, the Muses, the Graces, and the Cyprian queen. Even Darwin's brilliant diction and astonishing glitter of conceits would never have been mistaken for anything better than curiosities of literature had they appeared in the present century. All the "machinery" about which older poets make such a pother has been impatiently flung aside, and nature alone—truth of life, of feeling, of historical fact, of physical appearance—has been the aim of literary ambition and the groundwork of poetical success.

The instrument with which the high-strung literary activity of the age has worked, the English language, had now attained its highest perfection. From the time of Chaucer it had been a language of great compass, force, and melody; its stores had been enriched, and its capabilities marvellously evolved by the Elizabethan writers, while the compact vigour of Dryden, the diamond-like precision of Pope, the grace and delicacy of Addison, the ease and sweetness of Goldsmith, the nervous simplicity and unaffected clearness of Paley and other characteristic stylists of his day, had put the last touch to its polish, pliancy, and elegance. From the somewhat formal correctness, the trim precision, the elaborate quietness of the best literature of that period, the excitement of our time has naturally produced a reaction towards the exuberance of the Elizabethan age, and both in our poetry and our prose, more conspicuously in the latter perhaps even than in the former, there has been a glow of imaginative fervour, a metaphoric richness and audacity of expression, for which we can find a parallel in the works of the Elizabethans alone.

Among foreign literatures the French exerted during the eighteenth century by far the greatest influence upon that of Great Britain. But in the concluding quarter of that century the literature of Germany rose suddenly to the first place among the literatures of the world, and sixty or seventy years ago its influence began to be profoundly felt in England. The elements of power and greatness in the literature of Germany bore that relation to the corresponding elements in the literature of France, which the Teutonic intellect has always borne to that of the Latin and Celtic races. The latter has been keen, clear, elegant, systematic, logical; the former has been massive, imaginative, inclining to the vague and the colossal, prone to metaphysics, not resting content with the mere observations of sense and their classification by the understanding, but striving to penetrate by the impassioned gaze of intuitive reason to the primordial roots of things, to a reality lying beneath appearance and a unity defying change. At its first awakening the genius of modern Germany broke away from the yoke imposed upon intellectual Europe by the poets and critics of France, rushing from the tesselated pavement of Versailles into the world of forests and streams, disdainfully scorning the supremacy of Voltaire, and proclaiming, with an enthusiasm which had not yet been equalled in England itself, that the king of the intellectual world for all modern men was Shakespeare. The earliest manifestations, therefore, of literary power in what may be described with strictness as the recent period of German literature exhibit a gigantic force, rugged, indeed, and irregular, indulging in the wildest extravagance, but which in range and intensity had been unequalled in Europe for a hundred years. Professor Spalding expresses the opinion that English literature, in the first part of the present century, was but slightly indebted to German sources. "Scott," he says, "knowing really little about German poetry, and merely borrowing one or two ideas from Goethe, was of a spirit totally alien to that of the meditative Teutons, which, however, did work on Coleridge strongly, on Wordsworth in some degree, and much more (through them) on one or two of the younger poets. But in poetry the effects were really trifling, and it was only after the first twenty years of the century that German literature began to be known to any but a very few recluse and uninfluential scholars. The case has been widely different during the thirty years which lie nearest to ourselves." This is in part correct. The study of German literature by Carlyle and his school has been a very different thing from its study by Scott, and both Scott and Byron were men of genius not only so rich and original, but so distinctly national, that they could be only superficially influenced by any foreign mode. But England, in common with all Europe, derived a powerful impulse from those great works which announced, as by a succession of thunder-peals, that the genius of Germany had arisen in its might. The 'Sorrows of Werter' had appeared. The subject is open to objection. The logical outcome of the argument is a justification of suicide. But neither in intensity of imaginative truth, nor in perfection of literary execution did Goethe ever surpass that wonderful book. 'Götz of Berlichingen' had been published about the same time. "It would be difficult," says Mr. Carlyle, "to name two books which have exercised a deeper influence on the subsequent literature of Europe than those two performances of a young author, his first-fruits, the produce of his twenty-fourth year. Werter appeared to seize the hearts of men in all quarters of the world, and to utter for them the word which they had long been waiting to hear. As usually happens, too, this same word, once uttered, was soon abundantly repeated, spoken in all dialects, and chanted through all notes of the gamut, till the sound of it had grown a weariness rather than a pleasure. Sceptical sentimentality, view-hunting, love, friendship, suicide, and desperation became the staple of literary ware; and though the epidemic, after a long course of years, subsided in Germany, it reappeared with various modifications in other countries, and everywhere abundant traces of its good and bad effects are still to be discerned. The fortune of 'Berlichingen with the Iron Hand,' though less sudden, was by no means less exalted. In his own country, Götz, though he now stands solitary and childless, became the parent of an innumerable progeny of chivalry plays, feudal delineations, and poetico-antiquarian performances, which, though long ago deceased, made noise enough in their day and generation; and with ourselves his influence has been perhaps still more remarkable. Sir Walter Scott's first literary enterprise was a translation of 'Götz von Berlichingen,' and if genius could be communicated like instruction, we might call this work of Goethe's the prime cause of 'Marmion' and the 'Lady of the Lake,' with all that has followed from the same creative hand." His incursions into German literature had unquestionably stimulated, though they had not moulded, the genius of Scott; and it is probable that the ballads of Bürger, together with some of the works of Schiller, had nearly, if not quite, as powerful an effect upon his imagination as the early performances of Goethe. Greater, perhaps, in extent and intensity, even than the influence of Werter or Götz, was that of 'The Robbers,' by Schiller. With all its extravagance this astonishing drama must take rank among the masterpieces of imaginative literature. When we reflect that it was planned and partly executed by a boy of nineteen, we are constrained to pronounce the imagination of that boy the most powerful that has appeared in

Europe since the time of Shakespeare. "The publication of 'The Robbers,'" says Mr. Carlyle, "forms an era not only in Schiller's history, but in the literature of the world." Extravagant as this work undoubtedly is it is not artificial. The emotions depicted, while on a scale of feverish or impossible intensity, are those which thrill actual bosoms in the daily tragedy of life. The love of Amelia, rising in its pure flame above the ardour of passion is true, even in the deepest fervour of its burning, to the nature of radiant, unsophisticated womanhood. Now joyful, exultant, leaping forth in tinted fountain-foam of melody, now melting into tenderest strains of melancholy music, it is one of the loveliest and most pathetic delineations of passionate affection in literature. The character of Charles also is of the heroic stamp—grand in its magnanimity, in its hapless nobleness, in its despair—rent indeed and shattered, but as the rock is rent by the lightnings, not crumbling or corrupting in ignoble decay. Franz, the villain, is a master, but it was necessary, in order that the parts of the drama might be in keeping, that his villainy should be on that scale of Titanic magnitude on which the virtues of Amelia and the errors of Charles are represented. But this extraordinary performance is hardly so remarkable on its own account as from its obvious adaptation to the task of putting to flight the mincing elegancies, the fastidious trivialities, the formal correctness of the French school. While the audience stared languidly at the simperings and gesticulations of porcelain puppets, the scene, as by the waving of a magician's wand, was transformed, and in a moment the arena was occupied by Hercules in conflict with the Nemean lion. The critics were dreadfully scandalised; there was lamentation in the whole world of pedants, but the play of the puppets was gone for ever.

The tragedy of 'The Robbers' appeared a few years before the outbreak of the French Revolution, and between the date of its publication and the close of the century the genius of Schiller continued to mature. A genius essentially lyrical, yet with superlative faculty for exhibiting passion in action, and in all its modes and habitudes sympathetic with the general heart of mankind, a genius, therefore, supremely fitted to exert a wide-spread influence. That work of Schiller's which ought probably to be deemed, on the whole, his greatest—that in which his powers both of intellect and imagination are most comprehensively displayed—is the 'Wallenstein.' It had not only been produced before the end of last century, but rendered into English with consummate skill by Coleridge. That the genius of Schiller, therefore, was one of the most potent influences by which the recent literature of Great Britain has been stimulated and directed admits of no question.

As might have been expected from the wildly mingled influences of the time, from the unprecedented extension of the reading class, from the restlessness, agitation, thirst for excitement, and general intellectual recklessness of the public mind, the more dignified, formal, and classic modes of literary composition, the epic, the drama, the regular poem, have all given place, as the most popular and most widely practised form of literature, to the novel. The tendency to this result had shown itself in the last century. Fielding's 'Tom Jones,' a kind of rude Odyssey in prose, questionable, irregular, nay; in parts, scandalous, had yet that strange fascination which ever belongs to the frank and forcible delineation of life. Richardson and Smollett had vied with Fielding in popularity, although they did not reach his level of power. But it was not until Scott, finding that the more intense passion and more splendid diction of Byron had drawn the ear of the world from the quiet and healthful beauty of his poetical romances, flung off his metrical fetters, and first in 'Waverley,' but still more in 'Guy Mannering,' the 'Antiquary,' 'Old Mortality,' and the rest of that astonishing series, attained a popularity to which the history of English literature had no parallel, that the novel asserted undisputed pre-eminence. The novels of the last half-century, taken by themselves, would represent a surprisingly large proportion of the whole literary activity of the period. The novel has been made to serve purposes which were formerly aimed at only in the grave literary treatise. It has been pressed into the service of political party by one of the most brilliant politicians of the age, Mr. Disraeli, and it has been made the vehicle of religious controversy, the instrument of ecclesiastical proselytism, the beacon-fire of new ideas, social and philanthropic. There have been historical romances, deriving their subjects from all times, climates, and stages of civilisation. But even Scott's style of fiction has been succeeded in our day by a more vivid and exclusive portraiture of the present. The themes of Scott were always removed more or less from the actual world around him. Some antiquarian gloss or picturesque ruggedness derived from the remoter or more immediate past—some Meg Merrilies or Edie Ochiltree, or Dirk Hatteraick—set off the modernism of his Julia Mannerings and Lovels. At this moment all sources of interest in fiction have given place to what may be described as a passionate photographing of men and incidents of the hour. Making allowance for one or two tentative and unsuccessful inroads by Thackeray into the department of historical romance, both he and Dickens confined themselves to the life of the present. Lord Lytton, in such a tale as 'Harold,' has more felicitously emulated the achievements of Scott. But the characteristic novels of the middle of the nineteenth century are 'The Newcomes,' 'David Copperfield,' 'The Caxtons,' and similar delineations of the life actually throbbing around us. In this, also, Goethe anticipated moderns, his 'Wilhelm Meister' and 'Wahlverwandschaften' being emphatically fictions of present life. The novel having thus been adopted by the highest genius as a medium of expression and a means of influence, its importance can no longer be estimated on the hypothesis, tacit or express, that it retains its old inferiority in respect of dignity to some other forms of literary art. Whether in a poem or a history, in the drama or in novels, genius will make itself known with much the same force and general effect. If traces of the best idyllic poetry, tints of golden light and tones of sunny, heartfelt melody, tears softly brightened by smiles, smiles glancing tenderly through tears, reveal themselves in a Copperfield, if a Shakespearian strain of pathos and tragic grandeur is reached in the closing descriptions of old Colonel Newcome, it were unjust to deny to Dickens or to Thackeray a full recognition of their deserts merely because they do not write in metre, and call themselves, not poets or dramatists, but novelists. The modern novel has in fact taken the place of the ancient epic.

The last of these general characteristics of which mention can be made in this discursive glance along the recent history of English literature, is the unprecedented importance of reviews, magazines, and newspapers. The transition from the old style of literary magazine to that with which we have now been long acquainted was made in the 'Edinburgh Review.' The passage in which, with light and genial touch, Sydney Smith gives account of the origin of the 'Edinburgh,' has become a landmark in literary history. He was resident, with a pupil, in Edinburgh. He had made the acquaintance of Mr. Jeffrey, Mr. Murray, and Mr. Brougham, to all which names, a few years later, were affixed the title of lord. "One day," writes Sydney Smith, "we happened to meet in the eighth or ninth story or flat in Buccleugh place, the elevated residence of the then Mr. Jeffrey. I proposed that we should set up a Review; this was acceded to with acclamation. I was appointed editor, and remained long enough in Edinburgh to edit the first number of the 'Edinburgh Review.'" It was in October 1802 that the first number appeared. It created a sensation, and ran through at least five editions. The editorship soon passed into the hands of Jeffrey, and the name of that singularly vivacious man and accomplished writer is inseparably associated with the swift rise to splendid popularity, and the unbroken career of influence and success, which have been the lot of that most famous of periodicals. Half a century elapsed, however, before the modern review essay was developed in all its capabilities, and before its full importance as a species of literature could be estimated. In August 1825 appeared Macaulay's essay on Milton; in June 1827 Carlyle's essay on Jean Paul Richter; both in the 'Edinburgh Review.' Partly in these, and still more in subsequent contributions, Macaulay and Carlyle proved that the principles of an entire system of criticism, or the organic ideas regulating a complete and original scheme of English history, might be presented in from thirty to fifty pages of a review. The skill required in this operation is of course identical with that required by the literary artist in constructing great works; and the review essays of Macaulay and Carlyle are accordingly unsurpassed by any compositions in the English language for clearness of conception, compact vigour of thought, felicity of diction, and general masterliness of execution. The substance of Macaulay's history of England is to be found in his historical essays. In these he anticipated all that is sound in Carlyle's vindication of Cromwell. In Mr. Carlyle's essays, again, we have what many will continue to regard as the finest examples of his style, and the most healthy, forcible, and unaffected specimens of his thinking. Except his 'French Revolution' he has done nothing greater than some of his review and magazine articles; and in two of these, that entitled 'Characteristics,' and that entitled 'Signs of the Times,' he proclaimed with impassioned, one had almost said with prophetic, fervour, the fundamental truths of spiritual philosophy against the mechanical and materialistic tendencies of the age. But what many will be disposed to regard as the highest distinction of the 'Edinburgh Review' remains to be mentioned. In a few disconnected articles contributed to its pages, suggested by topics of the hour, and not without marks of haste both in conception and execution, was first presented to the intellectual world, by Sir William Hamilton, what is now known as the 'Philosophy of the Conditioned.'

For a few years the 'Edinburgh Review' reigned alone, enjoying almost a monopoly of the literary talent of the day, and reckoning Scott, in spite of his Tory politics, among its contributors. But its politics had always been decidedly Whig, and Scott gladly lent his co-operation to the establishment of a rival. The 'Quarterly Review,' the chief literary organ of the Conservative party, has maintained a literary celebrity second only, if second, to that of the great Whig 'Quarterly.' If the former can point to no three collections of essays made from its stores, equal, on the whole, to those of Macaulay, Carlyle, and Hamilton, it can show in its list of contributors such names as Scott and Southey, and not a few independent and valuable additions to English literature have been first printed with its type. 'Blackwood,' the 'London Magazine,' 'Fraser,' and other monthlies sprung up in turn, and at least one in the host of miscellaneous writers to whom they gave employment, Thomas De Quincey must be ranked among the most penetrating thinkers and felicitous stylists in the English language. But the literary appetite of the public was becoming too keen to be contented even with monthly supplies. The first weekly journal of literature, of a high class, appeared, as the first of the great quarterlies had appeared, in Edinburgh, bearing the name of 'Chambers.' Nor had the progress yet ended. The literary pretensions of newspapers became gradually higher, and so cultivated a scholar, and original a thinker and poet, as Coleridge condescended to earn an honest penny by writing leading articles for a daily paper. The best works of Hugh Miller, the Goldsmith of the nineteenth century, were published, in whole or in part, in the columns of the 'Witness;' and in the reviewing department of our best weekly papers—the 'Spectator,' the 'Saturday Review' and others, critical essays are to be met with far more profound in thought, and terse and brilliant in style, than those which made up the earlier numbers of the 'Edinburgh Review.' Such a popularisation of the highest order of literary production is totally unprecedented in the history of literature.

One boldly-marked distinction between the earlier and the later literary periods of the present century deserves to be noted in this place. In the earlier period, say for the first thirty years, poetry was in the ascendant; since that time the most widely influential writing has been prose. While the great poems of Scott and Byron were appearing, every young man or woman of genius and imagination thought naturally of poetry as a medium of communication with the public. Even Macaulay and Carlyle tried their hands in the outset at verse. Mr. Carlyle, indeed, is essentially a poet, and if he had subjected himself to the intense and sustained intellectual toil which would have been necessary for the evolution, in the full compass of its harmonies, of the melody within him, it may be reasonably conjectured that he would have done something in the highest region of narrative, that is to say, of epic poetry, superior to any poetic work which has appeared since the time of Milton. As it is, his 'French Revolution' requires the mere form of verse—for neither the imagery, nor the rhythm, nor the emotional glow of poetry are wanting—to be universally recognised as an epic poem. But from the day when Scott's novels supplanted Scott's poems in the good graces of the public, the fascination of the poetic form was no longer supreme in its influence upon gifted minds. The first essays of Carlyle and Macaulay in the 'Edinburgh Review' showed that young genius was bracing itself to strenuous exertion in prose. Ruskin, possessing a command of poetic imagery comparable, to say the least, with that of Byron, and imbued with far finer elements of moral enthusiasm, and a far more exquisite perception of beauty, threw also his lyre contemptuously away, because its first notes, though to well-judging ears they had a music and a meaning of their own, seemed to him wholly, what they were in part, echoes from Byron and Scott. Professor Wilson had long before abandoned poetry, in which he produced little more than flowing and flowery insipidities, and sought the freedom required by his splendid but irregular genius in prose. There were about twenty years, from 1825 to 1845, when no one would have refused to admit that the most eminent authors of the day wrote in prose. At the second of these dates a new poetic star had risen above the horizon, and literary star-gazers had almost agreed in pronouncing it of the first magnitude—the star of Alfred Tennyson. But Tennyson did not, like Scott and Byron, take the world by storm, and he has never been a popular poet in the sense in which they were popular poets. He has won the young, but the elders have kept the old wine beside them, and obstinately declared it to be better than the new. From grey-beard to school-boy, every one read the poems of Scott and Byron. Men above fifty are seldom to be found at this hour who have the genuine Tennysonian enthusiasm, or who will admit, what the best critical judgment of the country now unites with the wisdom of youth in declaring, that an inexpressibly fascinating combination of passionate sympathy, intellectual insight, pictorial skill, and supreme artistic finish, is presented in the poems of the laureate. Mrs. Barrett Browning, the greatest of all poetesses, belongs to this second period; and her husband, Robert Browning, is an original and powerful poet; but these have been read principally by the literary, and almost exclusively by the educated classes. The Byronic haberdasher, who has left so amusing traces of himself in the literature of our earlier period, has become extinct.

In the haste and excitement which have so eminently characterised the literature of England for the last seventy years, is to be found the source at once of its many excellencies and of its serious defects. If there has been haste in our literature, there has been no slovenliness. On the contrary, the degree of mental tension to which authors have subjected themselves has been extreme, and however briefly subjects might be treated, a piercing and importunate force of thought has penetrated to their depths. By our best writers a marvellous flexibility has been given to English style, a brilliancy, an elasticity, a gay smiling ease or trenchant vigour, a wayward, capricious grace, a splendour of imagery and allusion, which forcibly suggest that the gorgeous formality of the sixteenth century, and the quiet elegance of the eighteenth, have given place to a perfection combining certain of the noblest qualities of both. In the best passages of our best prose writers there is a melodiousness as of poetry, a cunning harmony of thought, feeling, and diction, an exquisite unity and flowing on together of all the component parts of sentence and paragraph, which elaborate stylists of last century failed to achieve. Compare the prose of Gibbon with that of Macaulay, or with that of Carlyle's essays. The stiff grace and formal colouring of tapestry, to which we may compare the writings of Gibbon, are exchanged, partly in Macaulay and still more in Carlyle, for the play of blended hues in shot silk. Compare the happiest passages of Fielding with those of Thackeray, and observe how rude strength and genial emphasis have been refined into mellow brilliancy and exquisite expressiveness. There has been much careless writing in our time, but at no period has literary application been more intense, and none who have ambitioned the highest excellence have shrunk from the labour of the file.

What the literary productions of the nineteenth century have wanted has not been finish of parts, but completeness as wholes. Treatises symmetrically conceived and perfectly executed — treatises like Smith's 'Wealth of Nations,' or 'Theory of Moral Sentiments'—are hardly to be met with. Ruskin's great work on modern painting was comprehensively designed, but in the execution, which spread itself over many years, the genius of the author overleaped all trammels, and neither the sentiment, the opinion, nor the style of the fifth volume was homogeneous with those of the first. Carlyle's 'French Revolution,' to which reference has already been made, is indeed as masterly in conception as in execution, but it stands alone among the historical works of the period. Mr. John Stuart Mill's treatise on Logic, to which, among philosophical works, the same praise is due, stands also well-nigh alone. On the whole, while it can be maintained that in single flashes of penetrating insight, in wayward brilliant graces, in freedom as of ocean waves and forest boughs, in curious felicity of diction and imagery, the literature of the nineteenth century, particularly of its second quarter, has an advantage over that of the century preceding, it must be acknowledged that in reflection, in sustained effort of intellectual toil, in patient tracking of ideas and adjusting of part to part, the advantage would lie rather the other way. Hamilton's Philosophy is a mere series of fragments, like huge masses of rock, some with careful cutting upon them, lying on the floor of a quarry, and waiting for the architect to put them in the form of a building. As he is, Hamilton is beyond question our greatest philosophical thinker, the merits of Mr. Mill being those of a critic and systematiser; and in every great quality of thought, in keenness of insight, in comprehensiveness of intellectual vision, in ability to follow the ramifications of an idea, Sir William Hamilton will bear no comparison with Bishop Butler.

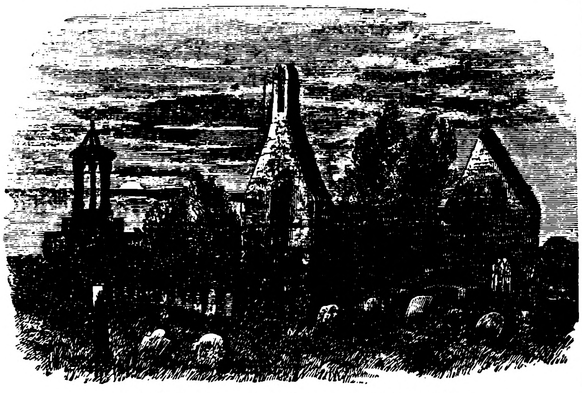
SECTION II.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD.—COWPER AND BURNS.—THE PERCY AND OTHER BALLADS.—THE POEMS OF OSSIAN.

THE lines of demarcation which separate one literary period from another can never be traced with mathematical precision; and although the characteristics of our modern literature are unusually distinct, although the group of authors representing it stands out in bold relief and definite isolation, it is, nevertheless, the fact that several writers of the latter half of last century exhibited a frank and vigorous naturalism which associates them with the men of our own time; while a few whom we should never hesitate to class as moderns published works of importance many years before the crisis of the French revolution. Crabbe, who died in 1832, published his first poem, 'The Library,' in 1781. Samuel Rogers, who lived until after the middle of the nineteenth century, published an 'Ode to Superstition' in 1786. But there are two names belonging to the poetical literature of last century which are to be signalised beyond all others as heralding the bold naturalism of our time. The first is that of William Cowper; the second that of Robert Burns.

Cowper, secluded from the artificial life of his day, reading no book for seventeen years, drawing direct from nature, and from intercourse with the few tried friends who were about him, an inspiration pure, strong, and invigorating as the breath of mountain winds, is one of the most unaffected of authors. If it is a high merit in a poet to "read off his consciousness" with veracity, to lay upon his page no colour which does not rise glowing from his heart, great praise is due to Cowper. He describes what his eye has seen; the feeling which has thrilled in his bosom takes its own nervous and natural language on his page; he writes because he feels, he does not get up a theatrical passion in order that he may write. He is emphatically an English poet, accepting with enthusiasm the general creed, religious, political, social, of the better class of thinking Englishmen in his day, neither rising above it nor descending below it, but setting it forth in appropriate poetical emblems, with honest pride and glad affection. In his best passages the language of Cowper is almost as masculine as that of Dryden, and if it is only in rare instances, as in the 'Lines to his Mother's Picture' and in the 'Lines to Mary,' that thought and feeling melt into the liquid stream of genuine poetic melody, his versification is always admirably adapted to his subject. English life in its broad aspect, as seen among middle-class Englishmen in the eighteenth century, is imperishably reflected in its homely yet honourable features in that best of pastoral, or mixed pastoral and didactic poems, 'The Task.' English life sufficed for the simple heart of Cowper. An English stream with its willows, an English meadow with its kine and sheep, an English village with its warm tile roofs, its rose-clad porches, its grey church tower and quiet graves, an English cottage, the children gambolling round the door, the old widow on the bench reading her Bible in the sun—these were sacredly dear to Cowper. His manly song, thrilling with sympathy for these things, could not but draw the heart of the public from the 'Loves of the Plants' and the melodies of the botanic system, splendidly versified as they were by Dr. Darwin. The poems of Cowper will long remain the noblest monument of English life in his time—a monument essentially honouring to it—a monument of healthful feeling and solid thought and genuine religion. The natural force, the genial energy, and thorough soundness, of Cowper's genius, are strikingly attested by the cheerful and buoyant spirit of his poems, viewed in connection with the profound religious melancholy under which he suffered. Clouds there occasionally are, but they float under a blue morning sky, and though they may cast here and there a shadow on the grass, they do not take the light from the landscape.

Robert Burns, inferior, though not, perhaps, much inferior, to Cowper in culture, was greatly his superior in intensity of feeling and depth of melody. The strength of Burns was correctly characterised in a pen-stroke by Mrs. Barrett Browning when she spoke of the "pungent passionings set in his eyes." His intellect was kept at a white heat by passion, and his subjects, fused in the intense flame, became radiant in vivid presentation, instinct with poetic melody. By nature he was a *strong* man, physically, intellectually, morally; and his impulses were at once so mighty and so joyous that he never could resist them. The lower impulses, the sensual, the irregular, the lawless won at least a partial, but most melancholy, triumph over him. Had the spiritual enthusiasm, pure, ethereal, intense, which burns in the 'Address to Mary in Heaven' and in the 'Cottar's Saturday Night,' asserted its supremacy in his mind, it was not the want of a formal education that could have prevented him from producing works as great in scale as masterly in execution. He could read—the one essential requisite of intellectual culture in this age; he had read the English Bible, and Shakespeare, and Milton: ere attaining his fortieth year, he might have possessed all the educational equipment necessary to the full use of his powers as an English author. But he never achieved moral self-command. The boundless sociability and geniality of his nature made it hard for him to resist the well-meant but ruinous civilities of literary admirers and boon companions. The impulses of passion, becoming more and more turbid, excited more and more by unworthy objects, drew from him strains which belied the promise of his genius. The verses inspired by taproom beauties in his later years present a mournful contrast to those in which he gave expression to his earlier and holier affections. Not only have the freshness and dewy beauty passed from the imagery; the light, sportive gaiety, the graceful ease and humour, have gone with the innocence. But no poet ever lived whose inspiration was more genuine than that of Burns in his best time; scarcely in the literature of the world shall we find a poetical capacity more cordially human or embracing finer and more varied elements. The highest fervours of patriotic feeling; the warmest sympathy of friendship; the tenderest intensity of love, the sweetest playful interest in, and fellow-feeling with, all provinces of creation, the daisy, the mouse disturbed by his ploughshare, the 'Ewie wi' the Crookit Horn;' all these meet in the poems of Burns. In rapid decisive painting, every stroke of the brush bringing out a feature, every touch laid on with sure, unerring rightness, the 'Tam o' Shanter' has never been surpassed. Mr. Carlyle regards the 'Jolly Beggars' as exhibiting a high order of artistic perfection. The power of the piece is, indeed, astonishing, but the materials are too gross to bear the uncompromising realism of Burns' treatment. It is a fundamental canon of art that mere foulness and indecency shall be veiled from sight; and if Burns, allured by the wild humour, and reckless, riotous, strong-throbbing life of the scene, was justified in taking his palette into "the rag-castle of Poosy Nancy," he had no right to lay upon his canvas the worst stains of its foul and indecent revelry. As a describer of nature Burns is peculiarly felicitous, exceptionally right. His human feeling is always, as it ought to be, supreme; his views of nature are backgrounds to his human subjects, draperies to his human scenes: but, from the grandeurs of cloud and storm which encircle the visioned form of Scotia, to the copse, bright with dew-drops, vocal with birds and rills, where lovers meet; from the rainbow-gleam of pleasure leading on the step of boyhood to the pale moon of sorrow setting beyond the white wave; every aspect of nature, which reflects the moods of the heart or sets off the incidents of human life, every tint and hue of nature's wedding-garment and nature's shroud, were known, felt, instinctively and faultlessly applied to the uses of poetical expression by the ploughman bard.



BURNS' MONUMENT AND ALLOWAY KIRK.

"She prophesied that, late or soon,
Thou wouldst be found deep drown'd in Doon!
Or catch'd wi' warlocks i' the mirk,
By Alloway's auld haunted kirk."
Burns' Tam o' Shanter.

Among the preparatory influences connected with the last great outburst of literary genius in Great Britain, a high place must be assigned to that exercised upon the public, and especially the poetic, mind, by the old English ballads published by Dr. Percy. The charm of those productions was felt, yet it was evident that they could owe none of their fascination to merits similar to those of the artificial and high-wrought verses of the period. The language of passion had been trimmed and attenuated until its power was gone, and frigid rhetorical conceits supplied the place of natural poetic ornamentation. These ballads had nothing but their rugged truth and force to recommend them. Passion, in them, might speak in rude and stammering accents, but the voice was passion's own. Nature's rocks and torrents and shaggy woods suddenly presented themselves before eyes which had looked long, and tried hard to look delightedly, on Shenstone grottoes, Versailles fountains, trees clipped into fantastic shapes, and vistas arranged with geometrical ingenuity. Once more nature triumphed. The simple poetry of the old ballads found many admirers. Those artless lays in which wandering minstrels had given hearty and vigorous, though often uncouth expression to the feelings excited in untaught communities by some moving incident of flood or field, some deed of patriotic valour, some tragedy of domestic life, were found more powerful in their appeal to the imagination of the public than the most brilliantly-worded verses of the fashionable rhymesters of the day. Percy's 'Reliques of English Poetry' had, it is probable, much to do with the suggestion of that train of thought which manifested itself in the 'Lyrical Ballads' of Coleridge and Wordsworth.

In those years when the eighteenth century was passing into the nineteenth, a young Edinburgh advocate essayed to do for the ancient poetry of Scotland what Dr. Percy had done for that of England, and prepared his 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.' He soon began to imitate the ancient manner, with improvements and modifications of his own. The result was to determine the direction and mould the character of all the most popular literature of Great Britain down to the present time. The young barrister's name was Walter Scott.

It is necessary to add a word respecting the poems given to the world in 1762 and 1763 by James MacPherson, as the Poems of Ossian. We shall not enter upon the controversy which has so long raged on the question of the authenticity of these performances. The critical Whigs of the 'Edinburgh Review' declared at an early date, not only that MacPherson was the author of the poems, but that they were in themselves worthless, which opinion they impressed upon their contemporaries, not by the tedious and round-about process of proof, but by condensing it into a bitter and contemptuous sneer, launched like a poisoned arrow against any literary wight who was bold enough to speak respectfully of Fingal. Macaulay adopted this tone with peremptory decision, and Carlyle deigned to notice Ossian only in a scornful allusion to "moaning MacPherson." After this it required some courage in anyone, particularly in a young author, to speak a word for Ossian, and Mr. Alexander Smith deserved praise for the brief but masterly defence both of the authenticity and the excellence of the poems which we have in his admirable volume on the Island of Skye. Whether we agree with Mr. Smith or not, it is impossible to read his observations without being convinced that the debate is by no means closed, and that the contempt with which both MacPherson and Ossian have been treated has been carried too far. What it especially concerns us to remark, however, is that, except in the case of Johnson, Gibbon, and one or two others, whose judgment on a poetical question is not of much weight, we meet with a very different feeling from contempt with reference to the Ossianic poems among the eminent poets and critics of the closing period of last century. That Gray, Hume, and John Home should have admired the poems is something; but it is more that the Ossianic epics should have been admired and imitated by Coleridge and Byron, and more still that they should have been regarded by Goethe with an enthusiasm similar to that with which he regarded the poems of Homer. "Ossian," says the hero of Goethe's first book, in a passage which he who has once read can hardly have forgotten, "Ossian has replaced Homer in my heart. What a world it is into which the noble poet leads me! To wander over the heath, the storm-wind blowing round me, which, in the seething mists, touched by the glimmering light of the moon, brings hither the spirits of my fathers; to hear, from the mountain, in the roar of the torrent, the half-distinguished sighing of the spirits in their caverns, and the lamenting of the maiden as she wails herself to death beside the four moss-covered, grass-grown stones which mark the resting-place of the fallen hero, her beloved!" The poems of Ossian had opened a new world to the imagination of Goethe. Every one knows that they were profoundly esteemed by Napoleon. Goethe was not only the greatest poet but the greatest critic in Europe at the end of last century; Napoleon was not only the first practical intellect of his time, but had natural capacities for literature of no mean order: if we declare poems stamped with the approbation of both to be mere turgid nonsense, we shall have difficulty in finding judges whose estimate of poetry may be presumed to carry with it any vestige of authority. Be this, however, as it may, the poems of Ossian exerted a very powerful influence upon the mind of the English nation in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and through the mists and storms of their heaths and oceans rose the sun of our modern literature.

SECTION III.

WORDSWORTH AND COLERIDGE.

Two men stand at the threshold of the modern literary era as belonging unquestionably and supremely to itself, and being, more than any others, the fountain-heads from which its finer and subtler characteristics have been derived. These are Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth. They made their first elaborate appeal for poetic recognition in a tiny volume of 'Lyrical Ballads,' which stole almost unnoticed into the world at the time when all ears were deafened by the shrieks and the thunders of the French revolution. This association, however, was to a great extent fortuitous. The genius of Wordsworth was strongly discriminated from that of Coleridge; the men were different in the fundamental constitution of their minds; and though Wordsworth, in apologising for what, to his superlative estimate of himself, appeared almost the misdemeanour of admitting any poems except his own into a volume bearing his name, declared his belief that Coleridge's contributions to the 'Lyrical Ballads' were constructed on much the same principles as his own, there was little or no kinship between the products of their several inspirations. Before speaking of Coleridge and Wordsworth individually, it will be well to devote a few remarks to their joint venture.

The 'Lyrical Ballads' were published, Wordsworth informs us in an elaborate preface, as an experiment to ascertain how far, "by fitting to metrical arrangement a selection of the real language of men in a state of vivid sensation, that sort of pleasure and that quantity of pleasure may be imparted which a poet may rationally endeavour to impart." He maintained that "all good poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings;" but that "poems to which any value can be attached were never produced on any variety of subjects but by a man who being possessed of more than usual organic sensibility had also thought long and deeply." Our influxes of feeling, he argued, are modified and directed by our thoughts, "which are, indeed, the representatives of all our past feelings;" and the main purpose of his poems he declared to be "to illustrate the manner in which our feelings and ideas are associated in a state of excitement," or "to follow the fluxes and refluxes of the mind when agitated by the great and simple affections of our nature." Referring to a few lines of his pieces, he specified the affection which it was his aim in these instances to delineate. He endeavoured to trace the maternal passion through its more subtle windings in the poems of the 'Idiot Boy' and the 'Mad Mother.' In the 'Forsaken Indian' he accompanied the last struggles of a human being at the approach of death, clinging in solitude to life and society; in 'We are Seven,' he showed the perplexity of childhood in view of death, or rather its inability to admit the notion of death; in 'The Brothers' he portrayed the strength of moral attachment when early associated with the great and beautiful objects of nature.

Having dwelt on the subjects and aim of the poems, Wordsworth speaks next of their style. "I propose," he says, "to myself to imitate, and, as far as possible, to adopt the very language of men. . . . . I wish to keep my reader in the company of flesh and blood, persuaded that by doing so I shall interest him." He asserts that there neither is nor can be any essential difference between the language of prose and of poetry, discards "what is usually called poetic diction;" admits that very few instances of personification of abstract ideas will be found in his pages; and asks why, even if objects could be described as vividly in prose as in poetry, he is to be forbidden to add to such description "the charm which, by the consent of all nations, is acknowledged to exist in metrical language."

This is not the place in which to attempt an exhaustive treatment of the important critical questions opened in the far-famed preface to the 'Lyrical Ballads.' It may, however, be with some confidence averred that, after seventy years of discussion, the controversy is as good as ended; and that one or two propositions admit of being stated, as its final issue and result, on which the cultivated intellect of the country is now agreed.

In the first place, it is unquestionable that, in relation to those characteristics of the poetical literature of the period which he specially essayed to oppose, Wordsworth was in the right. "The invaluable works of our elder writers," he exclaims, "I had almost said the works of Shakespeare and Milton, are driven into neglect by frantic novels, sickly and stupid German tragedies, and deluges of idle and extravagant stories in verse." He steps forward as the apostle of simplicity. "The human mind," he says, "is capable of excitement without the application of gross and violent stimulants; and he must have a very faint perception of its beauty and dignity who does not know this, and who does not further know that one being is elevated above another in proportion as he possesses this capability." This is entirely true, and its truth is most precious. There is no better test of the value and greatness of any national literature than the extent to which it grounds its interest upon the organic facts of human society, the thoughts which agitate healthy-minded men, the feelings which move the unsophisticated breast, the grand moral ordinances on which the security and the progress of mankind depend. That the literature of Great Britain since the French revolution has been healthier, manlier, and, on the whole, greater, than the literatures of France and Germany, is due in no small degree to the sublime act of abnegation by which Wordsworth, at the outset of his literary career, put from him that machinery of false excitement which had been elaborated on the continent, and which had begun to play its baleful part among ourselves. He would not condescend to act upon a coarse and sensual imagination by the spells of lawless or distempered passion. He would provide his countrymen with no forbidden fruit, even though its fascination might be as strong as that on which Lucifer expended the powers of his eloquence. He would take his place among the better, purer, wiser spirits who have guided our race. Those who are acquainted with De Quincey's stern, but not wholly unjust, impeachment of Goethe, on the ground that he was always, in his character of literary magician, hankering after unlawful and unhallowed spells, will appreciate the nobleness of Wordsworth's dedication of himself in his youth to the service of the simply true, the healthfully human, the chastely beautiful, the morally right.

In the next place, it is obvious that, in the very simplicity and quietness of the feeling which wound its brook-like course through the 'Lyrical Ballads,' contrasting powerfully as it did with the sensational poetry of the day, there must have been an exquisite charm. The palate of the literary public, inflamed by spiced wine and hot alcoholic drinks, could not but experience a delicious coolness and freshness in these limpid waters, drawn from the crystal wells of nature. It was like turning from a painted harridan, tricked out in all the bedizenment of the stage or the ball-room, to a simple village beauty, or to a Greek statue clothed in that severe loveliness of line and hue in which beamed out, to the eye of Phidias, his ideal of the female form. On the hearts of a generation whose literary popularities seemed to make it their object to produce an excitement as great as that caused by the French revolution, and by essentially similar means, with what strange, sweet, dewlike tenderness must lines like these have fallen!

"If thou be one whose heart the holy forms
Of young imagination have kept pure,
Stranger! henceforth be warned; and know that pride,
Howe'er disguised in its own majesty,
Is littleness; that he, who feels contempt
For any living thing, hath faculties
Which he has never used; that thought with him
Is in its infancy. The man, whose eye
Is ever on himself, doth look on one,
The least of nature's works, one who might move
The wise man to that scorn which wisdom holds
Unlawful, ever. O, be wiser thou!
Instructed that true knowledge leads to love,
True dignity abides with him alone
Who, in the silent hour of inward thought,
Can still suspect, and still revere himself,
In lowliness of heart." *

Or, after castle spectres, and maniac lovers, and blasted heaths, and dungeons visited by the pale moonbeam, and skeleton riders galloping off with infatuated young women, consider the effect of, for example, such gentle tracing of the confusion of idea with which a child of eight thinks of the separation wrought by death, as we have in 'We are Seven.'

Perhaps the poem of 'The Brothers,' too long to quote as a whole, and too exquisitely knit together to admit of quotation in part, enables us to realise, as well as any piece in the collection, the gentle but mighty charm which, in an age of feverish and false excitement, would reside in the quiet majesty of noble though homely feeling simply expressed. There is a subtle truth in the kind garrulousness of the Pastor, not developed sufficiently to be vulgar, and a marvellous delicacy of touch in the delineation of the state of feeling of Leonard, who wishes yet fears to know his brother's fate, and leads the Pastor on to

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* Lines left upon a seat in a yew-tree which stands near the lake of Esthwaite, on a desolate part of the shore, yet commanding a beautiful prospect.

the fatal announcement, while shrinking back at every step by which it is approached. As we feel the effect, without being able to see how it is produced, we are reminded of those passages in the drawing of Raphael and other consummate masters, in which the shading is too delicate to be traced by the naked eye, and the impressiveness of the whole is bound up with a fineness of power which becomes actually invisible.

Thirdly, the style and diction of the 'Lyrical Ballads,' where really good, display not artlessness, but the perfection of art. The simpler and fewer the words made use of in composition with the view to a particular poetic effect, the more choice must they be in quality, and the more skilfully arranged. Accordingly, the style of these pieces, viewed merely as style, is much superior to that of those earlier poems of Wordsworth, in which he used the conventional bombast naturally looked for in juvenile verse. Considered simply as examples of linguistic art, they surpass the most carefully laboured and most splendidly adorned stanzas of Darwin. It is difficult to imagine language more dignified, more harmonious, more expressive, than that of the lines already quoted. The language of 'The Brothers' is uniformly noble and forceful, and here and there, in the most natural unstrained way, phrases occur which, in their clear idiomatic English and picturesque expressiveness, recall the homelier and more pensive utterances of Shakespeare. Such are these words of the Pastor in 'The Brothers,' spoken with reference to the graves lying around:—

> "On a winter's evening,
> If you were seated at my chimney's nook,
> By turning o'er these hillocks one by one,
> We two could travel, Sir, through a strange round,
> Yet all in the broad highway of the world."

Perfect alike in thought, feeling, and diction, are the two sets of stanzas, which commence, the one with the line, "She dwelt among th' untrodden ways," and the other with the line, "A slumber did my spirit seal."

In some of these pieces, the simplicity verges on baldness; but most of them afford striking illustrations of the power with which a master-hand can adapt plain language to bring out a desired effect. Their diction may or may not be the language of common life, but it would be a great mistake to suppose them easy writing.

When the thought, incident, or feeling, poetically treated in the 'Lyrical Ballads,' is in itself profound, impressive, or touching, the effect is not marred by a nervous simplicity of language. But the diction is almost uniformly superior to that of common life, and it is most markedly so in its most felicitous passages. The following, for instance, said by Leonard to the Pastor in 'The Brothers,' is very beautiful:—

> "You live, Sir, in these dales, a quiet life:
> Your years make up one peaceful family;
> And who would grieve and fret, if, welcome come,
> And welcome gone, they are so like each other,
> They cannot be remembered?"

But Leonard is a sea-faring man, who has just returned from twenty years of cruising; and the conversation of Jack Tar has not the remotest resemblance to this. We do not know where in literature to find an instance of wider deviation from the language of every-day life than is exhibited in these words, put into the mouth of a common sailor.

Wordsworth, in the 'Lyrical Ballads,' denies himself the use of personification, on the ground that it is a poetical figure seldom made use of in real life; but he avails himself without scruple of original and elaborate similitudes from nature. His canon of holding to the language of life would have dictated a practice exactly the reverse. Personification is natural to every man who is in a passion. All deep feeling instinctively kindles into life and takes form in personification. But happy similitude as distinguished from personification is rare in conversation, and never occurs at all except in the talk of persons of more than ordinary quickness of sympathy and keenness of sight. Wordsworth took himself as representative of the common man, and thus originated his mistake. *His* memory was full of nature's picture-writing; *his* imagination produced similitudes habitually and without effort: but defect of passion was the defect of his mental constitution, and he was thus in an ignorance exceptionally profound respecting the modes in which feeling clothes itself when the breast heaves and swells in the whirlwind of passion.

While it must be admitted that the 'Lyrical Ballads' furnish on the whole a conclusive and splendid proof that impressive poetry may be produced by the exhibition, in nature's language, of "the great and simple affections of our nature," it is impossible to defend Wordsworth from the charge of having, in several cases, shown his theory to disadvantage by the choice of trivial incidents and the use of weak and limping diction. The incident of a mother sending her idiot son to fetch the doctor for a sick neighbour, presents one or two affecting traits, but it is not worth thirty pages of verse. The narrative accordingly is feeble, iterative, lagging, and unsatisfactory. The incident of a vagrant, short, no doubt, of victual, stealing the penny dropped at the foot of a poor cripple who could not pick it up, is too slight to occupy seven stanzas of five lines apiece. There is not a glimpse of poetry in the verses, the sprightliest of the lot being that in which the appropriation of the penny is recorded:—

> "He stopped and took the penny up:
> And when the Cripple nearer drew,
> Quoth Andrew, "Under half-a-crown,
> What a man finds is all his own,
> And so, my Friend, good day to you."

That it is not in the mere simplicity of the language, or its likeness to the prose of ordinary conversation, that the charm of the really powerful pieces among the 'Lyrical Ballads' consists, but in a masterly adaptation of simple expression to convey weighty meaning, is evident from the total failure of some of the poems even when the incident is striking. It is an affecting story that, two rival lovers having quarrelled, the lady loved by both rushed between them and received into her breast the wound intended to lay one of them low; that the lovers then fought till one fell;

and that the survivor, finding life unendurable, returned from wandering in foreign parts, and died on the lady's grave. Schiller would have made a good deal of this tale; he has produced great poetical effect with less promising materials. Wordsworth's poem on the subject is, we humbly think, about as bad as it is possible for any written composition to be. Here are two stanzas.

> "From many knights and many squires
> The Bruce had been selected;
> And Gordon, fairest of them all,
> By Ellen was rejected.
> Sad tidings to that noble youth,
> For it may be proclaimed with truth,
> If Bruce hath loved sincerely,
> That Gordon loves as dearly."

The "it may be proclaimed with truth" is almost incredibly flat and feeble. It is not only bad poetry; it is slipshod prose. It is such prose as is spoken by the honourable member for Windyshire, when he has been an hour on his legs and both sides of the House are impatiently crying for a division.

The catastrophe and its consequence are thus described:—

> "Proud Gordon, maddened by the thoughts
> That through his brain are travelling,
> Rushed forth, and at the heart of Bruce
> He launched a deadly javelin!
> Fair Ellen saw it as it came,
> And, starting up to meet the same,
> Did with her body cover
> The youth, her chosen lover.
> And falling into Bruce's arms,
> Thus died the beauteous Ellen."

As well try to make us believe, by force of ingenious theorising, that stale beer is sparkling champagne, as that this dull tinkle-tinkle is poetry.

The probability is that Wordsworth's theory, viewed as a theory, was of no service to him. On the other hand, it can hardly have done him serious mischief. As he was a true and a great poet, the glow of poetic feeling was often strong within him; and to control the surges of poetic feeling is as much beyond the power of theory as it is beyond the power of oil thrown on the surface to bring to one level a storm-tost sea.

The genius of Wordsworth never worked itself quite free from the defects which are exhibited in the 'Lyrical Ballads.' His sympathy with the intensest moods of human feeling was slight. An emotion is seldom so strong with him that his self-consciousness is in any measure disturbed, or that he is unable to subject to reflective scrutiny and analysis the feeling which moves him. In modern poetry the central passion is love, and Milton and Wordsworth are the only poets of the highest order who are comparatively insensible to this passion. There are a few lines in Wordsworth which show that he was not wholly ignorant of the meaning and power of love-rapture, but they are hardly enough to fill a page. He could speak of the

> "balmy time
> In which a love-knot on a lady's brow
> Is fairer than the fairest star in heaven."

He could describe the magic of love, whereby all things are enveloped, for the lover, in an atmosphere of enchantment, in these really felicitous and ardent terms:—

> "Arabian fiction never filled the world
> With half the wonders that were wrought for him.
> Earth breathed in one great presence of the spring;
> Life turned the meanest of her implements,
> Before his eyes, to price above all gold;
> The house she dwelt in was a sainted shrine;
> Her chamber-window did surpass in glory
> The portals of the dawn; all paradise
> Could, by the simple opening of a door,
> Let itself in upon him."

But passages like these are exceptional—highly exceptional—in the poems of Wordsworth. The love with which he most deeply sympathises is of that regulated kind commended in the 'Laodamia.'

> "Be taught, O faithful Consort, to control
> Rebellious passion: for the gods approve
> The depth and not the tumult of the soul;
> A fervent, not ungovernable, love.
> Thy transports moderate."

It is fair, however, to add that, even in 'Laodamia' occur these lines:—

> "Mightier far
> "Than strength of nerve and sinew, or the sway
> Of magic potent over sun and star,
> Is love, though oft to agony distrest,
> And though his favourite seat be feeble woman's breast."

With the majestic calm of Wordsworth's poetic feeling corresponds his diction. It is seldom keen, passionate, thrilling. It is a "lofty utterance,"

> "Choice word and measured phrase, above the reach
> Of ordinary men; a stately speech."

It is admirably adapted to express the sentiments, the reflections, the distinctive excellences of Wordsworth. It is pitched in the key of nature's peace and nature's agitation rather than in that of the terrible passions which tumultuate in the human heart. It seems, while it describes

> "The witchery of the soft blue sky,"

to breathe its very spirit. It seems to transfer to the page the colours of the distant horizon when it tells us that ocean stretched

> "Far into silent regions blue and pale."

It makes for us, like the branches of the ash seen against the sky,

> "A soft eye-music of slow-waving boughs;"

and enables us to realise with intense yet pensive emotion—

> "The silence that is in the starry sky,
> The sleep that is among the lonely hills."

If a human interest is associated with the glimpse of nature's tender loveliness, it is generally of a quiet and tranquillising description:—

> "And he had trudged through Yorkshire dales,
> Among the rocks and winding scaurs;
> Where deep and low the hamlets lie
> Beneath their little patch of sky
> And little lot of stars."

But it is not alone the mild and silent aspects of nature which are known to Wordsworth, or which his diction is capable of describing. The very throbbings and pauses, the hoarse articulation, so to speak, and rude stammering accents, of a thunder-storm, are rendered in the following passage. It occurs in the 'Waggoner,' and it is the hero who is spectator of the scene.

"He is astounded,—wonder not,—
With such a change in such a spot;
Astounded in the mountain-gap
With thunder-peals clap after clap,
Close-treading on the silent flashes—
And somewhere, as he thinks, by crashes
Among the rocks; with weight of rain,
And sullen motions long and slow,
That to a dreary distance go—
Till, breaking in upon the dying strain,
A rending o'er his head begins the fray again."

Wordsworth combined with the delineation of nature an exposition of what may be called a semi-mystical faith in the potency of that influence, partly moral, partly intellectual, which he believed to be exerted upon the mind by the contemplation of natural scenery. There is a well-known passage in the "Excursion," too long to quote, in which this vague and vast appreciation of nature's spiritual meaning is expressed. Here are the first few lines:—

"For the growing youth
What soul was his, when, from the naked top
Of some bold headland, he beheld the sun
Rise up, and bathe the world in light!
He looked—ocean and earth, the solid frame of earth
And ocean's liquid mass, in gladness lay
Beneath him:—far and wide the clouds were touched,
And in their silent faces could be read
Unutterable love. Sound needed none,
Nor any voice of joy; his spirit drank
The spectacle: sensation, soul, and form,
All melted into him; they swallowed up
His animal being; in them did he live,
And by them did he live; they were his life.
In such access of mind, in such high hour
Of visitation from the living God,
Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired.
No thanks he breathed, he proffered no request;
Rapt into still communion that transcends
The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,
His mind was a thanksgiving to the power
That made him; it was blessedness and love!"

The highest characteristic of Wordsworth's poetry is its moral grandeur. There is not a stain on the radiant purity of his verse; not an allusion in his writings which could bring the blood into the most modest cheek. On the other hand, there is really little sermonising. When Wordsworth forgot the whim of being studiously mawkish, and wrote in the manner natural to him, neither his language nor his thought affords justification to Carlyle's sneer about his "dallying on the borders of the infantile and goody-good." The language is terse, the thought masculine. Strength was the characteristic of Wordsworth's mind rather than weakness of any sort. He stands apart in haughty isolation, disdaining to court popularity, discoursing in lofty strain on themes which grave and honourable men regard. His morality is that of men, resolute, mature men, not that of children. Beyond the inspired records, there is no piece of writing more austere in its majesty, more stern and lofty in its moral tone, than the 'Ode to Duty.' But Wordsworth may strike at any time, and whatever his subject, into this vein. Here, for instance, are two noble stanzas:—

"Not Fortune's slave is Man: our state
Enjoins, while firm resolves await
On wishes just and wise,
That strenuous action follow both,
And life be one perpetual growth
Of heavenward enterprise.

So taught, so trained, we boldly face
All accidents of time and place;
Whatever props may fail,
Trust in that sovereign law can spread
New glory o'er the mountain's head,
Fresh beauty through the vale."

This occurs in the lines entitled 'The Wishing Gate Destroyed.' The poet tells us that, happening to hear that a gate in Grasmere Vale, called the Wishing Gate, had been walled up, he "gave vent immediately" to his feeling in the verses of which these form a part. The gate, he subsequently learned, had not been touched.

The following meet us in the stanzas devoted to 'The Primrose of the Rock.' Seldom, from so lowly a theme, has the Muse risen into regions of so lofty contemplation.

"Sin-blighted though we are, we, too,
The reasoning sons of men,
From one oblivious winter called,
Shall rise and breathe again;
And in eternal summer lose
Our three-score years and ten.

To humbleness of heart descends
This prescience from on high,
The faith that elevates the just,
Before and when they die;
And makes each soul a separate heaven,
A court for Deity."

Either in single lines, brief, pregnant, memorable, or in compact passages, convenient for quotation, this didactic vein of Wordsworth's, the finest of its kind known to us in any literature, constantly shows itself.

"One adequate support
For the calamities of mortal life
Exists—one only; an assured belief
That the procession of our fate, howe'er
Sad or disturbed, is ordered by a Being
Of infinite benevolence and power;
Whose everlasting purposes embrace
All accidents, converting them to good."

This will remain true, profoundly, sublimely, yet most practically true, so long as the conditions of human life remain essentially unaltered. More brief expressions, either directly and purposely didactic, or breathing the spirit of a kind and wise reflectiveness, are of constant recurrence.

"Oh, Sir! the good die first,
And they whose hearts are dry as summer dust
Burn to the socket."

"Verily methinks
Wisdom is oft-times nearer when we stoop,
Than when we soar."

“ ’Tis, by comparison, an easy task
Earth to despise; but, to converse with heaven,
This is not easy.”

“ The discipline of slavery is unknown
Among us,—hence the more do we require
The discipline of virtue.”

“ There lives
A Judge . . . .
To whose all-pondering mind a noble aim
Faithfully kept is as a noble deed;
In whose pure sight all virtue doth succeed.”

The nobleness of Wordsworth’s sonnets has been universally recognised. They are, indeed, the finest in the English language, those of Milton being occasionally grander, but, on the whole, too uniform in tone and of a vehemence too stiff and austere. All the dignity, thoughtfulness, majestic mildness, of Wordsworth meet in his sonnets. That composed upon Westminster Bridge is perfect as a picture; and though no moral is annexed, though no reflection is uttered, we are impressed, as we read, with exactly that spirit of pensive delight and solemn tenderness which would steal over the mind in contemplating the scene. Equally renowned, and in its way—an entirely different way—equally good, is the protest of the poet against the utilitarianism and materialism of the age, in the sonnet beginning,—

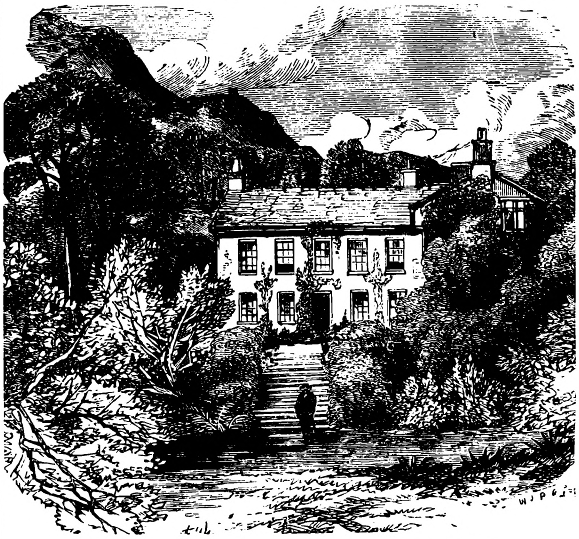
“ The world is too much with us; late and soon.”

It affords a striking attestation at once of the soundness and the comprehensiveness of Wordsworth’s mind, that he was author not only of this sonnet, but of that which is dedicated to things so unpoetical as ‘ Steamboats, Viaducts, and Railways.’

The genius of Wordsworth was essentially descriptive and reflective. He had no skill in the construction of a story, and though his faculty of observation was both acute and true for individual traits of character, he had not the dramatic and imaginative power which seizes and moulds an entire individuality. The plan of the ‘ Excursion,’ his largest poem, is at once trite and cumbrous; and his moralising pastors and pedlars are not complete and poetically consistent men, but incarnations of Wordsworthian mood or opinion.

Such was the genius to whose tender yet penetrating and mighty influence may be traced a large proportion of what is at once most exquisite and most distinctive in the recent poetry of Great Britain. Wordsworth has taught us to associate every act of observation upon natural appearances with an act of reflection. To see and to meditate, to perceive and to feel, were with him mental processes inseparably conjoined. A mystic light robed for him all nature’s forms; and he to whom a common flower is but a common flower is shunned as profane by his poetical disciples. No writer before Wordsworth attached an importance to the external world, as an influence upon the mind of man, nearly commensurate with that he claims for it—and strict justice requires us to admit that he has exaggerated its power and value. “ When we glance broadly,” says Mr. Ruskin, “ along the starry crowd of benefactors to the human race, and guides of human thought, we shall find that this dreaming love of natural beauty—or at least its expression—has been more or less checked by them all, and subordinated either to hard work or watching of *human* nature. Thus in all the classical and mediæval periods, it was subordinate to agriculture, war, and religion; and in the modern period, in which it has become far more powerful, observe in what persons it is chiefly manifested. It is subordinate in Bacon, Milton, Johnson, Richardson, Goldsmith, Young, Newton, Howard, Fenelon, Pascal. It is intense in Mrs. Radclyffe, St. Pierre, Shenstone, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Burns, Eugène Sue, Georges Sand, Dumas.” This great critic concludes that, “ while these feelings of delight in natural objects cannot be construed into signs of the highest mental powers or purest moral principles, we see that they are assuredly indicative of minds above the usual standard of power, and endowed with sensibilities of great preciousness to humanity; so that those who find themselves entirely destitute of them, must make this want a subject of humiliation, not of pride. The apathy which cannot perceive beauty is very different from the stern energy which disdains it; and the coldness of heart which receives no emotion from external nature, is not to be confounded with the wisdom of purpose which represents emotion in action. In the case of most men, it is neither acuteness of the reason nor breadth of humanity which shields them from the impressions of natural scenery, but rather low anxieties, vain discontents, and mean pleasures; and for one who is blinded to the works of God by profound abstraction or lofty purpose, tens of thousands have their eyes sealed by vulgar selfishness, and their intelligence crushed by impious care.”

The external facts of Wordsworth’s biography may be summed up in a single sentence. Born in Cumberland in the spring of 1770, he entered the University of Cambridge in 1787, took his degree without extraordinary distinction, travelled for some time upon the continent, married and fixed his abode

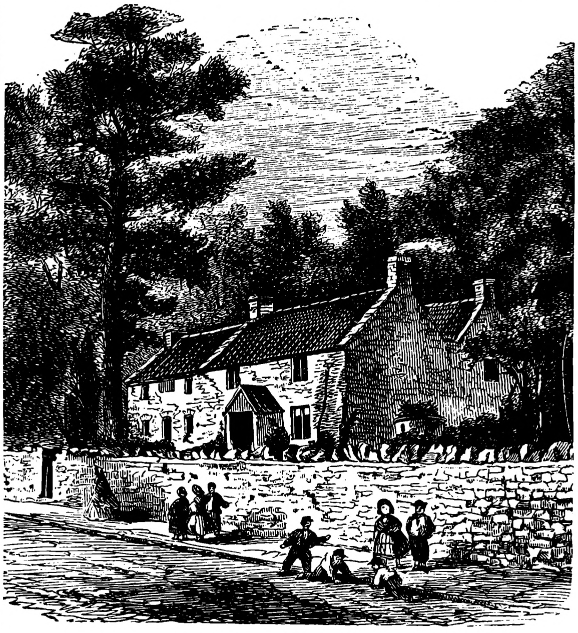


RYDAL MOUNT, THE DWELLING OF WORDSWORTH.

among the Westmoreland hills and waters, devoted himself to poetry as the business of his life, distributed stamps (with sound official salary) for his livelihood, was appointed poet laureate in 1843, and died at the patriarchal age of eighty, in April 1850. We have deemed it right to appropriate a large amount of space to the consideration of his genius, on account of the predominant influence exerted by him upon his poetical contemporaries and upon all subsequent poets in Great Britain. The splendours and terrors of passion are not in him; but, as Wilson finely says, there are in his poems "openings into immutable brightness and harmony;" openings into the ethereal deeps of heaven, whose azure knows no change; and this sublimity endures when that of "collision, tumult, or discord" has passed away. There is exaggeration in Wilson's statement "that Wordsworth's genius has had a greater influence on the spirit of poetry in Britain than was ever before exercised by any individual mind," for this would set the influence of Wordsworth above that of Shakespeare; but he could fairly ask what living poet was not indebted to Wordsworth, and allege, with truth, that both Scott and Byron were his debtors. "Many of the most beautiful passages of the mighty minstrel," says Wilson, "wherein he speaks not of knights, squires, and steeds, but of himself, perhaps, or of other men, living or dying in a peaceful world, are manifestly coloured and inspirited by the light and soul of the genius of the lakes." Still more boldly and still more beautifully he adds: "The two last cantos of 'Childe Harold,' although sufficiently original to place Lord Byron in the first rank of genius, are in many places absolutely written, it may be said, by Wordsworth. He it was that taught Byron how to look on a mountain, and how to listen to a cataract or the sea." But perhaps the proudest tribute which can be paid to Wordsworth is that which he is said to have deliberately signalised as the source of his deepest satisfaction in his old age, and which his successor in the office of laureate, Mr. Tennyson, who would acknowledge himself in many respects his pupil and follower, bestows upon him, namely, that he "uttered nothing base." Of not one word in those poems did the poet require to be ashamed; and the image of Wordsworth, austerely pure and grand as that of a warrior-angel, seems to stand at the portal of the temple of modern English song, rebuking and repelling the serpent brood of vice, of atheism, of immorality, which have left their slimy trail on the brightest flowers of recent continental poetry.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the friend, admirer, and, in the 'Lyrical Ballads,' the literary associate of Wordsworth, was born in Devonshire, in October 1772. His father was vicar of Ottery St. Mary, in that county. In early years he gave proof of possessing exquisite genius, but betrayed at the same time a tendency to desultoriness in study, to day-dreaming, to indifference to boyish sports, which was doubtless connected with some deep-lying physiological defect, and which, aided by unfavourable circumstances and indulgence at a fatal moment in opium, resulted in infirmity of will, incapacity of concentration; and a series of literary achievements in poetry and prose, imperishable, indeed, and of priceless estimation, but in great part fragmentary, in no instance displaying in its comprehensiveness the power which gave them birth, and on the whole suggestive of a mighty genius which accomplished but part of its work.

At nineteen Coleridge was the head Grecian at Christ's Hospital, and proceeded to Cambridge as an exhibitioner from Christ's Hospital to Jesus' College. In 1793 he quitted college without taking a degree, proceeded to London, enlisted as a dragoon, and served for four months. A Latin quotation, written under the nail on which he hung his saddle, revealed his secret, and he doffed the red jacket. Between 1793 and 1800 most of his original poems were composed. These consist of odes, suggested by the political occurrences of the time, of lyrical and descriptive pieces, and of one or two dramatic attempts. The odes are remarkable for splendour of diction, gorgeousness of imagery, and magnificent fulness of sound.


COLERIDGE'S COTTAGE AT CLEVEDON.

Partly lyrical, partly narrative, is the exquisite though most tantalising fragment 'Christabel.' Two friends, barons of the olden time, Sir Leoline and Lord Roland, had been estranged from each other, and lived many years without intercourse. The daughter of Sir Leoline, the Christabel of the poem, was blooming from tender girlhood into sweet womanhood, when a fiend, or some mysterious evil thing, possessed of a malignant spell wherewith to torment her young life, and arrayed in the form of a beautiful, queenlike, kind-looking lady, appears, and representing herself as the daughter of Sir Leoline's old friend, solicits his protection against the marauders who, she says, had carried her off. She is received by him with warm affection. Geraldine, the fiend-lady, occupies the same bed with Christabel, and by various fearful circumstances we are made aware of the influence of the spell which slowly draws the maiden into its net of terror and anguish. Christabel's mother had died the hour she was born, and, by touches more effective than direct statement, we learn that, as the guardian spirit of her daughter, she is striving against the spell of Geraldine.

It is part of the spell laid by the latter upon Christabel that, though she may indicate her suffering by sign or gesture, and even express her fear and dislike of Geraldine, she is nevertheless deprived of power to state the cause of her misery, and to put her complaint against Geraldine into articulate, rational words. Accordingly, the request of Christabel that her tormentor should be sent away is treated by her father as a mere wicked outburst of woman's jealousy. The minstrel Bracy takes part with Christabel—song on the side of innocence! With the fierce assertion by Sir Leoline of his resolution to send messengers to Lord Roland's castle, announcing that his daughter is safe, and to avenge the lady upon the "recreant traitors" who had wronged her, the poem ends. That the guileless simplicity of Christabel, aided by the chivalrous devotion of Bracy, would in the end triumph over the fiend, and that the guardian spirit of Christabel would see her child in peace and reconcilement with her father, the long-riven bond between Sir Leoline and Lord Roland being at the same time restored—this, or the like of this, as the subsequent development of the poem, may be easily imagined; but, after all, we have to say that no genius save that of Coleridge could have brought to clear artistic issue and completion so wild and eerie a tale. In what we have, there is a melody so tender, so sweet, so mystical, a beauty so rare and delicate, that 'Christabel' must be classed among the masterpieces of recent English poetry. The lines descriptive of the rupture between Sir Leoline and Lord Roland are every way noble. They are so well known that we need not quote them.

The 'Ancient Mariner,' one of the most popular and best-known poems of Coleridge, reveals the same habit and capacity of imagination as are displayed in 'Christabel.' The world of realities and the world of dreams are mingled in wild phantasmagoria, and lighthouses and wedding-guests alternate with skeleton ships, through whose ribs glares the sinking sun, and crews of corpses that arise to work the ropes. Some of the most apt and beautiful similitudes in the English language occur in this poem:—

"Day after day, day after day,
 We stuck, nor breath nor motion;
As idle as a painted ship
 Upon a painted ocean."

The following is one of the boldest and most sublimely beautiful impersonations in the whole range of English literature:—

"Still as a slave before his lord,
 The ocean hath no blast;
His great bright eye most silently
 Up to the moon is cast."

The purport and moral of the poem are summed up in one of the closing verses:—

"He prayeth best, who loveth best
 All things both great and small;
For the dear God who loveth us,
 He made and loveth all."

But the imagery which illustrates this simple truth is so vast and gorgeous, that the truth itself is almost lost sight of. It may be doubted whether poetical genius, in its pure, incommunicable essence, was ever more vividly and authentically displayed than in these two poems, 'Christabel' and the 'Ancient Mariner.'

As a dramatist Coleridge must be allowed to have failed. His strength lay either in philosophical and moral reflection, or in the untrammelled play of imagination, using nature as a kaleidoscope with infinite variation of colours. That firm grasp of the individual life, that clear and brief descriptive limning of the particular scene, which are indispensable qualifications of the dramatist, he did not possess. The tragedy of 'Remorse' has fine lines and passages, but is, on the whole, a failure. This is the more remarkable from the fact that Coleridge, besides being an eminent critic of Shakespeare, was familiar with the great modern dramas of Germany, and that his translation of Schiller's 'Wallenstein' is a masterpiece.

He was felicitous in the combination of natural description with suggestive and reverential feelings, which are appropriate to natural scenes of beauty and sublimity. No better example in this kind can be found than his magnificent 'Hymn before Sunrise in the Vale of Chamouni.'

If, however, we were asked to name the poem in which this astonishing genius found, on the whole, its noblest expression, we should name that entitled 'Love.' It is perfect, with a serene, deep, and full perfection. The feeling is the intensity of purest passion; the language is music, rich and sweet; the imaginative conception and rendering of the whole, from the deep tide of joyous affection in the hearts of the lovers to the blended starlight and moonlight on the purple breast of evening, is not only negatively faultless, but positively and supremely beautiful. There are few nobler verses in the language than that which commences this celebrated poem:—

"All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
 Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
All are but ministers of Love,
 And feed his sacred flame."

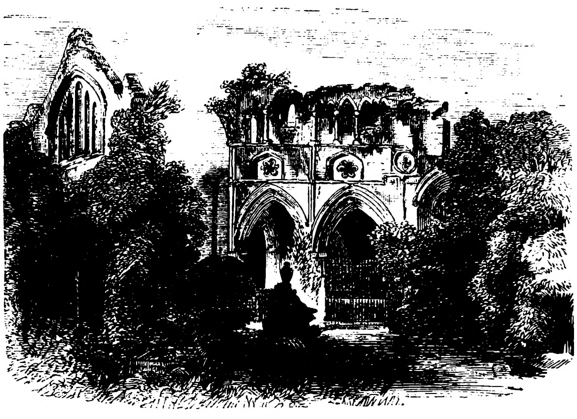
It must, we think, be admitted that in 'Christabel,' the 'Ancient Mariner,' and 'Love,' Coleridge has reached, at least in particular lines and tones, and in stray touches of imagery, a higher poetical perfection than was ever attained by Wordsworth. He possessed, also, though he seldom indulged it, a playfully tender and sportive vein. He was, indeed, a man of simple, childlike, most affectionate nature. The lines addressed to his wife, when he was on the continent, afford a pleasing exhibition of his genius in its mood of tender gaiety.

It cannot be said that a life which bore such fruits of poetry as we have seen was intellectually a failure, but we must admit that it was a failure in respect of happiness. In the earlier years of his manhood, Coleridge toiled sternly—shrunk from no drudgery—in order to procure a livelihood for himself and his family; but he never had the knack of popularity; and he lacked the punctuality, method, "steady-pulling diligence," which are necessary to pecuniary success. He sunk, therefore, into a state of dependence. His mental perceptions were too keen to render it possible for him to escape a vivid consciousness of his position, his moral instincts too proud to make that position anything else to him than agonising. One of the princeliest intellects, one of the kindest, truest, bravest hearts, was bowed and broken under the intolerable burden of self-condemnation and self-contempt. He was too severe upon himself; the probability, the moral certainty, is, that some subtle form of bodily disease lay at the root of his feebleness of will, but not the less tragic was the result. He died in July 1834.

SECTION IV.

SCOTT AND BYRON.

If Wordsworth and Coleridge may be taken to represent the reflective and meditative vein in our modern poetry, as well as the almost mystical sympathy with nature which has distinguished many of our recent poets, two names will occur to every reader as suggestive of the pictorial splendour, and the more popular and brilliant effects, which have characterised English poetry in the first half of the nineteenth century. These names are Scott and Byron. Byron said of himself that description was his forte; and description, as distinguished from reflection, description of men in action, description of the external and striking aspects of nature, description of passion in its high-wrought moods, whether of happiness or of misery, may be declared with equal correctness to have been the forte of Scott.



DRYBURGH ABBEY.

(*The burial place of Sir Walter Scott*).

Walter Scott was born in Edinburgh on the 15th of August, 1771. His father, a writer to the signet, was in easy circumstances; his mother, Anne Rutherford, daughter of a successful physician, was by birth and education a gentlewoman. In childhood he suffered from dangerous illness, and was sent to live with his grandfather at Sandy Knowe, near Kelso. He was here in the midst of the characteristic scenery of the southern Scottish counties, and imbibed in his infancy that love for the Tweed, the Eildon Hills, the old abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh, and all else in the scenery of the borders, which had the strength of a passion in the youth and the man. Add that there was an "Aunt Jenny," a kind, garrulous, legend-loving, story-telling soul, to sit by the sofa of the ailing boy and fill his ears with tales and ballads of the old border-time, and we shall know enough to enable us to understand how the first and deepest impression, destined to influence him throughout life, and to leave its mark indelibly upon the literature of England and the world, was made upon the susceptive genius of Walter Scott. To Aunt Jenny the world owes more than to all the schoolmasters and all the professors who ever struck spade, or dropped seed, into the bounteous soil of that mind.

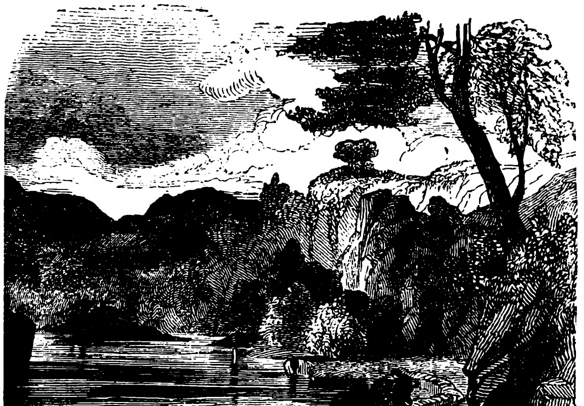
At school and college Scott was not a careless or refractory, but at the same time not a distinguished, student. He commenced to write verses in his boyhood, but they do not appear to have been superior to the average productions of fluent youth, and more importance is to be attached to the circumstance that, while at the High School of Edinburgh, he was the delight of his class-fellows for his gift of interesting them in long extempore narratives, constructed, no doubt, on the model of those of Aunt Jenny. He was, from his earliest years, a voracious reader, and a memory of wonderful tenacity enabled him to secure permanently all that charmed him at the moment. He learned to read in French, German, Italian, and Spanish, and made incursions into all those literatures, with small thought of critical accuracy in his acquisitions, but with a vivid apprehension of what was striking, memorable, and, above all, picturesque in their rich and varied provinces. He joined the Scottish bar at the age of twenty-one, but he had no enthusiasm for his profession, and continued to qualify himself, by wide reading and by genial and extended intercourse with his countrymen, as well as by visiting those parts of Scotland most remarkable for beauty and rugged grandeur, for the literary career on which he was soon to enter. Some translations from Bürger, executed with extraordinary spirit and felicity—that of the 'Wild Huntsman' is one of the most vigorous pieces in the language, and a decided improvement upon the original—were among his first efforts to gain the public ear as a poetical composer, and these are significant also as showing that, like most of the young men of literary habits in Edinburgh at the time, he was devoting particular attention to the literature of Germany. In 1799 he published a translation of 'Götz von Berlichingen,' by Goethe. In the preface he stated that literal accuracy had been less studied in the translation than an attempt made to convey the spirit and general effect of the piece. This is quite the state of the case; but Scott was hardly so successful in catching the elaborate strength of Goethe's manner as he had been in emulating the fire of Bürger. At all events, it may be confidently affirmed that no one who turns from Scott's 'Götz von Berlichingen' to compare it with his original writings, will be of opinion that the translator derived much from the piece either in the way of suggestion of subject or manner of treatment. It was in his excursions, or, as he called them, his "raids" in Liddesdale and other localities of the Scottish border, that he at last found the work which was to open for him the gates of fame. He collected the ballad poetry of those districts, and perfected himself in that lore to which he had been introduced by Aunt Jenny. In 1802 he published, in two volumes, the 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.' In some of the Border ballads in this collection we meet with actual localities introduced subsequently into the poems of Scott, such as Branksome Hall; and in the Kinmont Willies and Hobbie Nobles and other hard riders and rievers of the frontier counties, the rough drafts of such characters as William of Deloraine, good at need, and Walter of Harden, are unmistakably presented. Nevertheless, the remark which seems to us most pertinent with respect to the influence exerted by the 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Borders' upon Walter Scott is, that it was a subordinate influence after all. The strongest impression we derive from a comparison of the Border ballads with the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel' and 'Marmion' is, that genius is incomparably greater than the teachings, the suggestions, the occasions, which circumstances afford to genius. When, in 1805, the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel' announced that an original poet had arisen in Great Britain, it practically announced also that Scott had risen out of the sphere of translators and imitators, and ventured upon a flight to which no minstrel of the Borders had ever aspired. For upwards of thirty years his genius had been maturing, and now he had given the conclusive proof of power and originality as a poet by pouring upon materials provided for him by tradition, history, legend, and observation, a new and idealising light entirely his own, under which the old materials glowed into a fresh and beauteous poetical creation. The learned antiquarian industriously edits the chronicle or ballad of a remote age, and gives it to the world. It may be read by a good many at first, and as some culture will be implied, or seem to be implied, in relishing it, there will be no want of critics to praise it. But, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, the painstaking antiquarian, or Society of Antiquarians, has merely carted from one hole, in which the indifference of the world had buried it, into another hole, in which the indifference of the world will again leave it to sleep, something in which mankind cannot be induced to take permanent interest. Very different from this operation of Dryasdust is the achievement of the true poet or creative literary artist. He transfigures the old materials in the radiance of a new idealisation. He arrays them in the vesture of artistic form, which, more than anything visible upon earth, is the garment of immortality. The "grazier kings" of old Hellas, about whom, doubtless, there would be rude contemporary ballads, become imperishable as the Agamemnon, Achilles, Menelaus, Ulysses of Homer. The plotting chieftain of the remote Highland glens of Scotland becomes the Macbeth of Shakespeare. And in like manner the Border thieves, and rude Highland chiefs, and rough-riding feudal knights, of Scottish and English minstrelsy, became the Deloraine and Roderick Dhu and Marmion of the poems of Scott. In the most interesting and instructive introduction to the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' published by Scott in the edition of 1830, we are informed that the second edition of the 'Minstrelsy,' published in 1803, "proved, in the language of the trade, rather a heavy concern." The general public had tired of the uncouth old ballads. The success of the 'Lay,' however, was immense. The freshness of the work was not in the slightest degree affected by the previous publication of the ballads. "Upwards of 30,000 copies were disposed of by the trade." When we consider that the whole poem could be read in a few hours, and that the price of the first edition was *1l. 5s.*, we are forced to admit that this was an astonishing popularity. It would be easy to show that there is hardly one, if one, of the scenes or incidents of the poem which has not its counterpart in Border story. The legend of Gilpin Horner was the origin of all we have concerning the goblin page, and the main incident of the advance of a strong English force in hostile guise upon Branksome Castle is obviously adopted from the rude ballad, entitled the 'Raid of Reidswire.' And yet so admirably are the incidents and traits and scenes chosen, so rapid and clear is the narrative, so skilfully is the coarseness of the ballads softened and brightened by most picturesque yet essentially modern and polished language, that the interest never flags for a moment, and the reader gazes with delighted eye upon the succession of brilliant and affecting pageants which rise, like dissolving views, before him. The conception of the hoary minstrel, the picture of Melrose Abbey by moonlight, the noble passage, Greek in its simple majesty, in which patriotic feeling is celebrated, beginning with the lines

> "Breathes there the man with soul so dead,
> Who never to himself hath said
> This is my own, my native land,"—

the apostrophe to Caledonia, "stern and wild"—these were accepted by the heart and imagination of the English-speaking race, and have remained among the best-known and most highly-prized treasures of our recent poetry. The dialogue between what Byron called "messieurs the spirits of the mountain and the flood," and the exhibition of these shadowy personages as exerting a benignant influence upon the fortunes of Margaret of Branksome, are the weakest points in the poem. Jeffrey vehemently objected to the goblin page; but we cannot help thinking that the mysteriously-gifted dwarf, with his intangible relations to Michael Scott and his general malignity, qualified by devotion to Cranstoun, is a figure highly germane to a poem illustrative of manners and superstitions on the Border in the sixteenth century. One of the most ably conceived and finely executed passages in the poem is the opening of the grave of Michael Scott at midnight and the taking from the hands of the dead man his mystic book; but it is an obvious defect in construction, which all the crowning incidents of the later cantos do not suffice to disguise, that no adequate cause is exhibited for Deloraine's arduous ride for the book, and that the lady of Branksome does not, so far as the reader knows, consult it about the duties or destinies of her house. The goblin page, beguiling the heir of Buccleuch into captivity, and arranging the substitution of Cranstoun for Deloraine in the combat with Musgrave, might have brought about the match between Margaret and his master without the slightest connection with Michael Scott or his book. In point of fact the plot is confused, and the mixing up of the natural and the supernatural questionable: but no one cares anything about this, fascinated and dazzled as he is by the incidents, and interested by the characters, of the poem.

Scott's second great poetical work, 'Marmion,' was published in 1808. It was cast in the same mould as the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel.' Six cantos, each containing some notable incident or description, made up the poem. The minstrel is dispensed with, but each canto has a poetical introduction, corresponding to the strains of the minstrel which introduce the cantos of the 'Lay,' inscribed to some friend of Scott's. A sub-title is now appended to each canto, descriptive of its special subject. The Castle, the Convent, the Hostel or Inn, the Camp, the Court, and the Battle, are successively depicted in this magnificent delineation of the times and manners of chivalry. 'Marmion' is, on the whole, Scott's noblest poem, and the finest metrical romance in existence. There are perhaps more exquisitely beautiful descriptions of scenery, and one or two more felicitously conceived incidents, in the 'Lady of the Lake' than any which can be cited from 'Marmion;' and in certain passages of the 'Lord of the Isles' the Homer of Scotland reaches perhaps a strain of more sincere and epical poetry; but in sustained and thrilling interest, in variety, in magical alternation of scenes sternly tragic and brilliantly gay, and in the unity of the whole poem culminating in the battle of Flodden Field and the death of the hero—one of the supreme poetical efforts of the century—no poem by Scott can, we think, vie with 'Marmion.' He says that particular passages of the poem "were laboured with a good deal of care," and adds that "the period of its composition was a very happy one" in his life. "I remember with pleasure," he writes, two and twenty years after the publication, "at this moment, some of the spots in which particular passages were composed." This we can well believe; the moments when poetic inspiration is in full flow are moments of enraptured joy. "I was still young," says the great, simple-hearted poet, "lightheaded and happy." The youth was of the heart rather than in years; Scott was at the time thirty-seven.

If he was youthfully strong and happy, Scott had none of the lightheaded elation of successful and loquacious youth. He had the sense to see, after 'Marmion' was published, that a variation in the subjects and scenes of his poetry had become desirable, and he looked away from the Borders, of which the local aspects had been sufficiently described in the 'Lay' and 'Marmion,' to the Scottish Highlands. The scenery of Loch Katrine and the Trosachs had become familiar to him in many a pleasant excursion and cheerful visit, and he "had always thought the old Scottish Gael highly adapted for poetical composition." To write the 'Lady of the Lake' was, accordingly, "a labour of love." But with the modesty characteristic of this great poetical genius, he was doubtful of success, and calmly contemplated, in the event of his failing in this new attempt to gain the public ear, retirement from poetical composition. "If I fail," he said to a friend at the time, "it is a sign that I ought never to have succeeded, and I will write prose for life: you shall see no change in my temper, nor will I eat a single meal the worse." The 'Lady of the Lake,' published in 1810, was eminently successful. For the third time the plaudits of the whole reading public hailed Scott as the most popular of living poets. The opinion of critics will probably be divided on the question whether 'Marmion' or the 'Lady of the Lake' is his poetical masterpiece, and we would decline speaking with dogmatic decision on the point. Scott never excelled the cantos of the Chase and the Combat in the 'Lady of the Lake,' and the delicate yet brilliant loveliness of the descriptive passages, modulated with a rhythmic sweetness and tender care unusual with Scott, is not equalled in the earlier poems. But the interest and the power culminate in the last canto of 'Marmion,' whereas the sixth canto in the 'Lady of the Lake' is almost an anti-climax, and conveys inevitably the impression of a falling wave or an ebbing tide. On the whole, therefore, while acknowledging that the comparison is made between masterpieces, we are inclined to yield the palm to 'Marmion.' Like all great poets, Scott nourished his imagination on reality, and his pictures of the scenery of the western Highlands in the 'Lady of the Lake,' have the truth of photographs combined with the magical colouring of creative art. Such are the companion pictures of sunrise and sunset, as seen by Fitzjames from the flanks of the mountain above Loch Katrine.



LOCH KATRINE.

Scott's poetical career had hitherto been one of triumph; but his popularity as a poet was destined, from this point, to decline. In 1813 he published 'Rokeby.' Scene and subject were once more changed, and he who had sung so witchingly of the

Borders and the Scottish Highlanders, essayed to throw a poetic charm over the Cavaliers and Roundheads of England. The subject was not favourable to the genius of Scott, and it seems evident that, in the considerable period which elapsed between the appearance of the 'Lady of the Lake' and 'Rokeby,' the fervour and intensity of his poetic inspiration had undergone abatement. His knowledge of human nature, his sagacity and grasp of mind, had been growing; but of the fine frenzy of the bard he had now less than when, glowing with rapture, he poured forth the cantos of 'Marmion.' 'Rokeby' has always been a favourite with critics, but it fails in the essential requirement of riveting the interest of the reader. Nor did the minor pieces, 'Don Roderick,' 'Harold the Dauntless,' and 'Triermain,' the first of which was published before 'Rokeby,' do aught to sustain the popular enthusiasm which had been awakened by the earlier poems of Scott. By far the most remarkable poetic work published by him after the 'Lady of the Lake,' was the 'Lord of the Isles.' The subject was congenial to him, and his descriptive powers had scope in the delineation of the grim landscape of the Hebrides. Many passages will compare with anything in the 'Lady of the Lake,' the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' or 'Marmion.' The scene in the castle of Artorinsh, when Bruce is blessed by the abbot, is in Scott's best manner. The description of the battle of Bannockburn is Homeric in its rapidity of movement and fiery sympathy with the conflict. The poem may be pronounced the epic of Scotland. Fifteen thousand copies were sold, and one might demur to the manly and characteristic decision of the author that it "was necessarily to be considered as a failure." At all events, the poetical work of Scott, if we except occasional pieces and the fine but brief poem on the battle of Waterloo, was done. He retired from the field of metrical composition, to enter the more wide and free domain of prose, there to astonish the world by a series of artistic creations, in comparison with which his most brilliant poetical romances, though valuable and imperishable in themselves, are unimportant.

An elaborate characterisation of the poetry of Scott is unnecessary. Its merits are, of their kind, superlative: but they are not difficult to discern. He possessed, as with that wonderful gift of self-judgment which belonged to the healthiness of the man, he has himself declared, the secret of interesting readers. There is a rapid yet not fatiguing succession of incident and scene, which gratefully agitates and delights the reader or rather the beholder. We feel, also, that the poet is himself in sympathy with the chivalry he describes. An influence of valour and of generosity breathes from the page. It is honest writing. No affected obscurity, no perverse crotchets, no trick of singularity, are insolently pressed on us as the soul of beauty. The imagination of the poet illuminates the theme. Broadly and with beaming vividness the characteristic features are placed before us, whether it be the delicate splendour of a lake at dawn, or the terrific din and gloom of feudal battle. "The nice definition of form, the elaborate refinement of colour, the studied and perfect symmetry, pertaining to the ideal of Greece and to the later manner of Goethe, are, indeed, wanting; but sympathy and love and careless power, rejoicing in dewy copse and woodland flower, in waving corn and glistening meadow, in bounding stream and craggy mountain, in cloudless sky and morning light, in generous sentiment and dauntless deed, have become the unconscious ministers of a high artistic perfection, but leave over all a vivacity, an airy sprightliness, a smiling grace, such as were perhaps never won by the more conscious efforts of art. All boys love Scott with enthusiasm; all men with judgment. There is in many cases a period intervening between boyhood and manhood, when the lightnings of youth inflame the blood and perturb the imagination,—when painted flowers, glittering in the blaze of the footlights, carry it over the heather bloom and mountain rose,—when the sudden surprises of paradox, and the vague promises of mystery, have a stronger fascination than simple realities, and the iris on the mist is preferred to the steadfastness of the shore. In this period Scott is undervalued, and the disciples of theatricality, extravagance, or transcendentalism, are extolled. But Scott has nothing to fear in the long run. When the youth has become the man, his poetry again delights. When tropic brilliancy has ceased to please, and the conviction has become settled that man cannot leap above the sky, we turn again to that simple song, to that light, lilting music, whose tone is of the brook and the bird, and which is in league with the dew on the grass and the stars of the morning." Such were the notions expressed in 1856 by the present writer on the poetry of Scott, and he has seen no cause to change his opinion.

In 1812, when Scott, now upwards of forty, was considering, in his cool Scotch head, how the twofold object of sustaining his poetical reputation and replenishing his exchequer might be promoted by the composition and publication of a new metrical romance, a youth of twenty-four, who at nineteen had published a volume of poems that failed either to please the critics or attract the public, who had avenged himself in a savage satire upon all who wrote popular poetry, and had then wandered aimlessly on the continent, thinking, most likely, that his poetical career was at end, offered to the world two cantos of a poem entitled 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.' In an instant, Lord Byron was the most popular poet of the day. Two cantos, begun by a lad of twenty-one and finished by a lad of twenty-two, dethroned the author of the 'Lady of the Lake.' Nor, when we look at Byron's poem, are we surprised at the fact. The public were ready for something new. The fatal facility of Scott's measure had made him the victim of countless imitators. As Byron justly remarked, not one of them, except James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, did Scott much honour. With this exception, also, not one of them attained to a permanent poetical reputation. But their failures tended more perhaps than would have been the case with their successes to sate the public with Scott's manner. The law of action and reaction, besides,—of the "alternation of opposites," as Plato said,—is universal in human affairs; and it was inevitable that the brilliant simplicity, the easy, intelligible, unelaborate flow of Scott, should prepare the reading multitude to take delight in a more involved and laboured style, a greater pomp of words, a statelier rhythm. Scott never succeeded in the Spenserian stanza, but Scott's poetry is exquisitely adapted to make us relish well-modulated Spenserian verse. Among the masters of the Spenserian stanza, Byron will not rank high; but no one knew better than he how to lend it precisely that pitch of elevation, that clang of melody, which would please the general ear. More than this, however, must be said, in order to account for and justify the eclipse by Byron of the poetical fame of Scott. In the more sustained efforts of the imagination,—in planning a complete work or in executing, in the harmonious completeness of all its parts, one great descriptive scene like the battle of Flodden Field,—Scott excels Byron, or at least excels the Byron of the first two cantos of 'Childe Harold.' But in the intensity of local effect, in the splendour of individual metaphors and impersonations, Byron already proved himself possessed of a more distinctively poetic genius than Scott. The image of Battle, in the first canto of 'Childe Harold,' will illustrate this remark:

> "Death rides upon the sulphury Siroc,
> Red Battle stamps his foot, and nations feel the shock.
>
> Lo! where the Giant on the mountain stands,
> His blood-red tresses deepening in the sun,
> With death-shot glowing in his fiery hands,
> And eye that scorcheth all it glares upon;
> Restless it rolls, now fixed, and now anon
> Flashing afar,—and at his iron feet
> Destruction cowers, to mark what deeds are done;
> For on this morn three potent nations meet,
> To shed before his shrine the blood he deems most sweet."

Intense flashes of poetic inspiration like this are not met with in Scott. His mind, as Carlyle has observed, worked rather *in extenso* than *in intenso*. Besides a succession of passages similar to the preceding, if not equal to it, the poem now published by Byron contained a variety of gorgeous descriptions of scenes in Spain, Italy, and Greece, the interest of which was doubtless enhanced by the exclusion of the great body of the British nation from the continent during the ascendency of Napoleon. Add the important consideration that Byron had hit upon the idea—for that the thing was, to a great extent, an artifice cannot be called in question—of casting around himself the mantle of a mysterious melancholy, and indirectly inviting his readers to sympathise with his woes. Of the exceeding potency of judiciously managed egotism as an instrument of literary fascination, Byron might have got the hint from Rousseau. There is nothing which can be made to act more powerfully on "folly and green minds." This gifted being was the victim of an eating sorrow, which preyed upon his heart. Destiny, circumstances, his own fault,—whatever it might be,—had been too powerful for him. The citadel of his soul, indeed, had not been stormed. From the pinnacles of sentimental virtue he looked down upon his remorseful self. He warned you by his example, and though he confided his anguish to your ear, he was himself solitary, and remained alone with his grief. How touching! What young lady rich in the finer feelings, what hapless son of genius condemned by cruel fate to waste his spirit's strength behind a grocer's or haberdasher's counter, would refuse the sympathy which the lordly bard so movingly, yet so delicately, asked? "The number of hopeful undergraduates," says Macaulay, "and medical students who became things of dark imaginings, on whom the freshness of the heart ceased to fall like dew, whose passions had consumed themselves to dust, and to whom the relief of tears was denied, passes all calculation." It of course heightened this influence that, even in these two earliest cantos of 'Childe Harold,' there was enough of naughtiness to be piquant. Scott wrote in the mood and tone of a perfectly respectable gentleman, conservative in his opinions and feelings, a supporter of the government of the day. Virtue also was invariably crowned in his poems in the approved nursery fashion, the estimable De Wiltons and Malcolm Græmes coming in for the pretty Claras and Helens, while the irregular characters, the Marmions and Roderick Dhus, were denied that domestic felicity for which they were too manifestly unfit. Byron took sides with the parliamentary opposition, sneered at Wellington and the war in Spain, and indulged in that habit of snarling at things in general which has an irresistible charm for many minds. Southey, Coleridge, and Wordsworth having vehemently repented and recanted their early Jacobinism, and Scott having called all the Nine Muses to chant the praises of propriety, the flavour of forbidden fruit in 'Childe Harold' and the subsequent poems of Byron had the zest of novelty, in addition to its inherent attractiveness, for human nature.

The popularity secured by the first instalment of 'Childe Harold' was maintained by the romantic tales which rapidly followed. The 'Giaour' and the 'Bride of Abydos' appeared in 1813; 'Lara' in 1814; in 1816, the 'Siege of Corinth' and 'Parisina.' In general manner these approach, one and all, so nearly to the poetical romances of Scott, that we may confidently allege they would not have been written if Scott's had never been published. They are, however, essentially original. The mould may be Scott's, but the molten metal, rushing into it in burning stream, is Byron's. In energy of diction, in passionate brilliancy and animation, these pieces have never been surpassed. No critic has failed to perceive that, throughout the whole, the poet is his own hero. Byron at times affected to deny this, but he was doubtless aware that it was substantially true. The consciousness of his egotistic self-portraiture, if other evidence left it seriously dubitable, which it does not, may be literally demonstrated by the fact that, in the manuscript of his first characteristic and great poem, the name of the hero was written 'Childe Buron,' for which 'Childe Harold' was substituted on second thoughts. After his painful experiences, and, we must add, his criminal misconduct in the married state, the features of his self-portraiture become more dark and repulsive. But from the day when he published the two first cantos of 'Childe Harold,' he not only sustained and increased his reputation, but grew from year to year in poetical strength until the day of his death. It is wonderful how many imperishable works he added to English literature in those twelve years of a debauched, rebellious, and unhappy life. Seldom in the history of literature have continuations of successful works been themselves successful; but the third and fourth cantos of 'Childe Harold,' published five or six years after the first and second, are marked by far maturer power than that of the earlier cantos. The writer has evidently a firmer conviction of his own strength, and displays more freedom and less of the cautious labour of the file. Many passages in the third and fourth cantos,—that suggested by the battle of Waterloo, that descriptive of a storm in the Alps, that on the dying gladiator, and several others,—can be justly characterised in no other way than as magnificent. A number of dramas, not intended for the stage, but aiming otherwise as high as possible, which in themselves would have sufficed to found a great poetical reputation, 'Manfred,' 'Marino Faliero,' 'Heaven and Earth,' 'Sardanapalus,' the 'Two Foscari,' the 'Deformed Transformed,' 'Cain,' and 'Werner,' were among the less happy efforts of this astonishing genius. A multitude of separate lyrics, including the 'Hebrew Melodies,' and many occasional pieces of unequal merit, such as the 'Dream,' the 'Island,' 'Mazeppa,' the 'Monody on the Death of Sheridan,' 'Beppo,' and the 'Vision of Judgment,' were dashed off with a negligent opulence of power, which delighted in its work and seemed to feel itself inexhaustible.

He was thirty when he began 'Don Juan,' and he continued to work fitfully upon it until his energies were absorbed by the cause of Greece. It is written in a measure which may be described as combining a capacity of majesty equal or nearly equal to that of the Spenserian stanza with a suavity equal to, or surpassing, that of, the octosyllabic stanza of Scott. To have perfect command over it with its six rhymes in alternation, and two in succession in each stanza, requires consummate mastery of the English language, but Byron had a command of English such as scarce half a dozen Englishmen have possessed since the language was formed. Accordingly the cantos of 'Don Juan' are replete with every kind of power—tragedy, comedy, wit, humour, pathos, splendid description, daring thought, bitter satire. In this poem the genius of Byron, which hitherto had been strongly lyrical and somewhat markedly defective in the faculty of dramatic characterisation, seemed to be rising into true dramatic energy. The affectation of remorseful melancholy was almost entirely cast off. Juan is not by any means a mere Byronic mood like the Laras and Corsairs; he has no brooding sorrow, and has an individuality of his own. The description of the siege of Ismail and the portrait of Suwarrow are epic in breadth of delineation and dramatic in vividness and verisimilitude of human portraiture. The power increases as the poem proceeds. Lord Macaulay expresses a contrary opinion, but he is surely alone in regarding the ability displayed in depicting the first intrigue of Juan as equal or comparable to that manifested in describing the siege of Ismail. At the same time we admit the consummate skill and piquancy of the earlier cantos; some of the most characteristically cynical and humorous stanzas of the poem occur in them. The following is one:—

"What are the hopes of man? Old Egypt's King
  Cheops erected the first pyramid,
And largest, thinking it was just the thing
  To keep his memory whole and mummy hid;
But somebody or other rummaging
  Burglariously broke his coffin's lid:
Let not a monument give you or me hopes,
Since not a pinch of dust remains of Cheops."

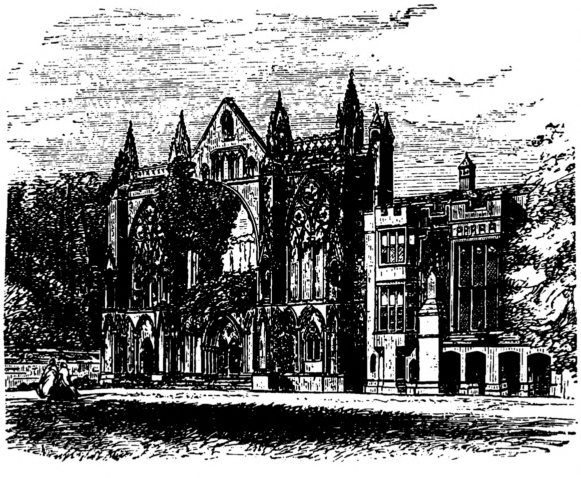
The single stanza in the tenth canto, which contains a picture of London, is also astonishingly clever:—

"A mighty mass of brick, and smoke, and shipping,
  Dirty and dusky, but as wide as eye
Could reach, with here and there a sail just skipping
  In sight, then lost amidst the forestry
Of masts; a wilderness of steeples peeping
  On tip-toe through their sea-coal canopy;
A huge, dun cupola, like a foolscap crown
  On a fool's head—and there is London Town."

There are in the poem also splendid gleams of Byronic sentiment,—never weak, though it has occasionally a trace of theatricality in it,—besides some exquisitely pathetic passages, and one of the finest lyrics in the language, the 'Isles of Greece.' It must be added—and one makes the addition with deep regret—that the morality of 'Don Juan' is execrable. On this subject little need be said because there is no room for controversy. "Fielding stooped on carrion," said Charlotte Brontë; and it is one of the saddest facts in the literary history of England, that Byron, incomparably more gifted than Fielding, stooped in his last and greatest poem to cater for that basest literary taste which revels in vice and profanity. It is a gratifying reflection that the press of England has never been so dazzled by the genius of Byron as to veil or extenuate the immorality of this poem. A memorable article appeared in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' while 'Don Juan' was being published, which struck the key-note of public feeling upon this subject. "For impurities"—thus it proceeded—"there might be some possibility of pardon, were they supposed to spring only from the reckless buoyancy of young blood and fiery passions;—for impiety there might at least be pity, were it visible that the misery of the impious soul equalled its darkness;—but for offences such as this, which cannot proceed either from the madness of sudden impulse, or the bewildered agonies of doubt—but which speak the wilful and determined spite of an unrepenting, unsoftened, smiling, sarcastic, joyous sinner—there can be neither pity nor pardon. Our knowledge that it is committed by one of the most powerful intellects our island ever has produced, lends intensity a thousand-fold to the bitterness of our indignation. Every high thought that was ever kindled in our breasts by the muse of Byron—every pure and lofty feeling that ever responded from within us to the sweep of his majestic inspirations—every remembered moment of admiration and enthusiasm is up in arms against him." From this verdict we make no appeal. Justice, however, while scornfully waiving aside all maudlin sympathy and gilded falsehood, enjoins us to have regard to extenuating circumstances. Byron's blood was tainted with the virus of passion raging like fire, and shrewd and sagacious as his particular judgments were, his genius was without question of the kind which is to madness near allied. His temper was soured by his lameness. His up-bringing was in the last degree unfortunate, his mother being a woman of no discretion, who alternately petted and oppressed him. His first love, pure and ardent, was not returned. He was too soon "lord of himself, that heritage of woe," and he never attained that indispensable and priceless element of character, attained by all men of the highest order, a manly and reasonable self-control. Passion, self-will, insatiable vanity got the better of him. "I *will* be read" became at last his motto, and in carrying out this resolution he committed the highest sin which the literary artist, as such, can commit, namely, the degradation of genius to be the slave of vileness. Able as few among mankind have been to wield the spells of beauty and virtue, he deliberately added to these the foul enchantments of vice. For the rebellious, teeth-gnashing humour, pervading alike his poems and his life, there is palliation, but not excuse. Goethe, who pronounced his genius incommensurable, and who surely was not too austere a moralist, declared that, though he really had nothing to complain of in England, he flung out in rage and disgust from English society, and that, in process of time, he would have found the limits of European civilisation too narrow for him. Practical activity in the service of Greece might have had a highly beneficial influence on his mind and character. He died at Missolonghi in April 1824, having, in the preceding January, completed his thirty-sixth year.

At this age Scott had published only one original poem of importance.

Byron must, on the whole, be pronounced the greatest poetical genius—Scott we consider the greatest literary artist—who has appeared in Great Britain since the seventeenth century. Let us believe, amid all the faults, aberrations, perversities of his poetry and his life, that it is the true Byron who speaks to us in the pure and noble, not in the impure and ignoble passages of his works, and that it was the genuine nature of the man which sought a field of exertion in the august struggle of Greece for independence.

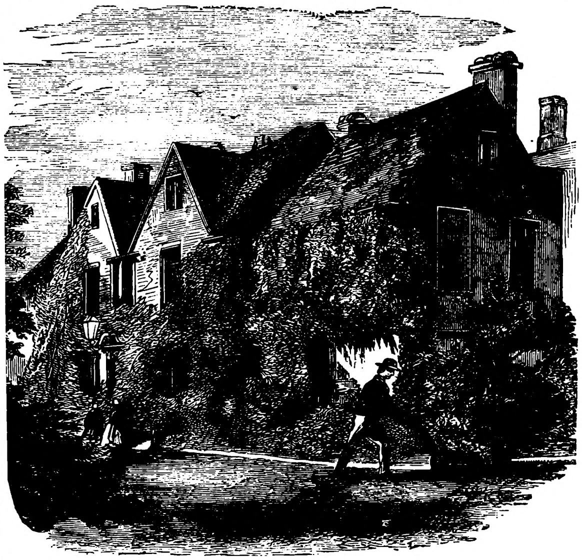


NEWSTEAD ABBEY.

SECTION V.

CRABBE, ROGERS, AND OTHERS.

FOLLOWING the main line of English poetry in its historical development, we have failed to take note of one or two tributary streams which swelled the river. Wordsworth and Coleridge, Scott and Byron, were the main fountain heads of modern English poetry, but Crabbe, Rogers, and one or two others, born before any of these, remain to be mentioned. Crabbe, who lived eight years after the death of Byron, published his first poem in 1781, at which time he was already twenty-seven years old. His most popular poems appeared, however, simultaneously with the earlier poetical romances of Scott, and the enthusiastic fondness for poetry, which at that time possessed the public mind, cannot be better illustrated than by the circumstance that poems so exceedingly different as the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel' by Scott, and the 'Parish Register' by Crabbe, published within two years of each other, were both highly popular. The causes of Scott's popularity are on the surface; those of Crabbe's are not so obvious, but they are such as do at least equal credit to the public taste and discernment.



THE RECTORY AT TROWBRIDGE.

To no poet of any age can the praise which Pope gave himself, "that if he pleased he pleased by manly ways," be more justly awarded than to Crabbe. There is in his works an absence of meretricious or even florid ornament which imparts a character of austerity. It is difficult to imagine their being read merely for pleasure. They are, however, by no means devoid of interest, and few poems in the language are more thoroughly informing and instructive. Crabbe knew with exceeding accuracy the ways and feelings and opinions of the lower middle-class of English society and those of the rural poor. Human nature within a certain range he perfectly comprehended, and never for a moment lost himself in specious falsehood, whether sentimental or romantic. His shortcoming is in the distinctive qualities of poetry. He has little of melody, little of colour, and his finish is rarely exquisite. He builds with Portland stone, substantial, durable edifices, not with jewels and marble, not with "azure and vermilion," nor such aerial palaces as have usually been consecrated to the Muses. He has little creative imagination. What he has seen and known and loved in the scenes of nature or the life of man, he describes broadly and distinctly; but he adds little of his own. He has perhaps less of idealisation than any poet of equal renown. Here is a characteristic sample of Crabbe's work as a descriptive poet. It is a picture of autumn, occurring in his admirable tale, the 'Patron,' and has a fine imaginative appropriateness as marking the time at which the prospects of the hero are wrapped in gloom.

> "Cold grew the foggy morn, the day was brief,
> Loose on the cherry hung the crimson leaf;
> The dew dwelt ever on the herb; the woods
> Roared with strong blasts, with mighty showers the floods:
> All green was vanished, save of pine and yew,
> That still displayed their melancholy hue;
> Save the green holly with its berries red,
> And the green moss that o'er the gravel spread."

The man who wrote this could paint nature to the life. The language, it may be observed, is not only vigorous and clear, but choice, reminding us of the best parts of Cowper. Born on the Suffolk coast, Crabbe had an enthusiasm for the sea as strong as was any feeling in his calm nature. His highest poetical notes, his finest and most picturesque descriptions, are suggested by the sea. He had the eye of a naturalist; his son tells us that he burned a large part of an essay on botany, because some learned fool at one of the Universities told him that a scientific treatise should be written in Latin; and his descriptions have an accuracy which fit them for a place in a scientific manual.

> "Those living jellies which the flesh inflame,
> Fierce as a nettle, and from that the name;
> Some in huge masses, some that you may bring
> In the small compass of a lady's ring;
> Figured by hand Divine there's not a gem
> Wrought by man's art to be compared to them;
> Soft, brilliant, tender, through the wave they glow,
> And make the moon-beam brighter where they flow."

We have not space to quote his noble descriptions of ocean in calm, or when the pageantry of storm,

> "Terrific splendour, gloom in glory drest,"

sweeps along sea and sky. His delineations of human life are always powerful, though the sterner traits are more masterly than the more light and graceful. The range of character is wide; from Phœbe Dawson to Peter Grimes the interval is great. There is a sombre force of imagination in the conception of Peter, and a perfect keeping in the environing circumstances in which the poet places him, which belong to a high order of poetry. The dismal scene of sea-board swamp, where the tide rolls lazily in between mud-banks,—where, in the slimy ooze at ebb, the small eels wriggle and the crabs "scrawled their crooked race,"—where the tuneless gull sailed plaining overhead, and the bittern boomed from the salt ditch,—

> "Where all, presented to the eye or ear,
> Oppressed the soul with misery, grief, and fear,"—

this haggard scene, so photographically true to the reality, befitted the human fiend whose idea of joy was to have "a feeling being subject to his blow." When superstition, armed with terrors by the conscience which becomes extinct in no human breast, adds mysterious dread to the ghastly waste—when Peter, shunned by every neighbour, finds the solitude peopled by the spirits of his victims, and is haunted with the idea that his injured, all but murdered father, long since dead, is his tormentor,—we realise a picture of desolation and remorse darker and more terrible and, we will add, more imaginative, than it would be easy to match in the works of any modern poet.

Besides many occasional pieces, Crabbe published the following important poems; the 'Library,' the 'Village,' the 'Newspaper,' the 'Parish Register,' the 'Hall of Justice,' the 'Borough,' 'Tales in Verse,' and 'Tales of the Hall.' A number of Tales from his pen were published after his death, his fertility in this species of composition having been unbounded. After a blameless and mildly happy life, during a large proportion of which he was a clergyman of the Church of England, he died in 1832, at the age of seventy-eight.

Greatly inferior to Crabbe in power, but his superior in polish, was Samuel Rogers, "the bard, the beau, the banker," as Byron called him in some of the most fiercely satirical lines he ever wrote. As a poet we intuitively apply to Rogers the epithet "elegant," with a feeling that when we have applied it, we have done something like justice to his claims. We may be permitted to doubt whether, if this cultivated and skilful poetical composer had found it necessary to make his way from poverty and social obscurity to distinction, he would have succeeded in the exploit. There was probably a tincture of spite as well as raciest wit in Moore's epigram,—

> "Rogers's Italy, Luttrell relates,
> Had been totally *dished*, were it not for the *plates*;"

but the jest was barbed with at least enough of truth to make it tell. The genius displayed in the plates alluded to—the artist having been Turner—was certainly greater than that which inspired the poem. The social advantages possessed by Rogers as a rich London banker were doubtless favourable to his reputation, critics being but men, and the editors of Reviews and newspapers not being inaccessible to the influence of champagne.

He was, however, a true poet, though not characterised by originality or strength. There is a mild glow of fancy in his poems which does not reach the intensity of imaginative inspiration, but which it would be hard to exclude from the sphere of true poetry. Refined elegance, subdued and chastened beauty, appropriate thoughts in soft expressive diction, characterise his works. They never fill the intellect or thrill the heart,—they never convey the impression of sublimity,—they seem to have been written, not indeed in an arm-chair, but under no profound and irresistible impulse of soul. It were too severe to class the poetry of Rogers with those lays described by Pope, which

> "Neither ebb nor flow,
> Correctly cold and regularly low,
> That, shunning faults, one quiet tenor keep;"

but it is no more than truth to say that Rogers never "gloriously offends," never "rises to faults," which fascinate while they startle, and which make the little critic feel, even while he censures, that the poet is a greater man than he. His principal poems are the 'Pleasures of Memory,' 'Columbus,' 'Human Life,' and 'Italy.' The following brief quotation from the 'Pleasures of Memory' is no inadequate example of his skill in heroic verse:—

> "As the stern grandeur of a Gothic tower
> Awes us less deeply in its morning hour,
> Than when the shades of time serenely fall
> On every broken arch and ivied wall;
> The tender images we love to trace
> Steal from each year a melancholy grace!
> And as the sparks of social love expand,
> As the heart opens in a foreign land;
> And, with a brother's warmth, a brother's smile,
> The stranger greets each native of his isle;
> So scenes of life, when present and confest,
> Stamp but their bolder features on the breast;
> Yet not an image, when remotely viewed,
> However trivial and however rude,
> But wins the heart, and wakes the social sigh,
> With every claim of close affinity."

This is very exquisite alike in thought, feeling, and language. Deservedly famous are the lines 'On a Tear.' It would, in fact, be difficult to select six more delicately finished stanzas from the entire range of our poetic literature.

Rogers was illustrious for the benevolence of his character, as well as the delicacy and firmness of his poetical talents. For about half a century he was the true friend of genius in distress. His position was in many respects enviable. His affluence, his conversational powers, his undisputed excellence—he did ask for pre-eminence—as a poet, secured him the companionship of the most distinguished poets, orators, artists, and public men of his time; nor did the intellectual luxury and seductive ease of such a life paralyse the homelier charities of the heart, or make him other than a true friend and a kind man.

It will be proper to mention here the names of several poets and poetesses who attained, at the close of the last and the commencement of the present century, to considerable reputation, but whose works it is unnecessary for us to notice in detail. The spread of education, and the influence of a few men of commanding genius, occasioned a great deal of poetical composition, much of it of high character, but not striking and original enough to occupy a place of permanent importance in English literature. Our object is to trace the main stream of English poetry, and we purposely devote more attention to writers whose works are still to be classed among living influences, than to others who, though their fame was brilliant in their day, and their works cannot yet be said to be consigned to the literary catacombs, are no longer an influence of power upon young poetic minds. Mrs. Barbauld, though her writings belong chiefly to the eighteenth century, continued to publish poems subsequently to the close of the first decade of the nineteenth. Robert Bloomfield, a sort of unimaginative English Burns, published successful poems so late as 1810. Some of his touches are exceedingly felicitous. We are acquainted with few finer poetical similitudes than the following:—

> "Millions of dewdrops fell, yet millions hung,
> Like words of transport trembling on the tongue
> Too strong for utterance."

And this little etching of a robin, greeting the soldier who has returned to his native cottage, is admirable:—

> "That instant came
> A robin on the threshold; though so tame,
> At first he looked distrustful, almost shy,
> And cast on me his coal-black steadfast eye,
> And seemed to say (past friendship to renew),
> 'Ah ha! old worn-out soldier, is it you?'"

Mrs. Grant of Laggan, Mrs. Charlotte Smith, Miss Blamire, Miss Seward, and Mrs. Opie, with whom may be joined Mrs. Hunter, wife of the famous surgeon John Hunter, and Mrs. Tighe, deserve mention as having afforded pleasure by their poetical works to a large circle of their contemporaries, and as still occasionally read. Though not in any sense a poet, Dr. John Wolcot mustnot be passed over. His witty and satirical verses, appearing about the commencement of this century, may be regarded as in some sense preliminary to the opulent literature of wit which England has possessed in the nineteenth century.

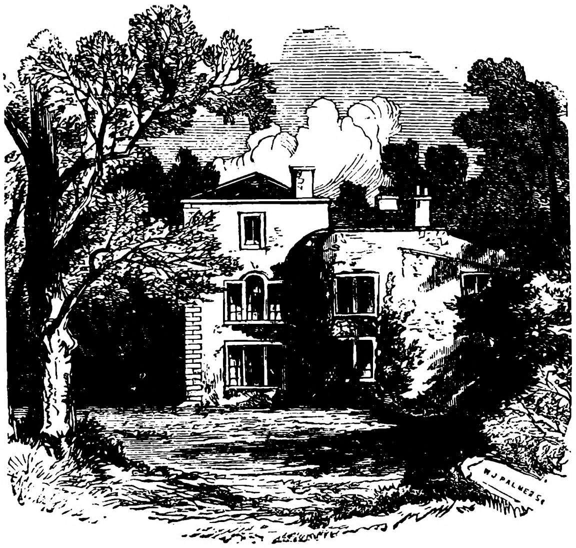
A versifying humorist of a higher order, though in general power he was perhaps not much superior to Wolcot, was the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere. Moving in political circles of distinction, he published, under an elaborate disguise, in 1817, a comic poem, in the stanza which soon after became known to all the world in 'Don Juan.' It purported "to comprise the most interesting particulars relating to King Arthur and his Round Table." Some of the verses appear obviously intended to burlesque Byron's most ambitious style. Here is a stanza which might have been written in travesty of 'Don Juan,' and it is singular to reflect that what seems the travesty was published first:—

> "I've a proposal here from Mr. Murray.
> He offers handsomely—the money down;
> My dear, you might recover from your flurry,
> In a nice airy lodging out of town,
> At Croydon, Epsom, anywhere in Surrey;
> If every stanza brings us in a crown,
> I think that I might venture to bespeak
> A bedroom and front parlour for next week.
> Tell me, my dear Thalia, what you think;
> Your nerves have undergone a sudden shock;
> Your poor dear spirits have begun to sink;
> On Banstead Downs you'd muster a new stock,
> And I'd be sure to keep away from drink,
> And always go to bed by twelve o'clock.
> We'll travel down there in the morning stages;
> Our verses shall go down to distant ages."

Felicitous burlesques are naturally the successors of great poems; but we are not aware that there is a second case in literature in which a great poem was without question suggested by a satiric *jeu d'esprit.*

Along with Wolcot and Frere, though markedly differing from both, we may mention Canning. That eminent statesman obtained a reputation in his youth for brilliantly satirical verses published in the far-famed 'Anti-Jacobin.' To those who, for a quarter of a century, have been accustomed to 'Punch,' the wit of the 'Anti-Jacobin' is for the most part flat enough, but Canning's 'Needy Knife-grinder' and 'Lines by a German Student' have never been surpassed in their kind.

Kirke White, whose fine powers, hardly amounting to genius, would not have rescued his name permanently from obscurity had he not been immortalised in a few noble lines by Byron; Grahame and Leyden, accomplished, elegant, and pleasing poets; Sotheby, great in translation; and Gifford, famed in criticism; all attest the poetic opulence of English literature about the commencement of the nineteenth century, but need not detain us. Stanzas and passages from each of them will probably be remembered so long as the English language is spoken, but we may doubt whether their works will, in any instance, be published in a complete form after the end of the century. Nor shall we enter upon a particular examination of the works of Robert Southey. His greatness, like that of Walter Savage Landor, who also commenced his literary career by publishing poems, was in prose. No doubt, as Macaulay maintains, Southey may have written many worthless prose books, and no one prose masterpiece except his 'Life of Nelson;' but there is exceedingly little of his poetry at which the general reader now looks, and the probability is that, in another fifty years, while all men of information will read his 'Nelson,' and perhaps his 'Wesley,' only the critical student of our literature will dip into his poems. His early epical productions, 'Wat Tyler,' and 'Joan of Arc,' are admitted to have no merit, and his more important works, 'Thalaba,' 'Madoc,' and the 'Curse of Kehama,' create admiration rather than interest. Gorgeousness of imagery and diction, laboured correctness of costume, and an Oriental vagueness and grandeur of conception, characterise these remarkable works. But *non satis est pulchra esse poemata, dulcia sunto;* it is not enough for poems to have beauty—especially if it is an austerely magnificent beauty—they must have sweetness also. When a poet fails to interest his readers, he fails in all. A similar criticism might be applied to the poems of Edwin Atherstone, whose 'Last Days of Herculaneum' and 'Fall of Nineveh' were once widely known, and are now hardly remembered. The verdict of critics seems to have been unanimous that Mr. Atherstone's command of imagery and diction was too much for his powers of thought and invention—that his leaves covered his fruit. That he had great and even splendid powers of description cannot be denied, and it seems likely that if his narrative had been more rapid and animated, and his modulation more delicate, his works would have attained a permanent place in English literature.



GRETA HALL, THE DWELLING OF ROBERT SOUTHEY.

SECTION VI.

SHELLEY AND KEATS.

More ample consideration is due to a poet who, though he died at the age of thirty, and had from his boyhood been in arms against the opinions, institutions, customs, and beliefs of his country, was so original in his whole structure of mind and character, and endowed with genius so strong and so rare, that he must be ranked among the chief of those whose influence has moulded the recent schools of English poetry. We allude to Percy Bysshe Shelley; born at Castle Goring, in Sussex, in 1792; drowned in the Bay of Spezzia in 1822. He says of himself that he was "a phantom among men, companionless;" and this was singularly true, for though Mary Godwin seems to have been to him a sympathising and affectionate, as she was certainly a well-beloved wife, he met with no man of kindred genius to be his friend; he quarrelled early and hopelessly with his parents and family; he rebelled alike against his teachers and his schoolfellows at Eton; he challenged the University authorities at Oxford to a dialectical conflict, in which he was to maintain the terrific iconoclasm of Hume's Essays; and he was declared by the Court of Chancery to be unfit, on account of his atheistic and revolutionary principles, to rear his own children. One might expect, on hearing all this, to find in Shelley a fiercer Byron, a more intemperate, quarrelsome, and backbiting Landor. What we do find is the reverse of all this. Shelley was the gentlest of creatures, with radiant, child-like face, sensitive lips, and great, eloquent, dewy eyes. Tenderness seemed to beam from his features; his fundamental affection was an impassioned love for human kind; his deepest belief was in the perfection of the species, and in the ability of man, if resolutely kind, just, and forgiving, to turn this world into a "happy earth, reality of heaven." Such a man was inevitably a mystery to his contemporaries. To use again his own words, he was "a Love in desolation masked." His sentiments were indeed those of love, but the manner in which he proposed to give them effect was by a desolating decree against all those institutions and instrumentalities by which men have striven to curb unjust strength, and afford a chance to the weak and feeble in this world. Law, religion, the proprieties and ordinances of social morality, may be imperfect, but justice, and purity, and peace, are more or less effectively the aim of them all; and the love, which relying on its own promise of paradise, would sweep them all away, and commit civilisation to the unchained instincts of the race, is indeed "masked in desolation." A monstrous illogicality runs, like a gaping crack down a palace front, through the whole system of Shelley. The mankind of which he sings and speculates is at one and the same moment fiendishly bad and angelically good. The governors, priests, teachers, lawgivers of the race are unspeakably bad; the millions who are governed, and taught, and preached to, are unspeakably good. It is a wonderful and portentous fallacy, dividing the race against itself, and proceeding on the assumption that men could fly if only they would cut off their feet and throw themselves over precipices. Faith, custom, law, are the feet on which men essay to make their pilgrimage. Improve them if you can; but to imagine that, by merely dissolving all the bonds of society, and telling men to gratify their propensities —which is the doctrine of the 'Revolt of Islam'— you will make earth less like hell and more like heaven, is surely the most marvellous of delusions. We may regard it as probable that if Shelley had lived other twenty years, he would have attained to a more robust philosophy. Whether he would ever have become a believer in Christianity, or other than a revolutionary reformer of political institutions, is, indeed, more than doubtful; but he might have come to apprehend the necessary limitations of human effort, the necessary imperfection of all political machinery, and to admit that all kings have not been tyrants, nor all priests knaves or torturers.

Let us not, however, be blind to what may be the deepest significance of the passionate cry of Shelley to mankind to bring the music of heaven into our world, by dispensing with law and custom and faith, and resolving to be kind and good. It is testified of Shelley that he was a zealous, painstaking, indefatigable friend and consoler of the poor. If all men were endowed with his capacity of loving, the perfectibility of the species would be less of a dream, and the proposal to dispense with political institutions not so palpably absurd. It is a notable change in the temper of the age when the most melodious spirits do not seek to express the emotions of the warrior, the sensations of the fray, the fierce narrowness of local patriotism, the false glory of ambition and of conquest, but proclaim with rapt intensity the brotherhood of men and the blessedness of universal concord. "I loved all things with intense devotion," says Shelley through the lips of one of his characters in the 'Revolt of Islam;' and we are constrained to admit that he was conscious of speaking the truth.

That if Shelley had lived twenty or even ten years longer, his poetry might have become nearly as remarkable for vigorous thought and robust sentiment as it already was for melodiousness and beauty, is rendered additionally probable from the character of one of his latest works, the dramatic poem entitled 'The Cenci.' In the dedication of the piece to Leigh Hunt, Shelley expressly announces that he had passed beyond one species of poetic production and was beginning another. "Those writings," he says, "which I have hitherto published have been little else than visions which impersonate my own apprehensions of the beautiful and the just. I can also perceive in them the literary defects incidental to youth and impatience; they are dreams of what ought to be, or may be." In his new work he is "content to paint," with colours furnished by his own heart and imagination, "that which has been." The particular work thus alluded to is universally acknowledged to be one of the greatest of modern dramas. In some qualities of imagination, in intensity of effect, in clear definition of character, in the breathless interest with which the reader is carried on toward the catastrophe, 'The Cenci' is Shakespearian. In some others, such as variety, depth and humour, it falls far below the Shakespearian standard. But, except a few of the dramas of Schiller and Goethe, no modern writing for the stage can vie with it. The subordination of the poetic to the dramatic element throughout the piece reveals consummate literary skill. "In a dramatic composition," says Shelley, in the preface, "the imagery and the passion should interpenetrate one another, the former being reserved simply for the full development and illustration of the latter." To this rule, which constitutes the fundamental critical canon for dramatic composition, the author conforms in every scene of 'The Cenci.' The language, red-hot with passion, gains colour and radiance from its own intensity, but there is no drawing out of long-winded similitudes. The subject of the work is almost too painful for description. According to a manuscript communicated to Shelley during his travels in Italy, one of the noblest and richest families of Rome came to extinction about the end of the sixteenth century, through the inhuman cruelty and diabolical wickedness of its head, Count Cenci. The pope of the period had repeatedly granted immunity to this miscreant "for capital crimes of the most enormous and unspeakable kind, at the price of a hundred thousand crowns." Proceeding from bad to worse, until his state can be described only as that of raging moral insanity, Count Cenci at last conceived an implacable hatred for his own children, and subjected his daughter Beatrice to outrage, compared with the infamy of which death would have been kindness. With none but the accomplice pope to look to on the one hand, and with her demon father on the other, Beatrice sought that relief, for flying to which few tongues, if any, have been found to blame her. Along with her mother-in-law and brother, she conspired against her father, and brought about his death. For this she and they were executed.

This terrible story had that strange attraction which all ghastly and terrible themes had for the gentle-hearted Shelley. He treated it, as we have described, with the power of a great imaginative genius, who could give life and expression to strongly-marked, well-contrasted, subtly-grouped characters. Beatrice Cenci is the principal figure in the piece, and is, without question, one of the noblest conceptions in the whole range of tragedy. Her weak brother, Bernardo, her tender mother-in-law, her false lover—whom, in her dreary lack of human love, she would fain trust in and cling to, but of whom she is compelled to say,

> "You have a sly, equivocating vein
> That suits me not—"

and the diabolical father bring out, by their various defects, virtues, and wickedness, her magnificently strong, yet femininely pure and impassioned character. The tragic effect would have been grander if no attempt had been made by Beatrice to conceal the crime, or to escape death. Thus, assuredly, Schiller would have delineated his heroine. Shelley, however, is perhaps more true to human nature; and Shakespeare and Goethe might have depicted Beatrice substantially as he has done. At the same time it must be admitted that, when we find Beatrice elaborately denying the murder, and exerting all the power of her eloquence to draw from Marzio a false assertion that she and her mother-in-law and brother are innocent, she seems to us to descend from that lofty mood of virtue in which, like an avenging angel smiting a devil that has become unchained upon earth, she had prepared her father's doom. To give us average human nature, when we are dealing with emotions which raise man and woman *above* the average of human nature, is not to be true either to nature or to art.

The principal poems of Shelley besides that we have mentioned are 'Queen Mab,' gorgeous in imagery, and beautiful in language, but crude and juvenile in thought; 'Alastor, or the Spirit of Solitude,' a poem in which metaphysical and shadowy thoughts sweep past in the drapery of cloud-like, but splendid imagery; the 'Revolt of Islam,' a work cast in the epic mould, and having the epic incidents of battle, calamity, national revolution, and ill-fated love wonderful in its power and beauty, but with no better philosophy of government or social progress than that appetite should be indulged and law suspended; and 'Prometheus Unbound,' a lyrical drama, adorned with the richest felicities of genius, in which the poet treats the congenial theme of a mortal defying an unjust god. His shorter poems are very numerous, and some of them, as the 'Sensitive Plant' and 'Adonais,' are among his most exquisitely finished productions. The 'Adonais' is an elegiac poem on Keats, and is, perhaps, the finest poem of its kind in the language. But in none of his works does this great poet more deeply excite our admiration than in those brief strains in which he pours out in unstinted flood the melodious rapture wherewith he was inspired by the imagery and aspects of nature. The 'Cloud' and the 'Skylark' are poems of pure delight, in which Shelley seems to forget for the time all his theories and all his complainings, and to content himself with weaving, into a star-like procession of witching music and gracious splendour, the loveliest sights of nature.

A kindred spirit in many respects with the poet who embalmed his memory in the deathless music of 'Adonais' was John Keats. The sense of beauty was, if possible, more subtly and exquisitely fine in Keats even than in Shelley, but in range of culture and in fervid amplitude of genius the superiority was with Shelley.

John Keats was born in London in 1796, and died in 1820. He died, therefore, in earliest manhood, and for two years before his death he was sinking under disease; but he not only left works imperishable as the language, but exerted an influence upon the poetical literature of his country which has, perhaps, been more penetrating and regulative than that of any other poet of his time. In the poetry of Keats, especially in his later pieces, the 'Eve of St. Agnes,' 'Lamia,' and 'Hyperion,' we have the unmistakable signs of the arrival of a poetic period when perfection of artistic form would obtain supreme attention from poets. It is manifest to the critical reader that it is not upon stirring incident, brilliant metaphor, or play of human interest in character, that Keats depends for effect. It is mainly upon the flawless perfection of the execution. Compared with the work of Scott and Byron, that of Keats is as cabinet painting compared with broad panoramic sketching. It is inevitable that, in such writing, certain qualities and elements of power should be lost. It is impossible to conceive 'Hamlet' or 'Othello,' or 'Macbeth,' or even Scott's battle of Flodden Field in 'Marmion,' or Byron's siege of Ismail in 'Don Juan,' finished throughout with the enamelled delicacy of every line in 'Lamia,' without weakening the general effect. In the highest art the world has yet seen, whether in the Venetian school of painting or in the Shakespearian drama, the manner of execution is broad. As Mr. Ruskin says, the greatest artists "reap and thresh in the sheaf, never pluck ears to rub in the hand; fish with net, not line, and sweep their prey together within great cords of errorless curve." They intuitively have their eyes on the main effect, and the audience they address is not a clique or coterie, not a synod of small, conceited critics, but the general world of intelligent, unsophisticated men. There may come a time when the poetry of Keats will be read with pleasure by the general reading public, but it admits not of dispute that those who have enjoyed his poems, though fit, are few, and that their fitness is commonly the result of high culture, and much acquaintance with poetry. In short, they are those who have become so familiar with the sensational machinery of poetry, and with the artifices of the versifying rhetorician, as to regard them with something like contempt. These derive pleasure from perfection of literary form, and are prepared to value it for its own sake. The poetry of Keats awakens their highest enthusiasm. It is a feast of pure abstract beauty. In 'Hyperion,' which is his greatest work, and is certainly more epic than anything which has been written in the English language since the time of Milton, there is a massiveness which, though the finish is elaborate, seems to indicate that he was tending to more breadth of style; but both the 'Eve of St. Agnes' and 'Lamia' are executed with a lingering carefulness of touch, an absolute filling in of every detail, which reminds us of the manner, in a kindred art, of Meissonnier or John Lewis.

'Lamia' may be pronounced an imaginative *tour de force*. The subject, as suggested by ancient fable, is faint and filmy, and what there is of it seems to offer little by way of attraction to the poet. A Greek youth falls in love with a beautiful woman, whom the philosopher Apollonius detects to be a serpent, and forces to vanish by the glance of his eye. The more there was to fill out imaginatively in such a subject, the more, apparently, did it please the genius of Keats. His imagination did all; not merely imagined palaces, but led us into their halls and corridors, described to us their every adornment, showed us the tapestry on the walls, and the very twinkling of the lamps. That such work should have been executed without any pre-Raphaelite stiffness or quaintness, is one of the miracles of literature.

In writing a history of recent English literature, it would not be right to omit reference to that cause to which the early death of Keats has commonly been imputed. As Byron put it, he "was killed off by one critique." The surprise expressed by the lordly poet in the succeeding lines,

> "'Tis strange the soul, that very fiery particle,
> Should let itself be snuffed out by an article,"

has been so generally shared in by the public, that a strong disposition has been recently manifested to deny that the death of Keats was connected with the critical condemnation of his first poem by the 'Quarterly Review.' Admirers of poetry—worshippers of genius—shrink from admitting that such power could be possessed by a prosaic reviewer. The compliment paid to criticism, nay, to blind unsympathising criticism, by such a supposition seemed unreasonably high. But the potency of clever, satirical criticism to shut the gates of public sympathy and appreciation upon a poet cannot be denied. There is no doubt, for example, that the criticising barrister, Francis Jeffrey, was able by one essay to close the public ear for twenty years against the strains of Wordsworth, a poet now universally acknowledged to have been one of the greatest of modern times. The 'Endymion' of Keats, which was the subject of the Quarterly's unfavourable critique, is without question defective. It is a maze of beauty, over-floated by an atmosphere of dreamy enchantment; and it wants, as none knew better than Keats when he wrote 'Hyperion,' the coherent interest, unity and rationality of a good poem. But the critic, while stating all this, ought to have cheered the young poet by recognising that his possession of genius was indubitable, and that his imaginative opulence was sufficient, if well applied, to enable him to produce poetry of consummate excellence. Had the physical constitution of Keats been ordinarily strong, the probability is that the censure of the Quarterly would have had no farther effect than to stimulate him to new efforts. He had, however, a strong natural predisposition to consumption; and there can, we think, be no reasonable doubt that the excitement occasioned by the unfavourable article tended to hasten the ripening of seeds of disease which might have lain dormant in his frame for a longer period. The rupture of a blood-vessel in his lungs brought the malady to a crisis, and removal to the climate of Italy, though it protracted, did not avail to save his life. Mrs. Barrett Browning, in 'Aurora Leigh,' says of Keats that he was

> " the man who never stepped
> In gradual progress like another man,
> But, turning grandly on his central self,
> Ensphered himself in twenty perfect years
> And died, not young—(the life of a long life,
> Distilled to a mere drop, falling like a tear
> Upon the world's cold cheek, to make it burn
> For ever).

This is true enough for poetical purposes, but the fact is that the latest work of Keats shows a distinct advance upon his earliest, and it is not impossible that the critique which wounded him so deeply had some effect of a beneficial character in pruning the luxuriance of his first manner. Be this as it may, our most recent poets have been content to discipline and mature their faculty by study of the poems of Keats. His place is not at all among young poets, but among the masters and sovereigns in the art.

SECTION VII.

CAMPBELL, MOORE, AND HOGG.

SHELLEY and Keats belong exclusively to the modern time; the one by his impassioned and universal philanthropy, the other by his high-wrought perfection of literary form. But we have still to mention a poet who, for the manly simplicity of his thoughts, and the classical correctness of his manner, might have belonged to any time, and would assuredly have been, in any time, illustrious. We refer to Thomas Campbell, one of the most graceful poetical narrators of his time, and one of the few great lyric poets of English literature. The high honour of his birth belongs to Glasgow, where he was born on the 27th of July, 1777. He received a careful education, and distinguished himself in classics at the University of his native town. The elegance and fire of his translations from Greek poetry attracted the attention of Professor Young, who, we are told, in awarding him a prize for a poetical translation from Aristophanes, pronounced it to be "the best exercise which had ever been given in by any student of the University." He is one of the very few poets who have attained to excellence after gaining distinction by college verses. At the age of twenty-two, he published the 'Pleasures of Hope.' His popularity was established by this poem. It appeared in the last year but one of the eighteenth century, and amid all the changes of poetical taste and fashion which have occurred since then, it has continued a favourite. Few lines in the language have been oftener quoted than those with which the poem opens.

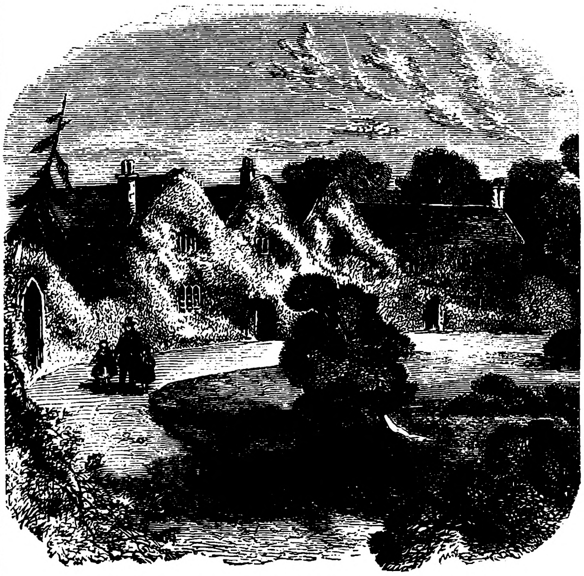
> "At summer's eve, when heaven's ethereal bow
> Spans with bright arch the glittering hills below,

Why to yon mountain turns the musing eye,
Whose sunbright summit mingles with the sky?
Why do those cliffs of shadowy tint appear
More sweet than all the landscape smiling near?
'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,
And robes the mountain in its azure hue."

In the 'Pleasures of Hope' Campbell is more varied, animated, and interesting than Rogers in the 'Pleasures of Memory.' It is indeed the best poem of its kind in the language. With all its merits, however, it will be read with a feeling akin to impatience in the present generation. The heroic verse, though the best, perhaps, that has been produced in Pope's style since Pope's death, strikes the modern ear, which refuses to tolerate uniformity of cadence, as befitting an academic exercise or prose poem rather than as expressing a genuine poetical inspiration. For our own part, we have no hesitation in pronouncing it a work of true genius, replete with poetry.

In 'Gertrude of Wyoming,' a narrative poem in three parts, the whole not so long as one of the longest cantos of 'Don Juan,' Campbell is generally regarded as having exhibited more mature poetic power than in the 'Pleasures of Hope.' We are not disposed to dispute the position, but we can believe it possible that the later poem may be forgotten long before the earlier ceases to be known to readers of English poetry. Our literature is rich in poetical tales and romances, and Campbell's characteristic power lay in lyric reflectiveness, not in inventing plot or constructing narrative. It was in his patriotic songs, and in such war-lyrics as 'Hohenlinden,' that his genius achieved its most illustrious triumphs. These are alone in the literature of England; there is literally nothing that will compare with them. It is a proud, though somewhat strange honour to belong to Scotland, that she should have given birth to the poet who sang of the 'Battle of the Baltic,' and the 'Mariners of England.' The lines on the battle of Hohenlinden are of the very brightest order of descriptive lyric poetry. When we say that the patriotic lyrics of Campbell have no counterparts in the literature of England, we must not be held to include the patriotic literature of Scotland. Bruce's 'Address to his Army before the Battle of Bannockburn,' by Burns, is worthy to be compared with Campbell's best poems of this class. Perhaps, also, we should say that a lyric or two of very recent date, such as Tennyson's 'Charge of the Light Brigade,' may be held to vie with those of Campbell. The 'Burial of Sir John Moore,' contributed anonymously to an Irish paper, by the Rev. Charles Wolfe, occurs to the mind in connection with Campbell's patriotic lyrics. Shelley thought the lines were probably by Campbell, without his finishing touches. They possess supreme excellence. Many of Campbell's short pieces are striking. There is a combination of ghastliness and sublimity in his 'Last Man,' which has by many been thought impressive; 'Lord Ullin's Daughter' is picturesque and pathetic, and may be compared with the best ballads of Schiller; but generally Campbell's short pieces are defective, and will probably slip gradually out of editions of his works. He seems to have been a man of slight or at least of unsustained literary ambition. He devoted himself to a variety of works in prose, and by no means made it the grand object of his life to add to his poetical reputation.

In a period when "the light that never was on sea or shore" fell so richly upon England and Scotland, Ireland was not unvisited by poetic genius. Thomas Moore, born in Dublin in 1780, though his mind lacked those massive powers, that high-strung energy and earnestness, which are necessary to consummate success in poetry, yields the palm in brilliancy and lightness of touch to no poet that has used the English language. There is, doubtless, an unfathomed depth of melody, and pathos, and imaginative passion, in the Irish nature, of which we have no suggestion in the poetry of Moore. But the vivacity and tenderness, and eloquent fancifulness of Irish genius are admirably represented in the 'Irish Melodies,' and 'Lalla Rookh.'



SLOPERTON, THE COTTAGE OF THOMAS MOORE.

Versatile brilliancy was the characteristic of Moore's mind, and he shone as a sparkling satirist and composer of convivial madrigals, not less than in more ambitious efforts. To strike off a few lines, with neither too much nor too little meaning, and felicitous in sound, to fit a musical air, was an exercise in which he specially excelled.

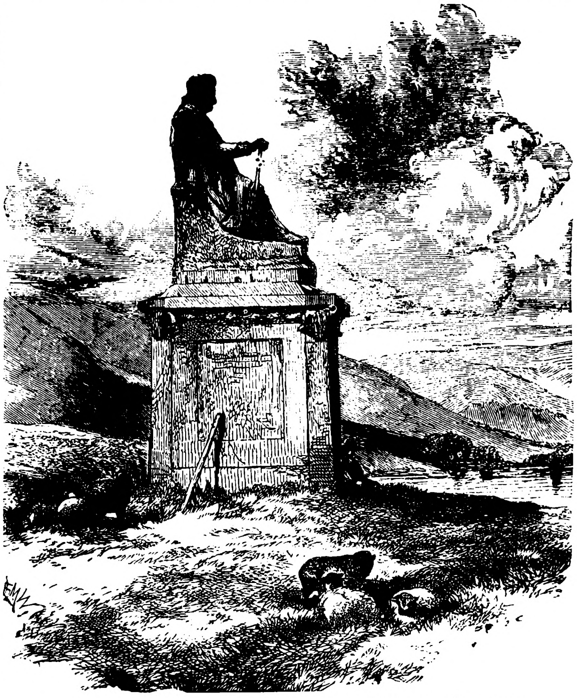
Moore's most important poem is 'Lalla Rookh,' and it is of its kind a masterpiece. In no poem in our language has the light glancing brilliancy of Oriental romance, as represented in the 'Arabian Night's Entertainments,' been so successfully imitated. The metaphoric wealth of the poem is unbounded, and in the prose passages which so pleasantly diversify the interest and carry on the narrative, there is the same profusion of fancy's flowers as in the verse. The plan of the poem is exceedingly simple, but ingenious and happy. A marriage having been arranged between Lalla Rookh, the daughter of Aurungzebe, and the young king of Bucharia, the former, accompanied by

Fadladeen, great chamberlain of the harem, and a superb cavalcade of attendants, sets out from Delhi, her father's capital, to journey towards Cashmere, where the marriage is to be celebrated. Among the attendants sent forward by the king to entertain the princess on the way is a young poet, Feramorz. The versified portions of the work consists of the tales recited by this poet in the pauses of the journey, and the interposed passages in prose are mainly occupied with the critical remarks of Fadladeen upon his performances. The princess and Feramorz fall in love, the latter being the young king of Bucharia, who, more prudently romantic than King Arthur, had resolved to be, in disguise, his own Lancelot. Fadladeen is too blind to all but his own importance to have any suspicion of the state of the case, and administers to the princess and her attendants soporific doses of pompous harangue, by way of criticising the minstrel's verses. An opportunity, of which none knew how to avail himself better than Moore, is thus afforded for satirising critical pedantry. Fadladeen, a type of the supremely respectable knave, but by no means a fool, enables Moore also to suggest the mood of sportive and tender gaiety in which the poem is conceived. Jeffrey remarked that Fadladeen's criticisms are undeniably pertinent, and Moore doubtless intended that the reader should thus get a hint that the author was not too earnest about his work, but meant it to be, to a considerable extent, a mere fountain-play of Oriental splendour. "And this," exclaims the great chamberlain, "is poetry! this flimsy manufacture of the brain, which in comparison with the lofty and durable monuments of genius, is as the gold filigree-work of Zamara beside the eternal architecture of Egypt." No critic has ever described the characteristic poetry of Moore in language more felicitously correct. The effect of this pretentious criticism upon the ladies, who had been delighted by the poet and sent to sleep by his reviewer, is described with admirable irony. "The ladies began to suspect that they ought not to be pleased." Too great satisfaction, they feared, would show defective culture, and betray a commonplace state of mind. We need scarce say that, when the rhyming Lancelot turns out to be Arthur himself, the sublime critic attains new light on the subject of his majesty's poetry. "He was seized with an admiration of the king's verses as unbounded as, he begged him to believe, it was disinterested; and the following week saw him in possession of an additional place, swearing by all the saints of Islam that never had there existed so great a poet as the monarch." Moore tells us that he was engaged for about four years in the composition of 'Lalla Rookh.' "I have been," he says, "at all times a far more slow and painstaking workman than would ever be guessed;" and it is not less instructive than interesting to know that it was by careful and accurate reading that the poet amassed the imagery which glitters on the poem, and that he wrote hundreds of tentative verses subsequently rejected. In fact, it appears that perhaps the most brilliantly flowing and lavishly ornamented poem in the English language was the result of laborious study and unshrinking pains.

> "True ease in writing comes from art, not chance,
> As those move easiest who have learn'd to dance."

At the time when he produced 'Lalla Rookh,' Moore's reputation was so high that Messrs. Longmans consented to pay three thousand guineas for the poem without having seen it. Nor has it ever been alleged that they repented of their bargain. Moore published an immense number of poetical pieces. The collected edition, issued by Messrs. Longmans in 1859, contains upwards of seven hundred closely printed pages. But except 'Lalla Rookh,' and a few of his patriotic and convivial songs, it is improbable that any of them will have a permanent place in English literature.

At the time when Walter Scott was beginning to be known as a vigorous translator from the German, and an enthusiastic admirer of old ballad poetry, a border shepherd, who had been about half a year at school, and had herded sheep from his childhood, printed some songs on hand-leaves, and listened with ecstatic delight in the crowd while they were chanted by street singers in Edinburgh. This was James Hogg, a man who, though his work is strikingly unequal, and an immense proportion of what he wrote is already stone-dead, may be declared to have possessed genius with almost as much confidence as any poet that ever lived. Had he begun to write after Scott's success in romantic poetry, he might have been pronounced little more than a successful imitator. But he published a small poetical volume so early as the first year in this century, and though there can be no doubt that he was greatly influenced by Scott, the original fountain of his inspiration must be admitted to have



THE MONUMENT OF JAMES HOGG, AT ST MARY'S LOCH.

been in his own breast. His finest imitations of the ballad poetry are in some respects superior even to those of Scott. They are not so highly idealised, and though they may be inferior as poetry, they have a racy humour, more closely akin to the rude laughter-loving spirit of the old minstrels. The 'Witch of Fife' in the 'Queen's Wake' is much nearer what an old border bard, the idol of the country-side, for whom the warmest corner at the farmer's ingle was reserved, would have produced, than the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel.' The incredulity of the witch's "auld guidman," when she announced that she and her weird sisters had been washed with magical dew, so that their beauty bloomed like the Lapland rose,—

> "Ye lee, ye lee, ye ill woman
> Sae loud as I hear ye lee,
> For the warst-faured wife in the land o' Fife
> Is comely compared wi' thee,——"

is a trait which would have made the fame and fortune of a border ballad-singer. Hogg, however, as well as Scott, idealised the old ballads; and he had an ear for picturesque language, an eye for rural imagery, a knowledge of border scenery and legend, all his own. Any general rivalry between him and Scott was indeed out of the question, and the worthy shepherd paid himself a ridiculous compliment when he said in the 'Queen's Wake' that Scott had "tried to wile" his harp "away." He was as inferior to Scott in general capacity as he was to Burns in fervency of passion and concentrated energy of thought. Of the estimation in which Hogg was at one time held by his contemporaries we have a striking testimony in Shelley's 'Adonais,' where he is described as

> "The pilgrim of Eternity, whose fame
> Over his living head like heaven is bent,
> An early but enduring monument."

The 'Pilgrims of the Sun,' to which the allusion evidently is made, has already few readers if any, and the new generation of poetical students have for the most part never heard of 'Mador of the Moor,' the 'Poetic Mirror,' 'Queen Hynde,' or the 'Hunting of Badlewe,' all which works seem to have found readers in that verse-loving time. The 'Queen's Wake,' which consists of a number of metrical tales strung on a thread of graceful narrative, is his only poem of considerable size which is likely to live. Of the particular tales 'Kilmeny' has been most admired. It is the story of a maiden "pure as pure could be," who on account of her loveliness and innocence is wafted away to Fairyland, and returns to tell her experiences.

Hogg was a man of rough, somewhat reckless manners, and wanted "steady-pulling diligence" and discretion in managing his affairs. He repeatedly tried farming, and always failed; and in Edinburgh, though his genius was acknowledged, his personal eccentricities made him almost an object of laughter. Professor Wilson was thus able to take liberties with him in the 'Noctes Ambrosianæ.' His lack of personal dignity might have been of slight importance if it had not, as appears, been connected with a general laxity of feeling as to the responsibility attaching to the pursuit of literature, an incapacity to realise that devotion to the Muses demands a steadfast elevation of purpose and an earnestness akin to that of religion. We are not informed whether Hogg gave the severe toil to the 'Queen's Wake' which Moore devoted to his masterpiece; but the poem seems to bear witness that this was the case; and at all events it is true that, as 'Lalla Rookh,' and a few songs are all that will survive of the voluminous poetry of Moore, so the 'Queen's Wake' and a few songs are all that will survive of the equally voluminous poetry of the Ettrick Shepherd.

SECTION VIII.

HUNT, HEBER, POLLOK, AND OTHERS.

Space would fail us if we attempted to criticise even in the most cursory way the multitudinous poetical pieces which enriched our literature in the earlier part of this century. The accomplishment of verse had now become widely diffused, and many whose poetical capacity cannot be held to have fallen short of genius were thrown into the shade by the splendid achievements of those great poets who shed a lustre over English poetry such as it had not exhibited since the seventeenth century. We must content ourselves with referring, almost in a single sentence, to a number of writers, who, in the days of Hayley, would have drawn upon themselves the admiring attention of the nation, but who, in the days of Byron, Wordsworth, and Shelley, ranked only as minor poets. It was, indeed, before the commencement of the century that Landor, whose place is among prose writers, published a few strongly original, but rugged and unmelodious poems, the chief of them 'Gebir;' that M. G. Lewis attained a reputation in poetry which enabled him to patronise Scott, by whose dawn his sepulchral taper was so soon and so summarily extinguished; and that Bowles became eminent as a sonnetteer. Leigh Hunt was the friend of Shelley, and acquainted with Byron, but seems to have felt, with just self-estimate, that his poetical faculty, genuine as it was, ought to be held in abeyance in the presence of these masters. His 'Story of Rimini' is a graceful and melodious tale in verse, leaving the impression of a landscape bathed in mellow but somewhat slumbrous radiance. The Hon. W. R. Spencer deserves to be remembered, were it only for his touching and beautiful ballad, 'Beth Gelert.' John Wilson, the 'Christopher North' of 'Blackwood's Magazine,' distinguished himself in youth by a command of splendid and ringing diction, unequalled, perhaps, by that of any poet of the time. The highest expectations were formed of him. Scott, whose tendency was to overrate others and to underrate himself, has left it on record that he held Wilson to be capable of taking his place as the first man of his time. But though some of Wilson's shorter pieces, such as the lines addressed to a Red Deer, are full of spirit and beauty, and there are striking and splendid passages in his larger poems, yet these last are, on the whole, failures. There is in them a fatiguing glare, an oppressive *copia verborum*, a want of repose, of shade, of perspective. It is in Wilson's prose that his best poetry occurs. The vein is intermittent, wayward, changeful; now welling out, fountain-like, in crystal clearness and soft rhythmic melody, now turbid and unmusical, now lingering or stagnating into actual dulness. No writer is so strangely unequal as Wilson. His substitution of mawkishness for pathos, of horse-play for humour, is so frequent that his popularity has already perceptibly waned; but not the less is it true that in occasional swells and cadences of his prose, and in stray wafts of melody in his verse, there is a finer essence of poetry, a more tenderly intense feeling of the pensive, plaintive, witching loveliness of Scotland's broomy braes, and wimpling brooks, and blooming heather, than you will find either in Scott or in Burns.

Among the sweet singers of this opulent time an honoured place must always be found for Bishop Heber. His hymns and lyrical narratives seem the natural, self-reflecting effusions of a beautiful, musical, nobly-toned nature. Thackeray quotes with warm admiration those exquisite lines which he wrote to his wife from his Indian bishopric.

"If thou, my love, wert by my side, my babies at my knee,
How gladly would our pinnace glide o'er Gunga's mimic sea!
I miss thee at the dawning grey, when on our deck reclined,
In careless ease my limbs I lay, and woo the cooler wind.
I miss thee when by Gunga's stream my twilight steps I guide;
But most beneath the lamp's pale beam I miss thee by my side.

I spread my books, my pencil try, the lingering room to cheer:
But miss thy kind approving eye, thy meek attentive ear.
But when of morn and eve the stars behold me on my knee,
I feel, though thou art distant far, thy prayers ascend for me."

"The charming poet," says Thackeray, "the happy possessor of all sorts of gifts and accomplishments, birth, wit, fame, high character, competence—he was the beloved parish priest in his own home of Hodnet, 'counselling his people in their troubles, advising them in their difficulties, comforting them in distress, kneeling often at their sick-beds at the hazard of his own life."

A man of more remarkable genius than Heber, though his powers never attained maturity, was Robert Pollok, the author of the 'Course of Time.' He was hardly twenty-eight at the time of his death, and his energies had for years previously been depressed by pulmonary disease. His poem is defective in many respects. The rhythm has a character between tumidity and harshness, alien to true melody. The intellectual system of the poem is too rigidly puritanic. Certain parts of its imagery, as the figurative presentation of the worm that never dies, though imaginative, are repulsive. But the sustained power which carried the poet through the ten books of the work attested a wonderfully gifted mind, and even when his wealth of words seems at first glance to be a wealth of words only, we shall find, if we look, that there are ingots of sterling gold in the glittering mass. Here is a passage which may well strike us as turgid, but when we examine it we discover that each new clause is not a mere daub of random paint, but a real addition to the colour of the picture.

"Pleasant were many scenes, but most to me
The solitude of vast extent, untouched
By hand of art, where nature sowed herself,
And reaped her crops; whose garments were the clouds;
Whose minstrels brooks; whose lamps the moon and stars;
Whose organ-choir the voice of many waters;
Whose banquets morning dews; whose heroes storms;
Whose warriors mighty winds; whose lovers flowers;
Whose orators the thunderbolts of God;
Whose palaces the everlasting hills;
Whose ceiling Heaven's unfathomable blue;
And from whose rocky turrets, battled high,
Prospect immense spread out on all sides round,
Lost now beneath the welkin and the main,
Now walled with hills that slept above the storm."

This idea has been reproduced more than once since Pollok wrote the lines. Mr. Carlyle's "Dome of Immensity, coped with the star galaxies, paved with the green mosaic of land and ocean, and for altar, verily, the Star-throne of the Eternal," is essentially the same picture as Pollok's, given in brief touches of telling splendour. But Mr. Carlyle wrote in his prime, Pollok almost in boyhood; and surely the youthful author of those lines had not his ordinary imagination.

James and Robert Montgomery, though they wrote on different subjects and in pointedly diverse manners, may, on account of the similarity of their names, be taken together. Neither of them was, perhaps, in the strict sense, a man of genius; both were men of fine parts and excellent culture. Some of James Montgomery's shorter pieces take high rank among the religious poetry of the period. Robert Montgomery underwent the serious misfortune of being overrated and puffed, and of thus drawing upon himself the critical lash of Macaulay. There is not in the language a more brilliantly caustic piece of writing than his lordship's review of Robert Montgomery's poems. It can hardly be doubted that the critic was too severe in his censure of Mr. Montgomery; but a real and important service to English literature was rendered by Macaulay's withering exposure of the arts of literary puffing.

James and Horace Smith, the authors of the world-famous 'Rejected Addresses,' deserve mention even in a brief summary of England's literary history in recent times. Born in London in the latter part of last century, the brothers played, in the words of James, "no unnoticed part" in the society of the metropolis. There is something that smacks characteristically of London in their writings —a gay good-humour, an easy, practical, manful philosophy, a perpetual cleverness, an absence of earnestness in any mood. They never rise far above, they never sink below, the level of feeling tolerated in polite, brilliant, worldly society. The suggestion occurs at times to the reader that there were richer veins of feeling and of power in the Smiths than ever became visible; and James, in the stanza in which he playfully, yet not without pathos, glances at his past life when it is drawing near its close, seems to betray a half-consciousness that he had given too much to society and too little to mankind, himself and fame.

"World, in thy ever busy mart,
I've acted no unnoticed part,
Would I re-live it? Oh no!

> Four acts are done, the jest grows stale;
> The waning lamps burn dim and pale,
> And reason asks,—*Cui bono?*"

In the literature of pure parody there probably does not exist a more felicitous performance than the 'Rejected Addresses.' The managers of Drury Lane Theatre offered a prize for the best copy of verses to be spoken on the occasion of re-opening the house after its being burnt down. James and Horace Smith took the hint, and in six weeks were ready with a volume of what professed to be the verses of the unsuccessful candidates. All the eminent poets of the day, and some who were not eminent, together with a prose-writer or two, were burlesqued in a manner which leaves us at a loss which most to admire, the play of wit or the perfect good temper which pervaded the whole. Men of the least vulgarity, or with any trace of acrid and envious vanity, would have lapsed here and there into rudeness, or into arrogance, or into cruelty; but there is not one of these things in this most genial of parodies. Nice appreciation of the particular characteristic which is selected for parody in each writer, and just enough of caricature to render this characteristic intensely visible to every reader of the author in question, combine to render the 'Rejected Addresses' a faultless model of burlesque. We would not undertake to decide whether the contributions of James Smith, or those of Horace, are the better; nor could we say which single piece is, on the whole, the best. The caricature is perhaps a little stronger in the parody of Crabbe than in most of the pieces, and without question Crabbe was never in his own person half so witty as he is in the 'Rejected Addresses.'

John Clare, though he is now seldom heard of, will continue a favourite with those who love to wander in the less-frequented haunts of the Muse, and who can dispense with the burning tints of passion if they are only permitted to have fresh glimpses of nature in the visionary light cast on it by a poet's eye. Such abound in the poems of John Clare. His glance is so searching that he sees the "tiny nameless things" which "climb the grass's spiry tops," before spreading their "gauzy wings" for aerial voyaging. His description of a thrush's nest might figure in a manual of natural history, and yet it is truly poetical. Keen sympathy with life and general intellectual strength are the qualities in which his poetry falls short, and it seems to have been with the man as with the poet. Misfortune unsettled his mind, and after emerging from happy obscurity as a Northamptonshire peasant, meeting with kindness and assistance, and then becoming engaged in unsuccessful attempts at farming, he sank into the melancholy obscurity of a lunatic asylum. Barnard Barton was, in compass and vigour of mind, probably on much the same level as John Clare, but his nature was less melodious. It was in the same year, 1820, that both Clare and Barton made their appeal to the public. There is not the same genuine country feeling in Barton's verses as in Clare's, and we detect in him a trace of bookish imitation, from which the eye-to-eye acquaintance of Clare with the commoner aspects of English nature kept him free. A more brilliant and fertile genius than either was Bryan W. Proctor, better known as Barry Cornwall. His descriptions are full of animation; and he rises into strains which, if not in the strictest sense poetical, are splendidly eloquent. The Rev. H. H. Milman, and the Rev. G. Croly, may go together as highly gifted writers, men of great force and spirit, of varied accomplishment, but not possessed of creative imagination. That they should write in verse was not a necessity of the overflowing poetical fountains of their own nature, but the accidental suggestion of a time when the reputation of Scott, Byron, and other leading poets, attracted all literary aspirants to the field in which these had won their laurels. Ebenezer Elliott, contrasted at every point with these poetical divines, came nearer than any uneducated English poet has come, though the interval still remains immense, to the intensity and fervour of Burns. In fact, if we might borrow an illustration from quite another province, we should say that the writing of Elliott frequently suggests a cross between that of Burns and that of Crabbe. The following lines on Jem the poacher,

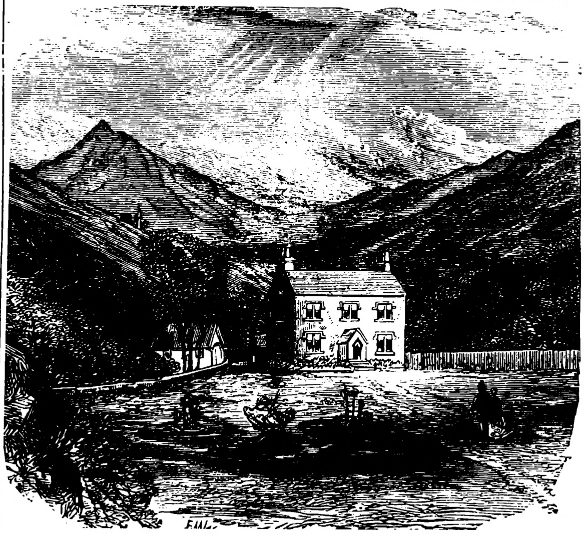
> "He reads not, writes not, thinks not; scarcely feels;
> Steals all he gets; serves Hell with all he steals!"

are thoroughly in the manner of Crabbe. Jem's "unpaidish sneer" is more in the manner of Burns, as well as the wonderfully graphic and onomatopoetic words, descriptive of the grinder's wheel at work, "the cold steel screams in hissing fire." Elliott was a keen politician and vehement advocate of the repeal of the Corn Laws, and many of his most spirited pieces will doubtless share the oblivion common to political poetry, but his name can hardly fail to survive for several generations. Thomas Pringle would certainly have attained high reputation in an age less rich in political genius. His African sketches are replete with beauties, and faultless in all respects of feeling. There can, we think, be little doubt that he exerted a powerful influence upon both the German Freiligrath and the English Browning. And the pathetic emotion of the exile leaving his native land has perhaps never been expressed with more simple and exquisite melodiousness than in the farewell verses to Scotland which occur in Pringle's poem, 'The Emigrants.'

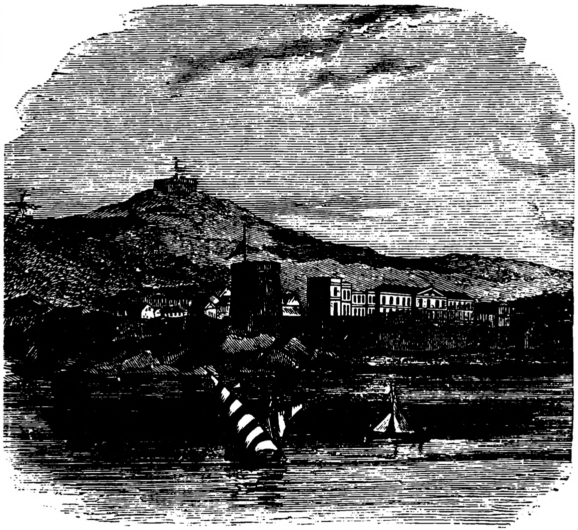
> "Our native land, our native vale,
> A long, a last adieu,
> Farewell to bonny Teviotdale,
> And Cheviot mountains blue.
> The battle mound, the Border tower,
> That Scotia's annals tell;
> The martyr's grave, the lover's bower,
> To each, to all, farewell!"

Mention may be made here of the highly successful pieces in the ballad style, published by Lord Macaulay and Professor Aytoun. Acting on Niebuhr's hint that the early history of Rome consists of mere gatherings from ancient metrical tales and ballads, Macaulay selected a few of the most striking incidents of the previously-received history of Rome, and related them in verse of singular animation and brilliancy. Critics have denied the 'Lays of Rome' any high poetic merit; but high poetic merit would have been inappropriate under the circumstances. Profound and complicated melody does not suit martial music, and Macaulay's ballads are essentially camp songs or watchfire tales. As such, they are, we think, unrivalled. Lockhart's spirited translations from the Spanish perhaps come nearest to them, but Lockhart does not reach the mingled glow, and picturesqueness, and panoramic splendour of Macaulay. Professor Aytoun's 'Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers' are by no means equal to Macaulay's 'Lays of Rome,' but they are characterised by great force, and by an eminently clear, terse, and ringing diction. Of Professor Aytoun, to whom we shall not have occasion to return, it may be well to say at once that his genius, which was real, lay in humour. His 'Raid of the Phairshon' will outlive all his other performances, and will be valued as long as thoroughly good fun evokes a hearty laugh. John Sterling, Hartley Coleridge, W. M. Milnes, now Lord Houghton, D. M. Moir, the 'Delta' of 'Blackwood's Magazine,' Dr. Charles Mackay, William Knox, John Malcolm, W. Herbert, and several others might be mentioned, who wrote clever and sparkling verse, and who, if our country had been less opulent in poetical genius, would each and all have attained eminent distinction. One masterpiece, already mentioned, secured for the Rev. Charles Wolfe immortal renown. We allude to the 'Burial of Sir John Moore.' In eight stanzas, of four lines apiece, modelled closely on the account published in the papers of the death of the brave but unfortunate Moore, young Wolfe—for he seems to have been about twenty when the poem was written—produced one of the finest pieces of lyrical narrative in the English language. In simplicity, brevity, severe imaginative harmony, it accords with the canons of the highest literary art. Every touch is decisive and sufficient—the struggling moonbeam falling at dead of night on the company of soldiers, as they turn with their bayonets the sod under which their leader is to lie; the martial cloak wound round the warrior; the steadfast gaze of the soldiers upon the dead face of him who would no more lead them in battle; the random shot fired in the distance by the sullen and defeated foe. Wolfe became a curate in the Established Church of Ireland, and died in early manhood. His other pieces exhibit true poetical feeling, but their interest depends chiefly on their being by the author of his one immortal poem.

Several gifted women, of whom we mention two, add lustre to this section of our literary annals. Felicia Dorothea Browne, better known as Mrs. Hemans, appeared as an authoress at the premature age of fifteen. At nineteen a second volume, entitled 'The Domestic Affections and other Poems,' was offered by her to the world. A sparkling diction, an unlimited flow of fancy, a clear and spirited method of narration, a fine fervour of emotion, rendered her productions popular, but perhaps implied a likelihood that the more austere graces of imagination would be wanting. She was the successful competitor for several prizes publicly offered for poems. A prize (50*l.*) poem on the Scottish Wallace was the work of the young English lady. Her poem on Dartmoor was pronounced best by the Royal Society of Literature. The facility of versification and command of stock imagery indicated by success in prize-poetry is generally fatal to the development of high poetical power. Many of Mrs. Hemans' pieces, however, are distinguished by great beauty and sweetness; and it is difficult to believe that poems so lovely in sentiment and expression as 'The Homes of England,' and 'The Graves of a Household,' will be allowed to perish. With less of sweetness and more of passion than Mrs. Hemans, Letitia Elizabeth Landon, (L. E. L.), had probably more also of original genius. There is something brilliantly imaginative in the flashes of metaphor whereby she brings out her effects. The following is a characteristic verse—melancholy, as those of L. E. L. generally are.



RHYLLON, THE FAVOURITE RESIDENCE OF MRS. HEMANS.



THE GOVERNOR'S HOUSE, CAPE COAST CASTLE.

"Oh, long ere one shadow shall darken that brow,
Wilt thou weep like a mourner o'er all thou lov'st now;
When thy hopes, like spent arrows, fall short of their mark;
Or, like meteors at midnight, make darkness more dark."

One poetical writer, eminent both in humour and in pathos, belonging to the early part of this century, remains to be mentioned. Thomas Hood, born in London in 1798, lived to be the literary contemporary and rival-friend of Thackeray and Dickens, and died in 1845. He began to write and publish at an early age, his first attempts to gain public favour being made in the 'Dundee Magazine,' to which town he had been sent by his father, because the feebleness of his health unfitted him for mercantile pursuits, to which he had been originally designated in London. Returning to the metropolis he was for some time apprenticed to an engraver, a circumstance which, as it enabled him to acquire sufficient skill in drawing to illustrate some of his own lighter works, had an important influence on his career. He adopted literature as a profession, and contributed to the 'London Magazine.' One would have thought that the circumstances under which he professionally cultivated literature were specially favourable. He was possessed not only of genius, but of marketable genius. A more felicitous punster never lived. Punning, in fact, became in his hands a true implement of literary art. What could be finer than his description of the armour-plated warriors of the old time as "armadillo wights," or happier than the line, "our coats and customs soften?" If any man was fitted to be popular with the crowd, it surely was the author of 'Whims and Oddities.' For readers who do not read exclusively for amusement, he had work suiting every taste, from the brilliant excitement and wonderful force and colour of 'Miss Kilmansegge and her Golden Leg,' to the unfathomable pathos, the tragedy stern as that of 'Lear' or 'Othello,' which meets us in the 'Song of the Shirt' and 'One more Unfortunate.' Add that Hood was industrious, had no expensive tastes, and exhibited in his life the most genial gaiety, the purest home-loving heartiness, were there not here the elements of pecuniary success in the literary profession—success to the extent at least of securing comfort, competence, and provision for his family? Yet Hood, who attained immortal fame, did not attain this modest standard of pecuniary success. The secret probably is that he was constantly in bad health. At all events his literary earnings required to be eked out in his last years by a government pension; and when he died it was necessary for his literary friends to contribute to the support of his family, which, to their honour, they did. In forming an opinion, however, of the state of literature in England in the early part of the nineteenth century, it will be well for us to remember that one mentally, morally, and in every other respect, except physically, so well qualified to succeed in the literary profession as Thomas Hood, failed to attain such pecuniary success as rewards the judicious farmer and the respectable grocer.

PART II.—PROSE LITERATURE.

WE have already, in our introductory remarks, treated of the general characteristics of the Prose Literature of Great Britain in the period which has elapsed since the French revolution. It is unnecessary to do more in this place than indicate, almost in a single word, the mode in which we propose to conduct the more particular delineation of the subject. We shall seek to avoid, on the one hand, the combined dryness and uselessness of a mere catalogue of English prose authors, great and small, with the dates of their birth and death, and, on the other, to escape the unmanageable vastness of an exhaustive characterisation even of the valuable and important prose works which have appeared. There is much practical wisdom in Mr. Carlyle's frequent and emphatic hints as to the necessity of judicious forgetting at a time when literary activity is so great, and consequently so much claims to be remembered; and few expenditures of energy could be more pedantic or foolish than the laborious chronicling of any large proportion of those literary births, which have been recorded in Stationers' Hall, but which have not become, and cannot be made, memorable to mankind. As for the other danger which we shall try to shun, namely that of going too minutely into the discussion of particular works, it is obvious that the entire space at our command could be taken up, or more than taken up, with the detailed examination of one or two prose works of the first magnitude and quality—the histories, for example, of Macaulay, Lingard, and Froude, published within our period. The reader will find in the following pages neither a literary almanac nor a cyclopædia of such elaborate criticism as may be looked for in a periodical review. It will be our object to set before him an account, as correct as we can make it, and as comprehensive as our limits permit, of works which are still fresh in the memory of educated men, which have exerted an important influence, and which, therefore, are in the strictest sense representative of the prose literature of the period.

Fictitious Literature.

The prose literature of fiction seems to come naturally next in order after poetry. In point of fact, we doubt whether it would be possible to construct definitions of a poem and a novel respectively which would in all instances discriminate between the two. We take, therefore, the unpretentious, and, it may be, the philosophically objectionable, but practically serviceable plan of saying that a poem is a work of imagination in verse, and a novel a work of imagination in prose. The poetic form is vaguely felt to require a choicer diction and more regularly recurrent and melodious cadence than the prose form. Fifty years ago we might have added, without qualification, that the poetic form sanctioned a more exalted emotional mood, a bolder use of metaphor, and a more florid ornamentation, than were permissible in prose; but in the prose of Wilson, Carlyle, and Ruskin, there is as much exaltation of feeling, and as daring a use of imagery, as in any poems in the language. It may be said that there are works of imagination in verse which are unmistakably novels, like 'Rokeby,' and that in the first volume of 'Old Mortality' there is as fine poetry as in 'Marmion.' To this we can only reply that we do not pretend to lay down an unchanging and unerring line of demarcation between poetry and prose. The distinction has in fact been to a great extent arbitrary, and in France, in Germany, and in Great Britain, the literary artist has in several notable instances worked almost indifferently in prose and in verse. Goethe, Victor Hugo, Scott, George Eliot, have cultivated both prose and poetry, and none but a pedant or a transcendentalist would say that these writers, when pouring forth impassioned and rhythmic prose, ceased to be poets. The traditions of ages, however, have fixed the standard of poetry so high that a pitch of excellence is required to induce any one to read a poem, far above that which will induce readers to persevere in the perusal of a prose work. Permitted to soar to any extent in a novel, the writer is also permitted occasionally to sink to a corresponding lowness or flatness, provided always that he fail not to interest his reader. In one word, the novel accords greater freedom to the writer than the poem; and to this circumstance, as well as to the fact that a taste for prose has, in the middle of our century, been much more widely diffused than a taste for poetry, it is probably due that we have had, within the last sixty years, so enormous a crop of novels.

We shall mention but two works of fiction belonging to the closing years of the eighteenth century,—the 'Monk,' by Matthew Gregory Lewis, and 'Caleb Williams,' by William Godwin. The former may be taken as a type specimen of an enormously large class of novels. Perhaps no ghost or goblin story ever acquired so wide a reputation, and it must be admitted that, if we are to believe the author's statement that he wrote it at twenty, it gives proof of extraordinary talent. We are not ashamed to say that we are not acquainted with it as a whole. On Pope's admirable principle that "not to know some nothings is a praise," one may look round upon the treasure-fields of our modern literature, loaded with the finest of the wheat, and reflect with satisfaction that he has *not* read the 'Monk.' But we have seen enough of it to know that, as an artist in the apparition department,—as a worker up of effects dependent upon the movements of sheeted spectres, haunting demons, malignant sorcerers, *et hoc genus omne*—Lewis has had few if any equals. Beyond question the kind of fiction to which the book belongs is vicious and unwholesome. On every work in which the main and absorbing interest turns upon some ghostly mystery, from the 'Monk' to the 'Woman in White,' the verdict of the critical tribunal ought to be that of severely qualified applause or positive condemnation. But we must not, in the sudden recoil of indignant contempt, permit ourselves to proscribe such books altogether. As main subject, the mysterious and the supernatural are to be forbidden; but the elements of superstition and credulity lie deep in human nature, and a correct delineation of society in almost every phase which it has hitherto presented will not wholly omit them. There has probably been no age of the world in which a population existed, in town or country, so free from superstition as that which exists in England at this hour, and in the novels of George Eliot, acknowledged on all hands to be remarkable for their truth to nature, the belief in ghosts, which was universal among the English peasantry in the last century, has ceased to furnish material for more than the thinnest of jests. George Eliot trusts, for the shade in her pictures,—for the darkness which relieves the light—to the pathos of real life; and her success shows that, in the hands of a master, this may be sufficient; but we may be permitted to think that, if the scientific lucidity and severity of George Eliot's mind had not neutralised her sympathy with the mental weakness and dimnese which predispose to ghostly terrors, she might have seen still farther even than she does into certain condiition of human nature. We venture to pronounce Scott's manner of dealing with popular superstitions in his principal novels, and of appealing to the instinct of wonder and mystery in the human breast, to be at once judicious and happy. It is probable that the exhibition made to Scott of the excessive and extravagant use of the preternatural by Lewis, acted with deterrent effect upon him, when he became himself a novelist.

If the 'Monk' is a type of sickly extravagance and crude sensationalism in prose fiction, 'Caleb Williams' is a novel of the sturdiest realism, dependent for its interest on masculine delineation of character, and on vivid description of the incidents of actual life. Godwin was one of those Englishmen who earnestly sympathised with the French revolution in its earlier stages, and hoped that an era of peace and brotherhood was at last dawning on mankind. His 'Inquiry Concerning Political Justice, and its influence on General Virtue and Happiness,' appeared in 1793; and his great novel, published a year subsequently, was intended to bring out the evil effects, the cruelties, crimes, and miseries which may be produced by the application to nefarious purposes, by men of wealth and station, of the legal machinery of civilised society. Godwin expressly states that he aimed at presenting to his readers "a general review of the modes of domestic and unrecorded despotism, by which man becomes the destroyer of man," a despotism all the more terrible in that it may act through law. In the execution of his project, however, Godwin did not confine himself with any pedantic strictness to the illustration of this thesis. Having begun to tell a tale, he was carried away in the stream of his own story; his instinctive feeling of what a good tale required, and the stirring within him of the ambition of the true literary artist, prompted him to throw his whole powers into the conduct of the narrative, and to avoid those disquisitions upon the benefits and perils of civilisation, and upon the best means of securing that justice shall be assisted, not strangled, by law, into which, as a writer upon political philosophy, he might have been beguiled. The reader of 'Caleb Williams' is extremely likely, when he shuts the book, to feel himself in a mental condition analogous to that of a schoolboy who has been listening to a sermon full of striking anecdotes. He will recollect the leading incidents, he will be impressed with the prominent characters, but it will hardly occur to him to ask what is the moral of the whole, and he certainly will not be able to name any particular lessons, bearing upon political or social reform, which have been enforced in the work. He will have seen mighty passions in play; he will have been moved, as the great tragedian always moves reader or spectator, by the emotions of pity and terror; but he will be unable to point to any suggestion made by the author with a view to the practical checking of such social tyranny as that of Squire Tyrell, or to the alleviation of such sufferings as are endured, innocently or in partial innocence, by Emily, by the peasant Hawkins and his son, by Falkland and by Williams. There is nothing in the book—there is indeed hardly anything conceivable—more atrocious than the cruelty by which Squire Tyrell kills Emily; but it may be doubted whether a state of society has ever existed in which a villain as black as Tyrell, with money in his purse, and lawyers at his back, could not have annoyed the gentle girl to death. 'Caleb Williams' is a powerful illustration of the fact that "man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn;" but it contributes nothing towards the mitigation of that inhumanity except an imaginative and thrilling picture of its effects. The tyranny of Tyrell is the fountain from which, directly or indirectly, all the calamities in the book proceed, but his tyrannical conduct to Emily could not have been legally interfered with, except in minor particulars, without sacrificing a man's right to rule in his own house; and his atrocious harshness to the Hawkinses could not have been legally checked without cancelling the right of a landlord to manage his own estate. The iniquities which produce the desolations of this book—the sins which bring forth its miseries—are such as can be held in check, not by statutory ordinance or by local custom, but by social opinion; and this is represented in the novel as set against Tyrell with as unanimous and as fervent hostility as could exist in any state of society. In one word, 'Caleb Williams' is an impressive novel—an admirable work of literary art—but of no value at all from the point of view of the jurist or politician.

The group of characters depicted in the book are defined with masterly clearness; we feel that each is alive, and that the individuality of each is unmistakably discriminated from that of every other. Squires Tyrell and Falkland form the most marked contrast in the book. Tyrell was wilful from his childhood, and endowed physically and mentally with the qualities of a strong, coarse, over-bearing, fiercely passionate human animal. The best of parents and of educators would have found him a difficult subject, and all his bad qualities were heightened and darkened into inveterate malignity by a mother who doted upon and spoiled him. An evil pride, a brutal ferocity, an imperiousness which any show of opposition fretted into unrelenting fury, were his characteristics when he grew to manhood and became a landlord. Against the dark, repulsive lineaments of this fiend-like being rise the ideal features of Falkland,—ideal, yet with the marks of life upon them. He is an Englishman of the eighteenth century, true to his time, representing a type already almost become obsolete; yet he is an ideal of manly nobleness; and we doubt whether, in all literature, there is a finer portrait of the gentleman. We refer, in thus describing him, to the Falkland of the earlier part of the book, reserving, for the present, our judgment upon his conduct at the most critical juncture in his history, conduct which was thought by so high an authority as Sir Walter Scott to be incompatible with the character of a man of honour. Falkland, as Godwin draws him in the outset of his career, is inspired in all his actions by honour, uprightness, and kindness. His standard of excellence is indeed that of the eighteenth century, a standard depending upon the opinion of the society in which he moves—a standard which makes fame his ruling passion and social degradation the *maximum* of calamity. "Honour" is the word which, more than any other, defines his rule of life and conduct; but we see in him how noble a kind of man the eighteenth century's worship of honour could inspire. In Falkland the ruling passion of keeping his honour unsullied in the eyes of men was combined with chivalrous humanity, with gracious and genial manners, with high intellectual culture, with delicate generosity and all practical kindness. Such a man inevitably drew upon himself the detestation of Tyrell. The life of the one squire was an emphatic and perpetual rebuke to the other squire. When Emily, driven to desperation by the resolution of Tyrell to force her into marriage with an insufferable churl, applied to Falkland for help, he warmly espoused her cause, and the savage hatred with which her tormentor regarded him was thus inflamed almost to madness. Tyrell had behaved with gross inhumanity to the Hawkinses, father and son, his tenants; and this, taken in connection with his conduct to Emily, and his general coarseness and malignity, induced the county gentlemen, among whom Falkland held a leading place, to expel him from their society. Seeing in Falkland his arch-enemy, Tyrell, in an assembly where the county gentlemen were present, struck him a blow which felled him to the ground. To a man of honour this was the last and bitterest insult it was possible to offer. Falkland followed Tyrell into the street and stabbed him to the heart. The instrument he used was a knife which had somehow come into his possession, but which had belonged to the Hawkinses. Having stabbed Tyrell, Falkland left the knife in the wound. It was found; suspicion was attracted to the Hawkinses, whom Tyrell had ruined; they were tried and condemned, and Falkland let them go to their doom. Sir Walter Scott has maintained that it was impossible for an honourable gentleman, such as Godwin declares Falkland to have been, to become an assassin. The unlikelihood of his having permitted the lives of the Hawkinses to be sacrificed to save his own strikes us as far greater than that of his having slain Tyrell. There is indeed nothing surprising that his fury should have proved ungovernable towards one whom he knew to have been, in the case of Emily, a virtual murderer, one who had brutally insulted himself, and one whose malignity and rudeness disentitled him to the satisfaction which every gentleman of the period expected to receive, and was prepared to give. But the deliberate crime of letting two innocent men die an ignominious death in his stead is not so easily excused. We shall not say that Godwin has in so many words accounted for it; but he has said enough to furnish the hint of a philosophical explanation of Falkland's conduct; and if he has not explicitly unfolded this explanation, he may at least be supposed to have been willing to endorse it. After the death of Tyrell and the Hawkinses, Falkland pronounces himself "as much the fool of fame as ever," and as resolved, at all hazards, to leave behind him "a spotless and illustrious name." Godwin does not *say*, but it is hardly too much to presume him to *suggest*, that Falkland's type of character had been, in its palmiest time, only second-best—a character whose strength lay in the point of honour and the judgment of man, not in the inflexible dominance of conscience and faith in God. Who shall say that, for a character thus constituted, even the deep iniquity of letting the Hawkinses ascend the gallows was impossible? If Scott's contention is that Falkland is not the highest type of gentleman, we agree with him; but we maintain that Godwin intended him to be, though high, not the very highest type of man and gentleman.

Caleb Williams, Falkland's private secretary, is struck by the gloom which haunts his master, and by the air of mystery that surrounds him. He resolves to penetrate the secret, and at length fully succeeds. Falkland exacts from him an oath that he will keep it, and for a time he remains a privileged inmate of the dwelling of his patron. But his position becomes intolerably irksome to him, and he leaves the house. This excites the apprehension of Falkland, and, at his instigation, Williams is arrested on a charge of theft and thrown into prison. The body of the book is occupied with an account of the shifts and doublings of Williams, as he endeavours to shake himself free of the watchers whom Falkland sets to dog his path. At length his patience is worn out, and he steps forward as the accuser of his former master. Falkland meanwhile has become the haggard wreck of what he once had been. The anguish in which he lived had given him the aspect first of a maniac and then of a ghost. At the sight of him in court, when Williams presented himself before the magistrate to attest the truth of his statement of Falkland's guilt, the heart of his old servant relented, and he bitterly accused himself for bringing ruin upon one who had been his benefactor. "I came hither," exclaimed Williams, "to curse, but I remain to bless. I came to accuse, but am compelled to applaud. I proclaim to all the world that Mr. Falkland is a man worthy of affection and kindness, and that I am myself the basest and most odious of mankind! Never will I forgive myself the iniquity of this day. . . . . Do with me as you please. I ask no favour. Death would be a kindness compared to what I feel!" Falkland had come into the court, or rather had been carried into it, for he was unable to stand without assistance, with the intention of denying the truth of Williams's accusation. But the fervent affection of his old servant overcame him; he rose, supported by his attendants, threw himself into the arms of his accuser, and said, "Williams you have conquered! I see too late the greatness and elevation of your mind. I confess that it is to my fault, and not yours—that it is to the excess of jealousy that was ever burning in my bosom that I owe my ruin. I could have resisted any plan of malicious accusation you might have brought against me; but I see that the artless and manly story you have told has carried conviction to every hearer. All my prospects are concluded; all that I most ardently desired is for ever frustrated. I have spent a life of the basest cruelty to cover one act of momentary vice, and to protect myself against the prejudices of my species. I stand now completely detected. . . . . I am prepared to suffer all the vengeance of the law. You cannot inflict upon me more than I deserve. . . . . If, however, you wish to punish me, you must be speedy in your justice; for as reputation was the blood that warmed my heart, so I feel that death and infamy must seize me together." In three days he was dead. Godwin displayed a true sense of the requirements of moderation and repose in art by not bringing him to the scaffold. The reader shares the feeling of Williams, and though the greatness of Falkland's crime is appreciated, the calamity which shadows his life is so terrible, and it is so directly due to what, if an infirmity, is at least an infirmity of noble minds, to wit, overweening regard for the opinion of mankind, that we cannot withhold from him our pity and our respect.

Among the novelists who immediately preceded and influenced Scott in his character as a writer of prose fiction we signalise for mention two ladies, one English, the other Irish—Miss Austen and Miss Edgeworth. Miss Austen, born in 1775, died at the age of forty-two. In estimating her genius we have to recollect that high success in a novel at an early age is a much rarer thing than high success in a poem at a corresponding period of life. The passionate ardours of youth and the gorgeousness of young imagination gazing over a world which still wears the colours of morning, suffice for splendid effects in poetry, but in a novel of consummate excellence we look for the hoarded fruits of experience, for ripe reflection, for sagacity, for humour. When therefore we say that Miss Austen's novels are full of wisdom, and that they leave a flavour of humour very exquisite if not very strong, and add that she died at an earlier age than that at which Scott published his first work of fiction, we have shown grounds for pronouncing her a woman of rare genius. Her novels are few in number, and not one of them is so long as several of Scott's. 'Northanger Abbey,' published after her death, is little more than a carefully executed sketch. Her others, 'Pride and Prejudice,' 'Sense and Sensibility,' 'Mansfield Park,' 'Emma,' and 'Persuasion,' this also being a posthumous publication, are pictures of English family life such as presented themselves to the eyes of a clergyman's daughter at the beginning of the century. There is a delicate accuracy in the discrimination between character and character, a delicacy which admits of no caricature, of no hasty, vulgar force, but which is never faint in the outline. Miss Austen's clergymen, and navy captains, and ladies, whether of the good sort or the bad, are extremely like each other, and yet we feel them to be distinctly individualised. It was a fine perceptive and observational talent which was able to record not merely the specific diversities, but the individual varieties, which humanity continues to present even in the most civilized states of society. Tennyson puts into the mouth of Arthur Hallam in 'In Memoriam' the remark that, "ground in yonder social mill," we rub down the angles of character, and lose "the picturesque of man and man." The words are spoken of town life as distinguished from country life, but they apply, in measure, to both; and Miss Austen, though her groups are composed of persons who have passed a large part of their lives in the country, has not withheld them from the influence of towns. The greater is her merit in discerning so clearly, and depicting so expressively, peculiarities of character originally not very strongly marked, and smoothed down and varnished over by the intercourse of a society whose quietness and refinement were alien to all eccentricity. Her books have a value of a strictly historical kind. We doubt whether, as records of the domestic life of a period, there are any books in the world so trustworthy. Two or three such novels as 'Mansfield Park,' or 'Pride and Prejudice,' written in the early part of the seventeenth century, would have given us a better idea of how Puritans and Cavaliers spoke and felt and acted at home, than all the histories and Chronicles of Clarendon, Whitelock, and Rushworth. The circumstance that Miss Austen lacked imaginative fire and inventive genius augments our confidence in her as a historian of domestic life. In reading of a Squire Western, we can never be sure that we realise the features of the actual man beneath the glaring tints which are due to the imagination of Fielding; but when we enter one of Miss Austen's drawing-rooms and listen to the talk of her Mrs. Bennets, and her Elizabeths, and Annes, or when we drive out with the worthy old Admiral in his chaise, and find that his success in steering the vehicle is not so great as it would have been in steering a seventy-four-gun ship, we are irresistibly conscious of being in the presence of living men and women. Scott's estimate of Miss Austen's powers has been frequently quoted, and justly, for it illustrates the critical insight and kindly spirit of Sir Walter, while perfectly true of Miss Austen. "That young lady"—these are Scott's words—"had a talent for describing the involvements, and feelings, and characters of ordinary life, which is to me the most wonderful I ever met with. The big *bow-bow* strain I can do myself, like any now going; but the exquisite touch which renders commonplace things and characters interesting from the truth of the description and the sentiment, is denied to me." A volume might be written expanding the first of these sentences without making more lucid or more correct the definition of Miss Austen's talent as one for describing "the involvements, and feelings, and characters of ordinary life." From any other pen her scenes, personages, incidents, would have been as uninteresting as a suburban highway on a dusty afternoon. Exquisite, indeed, must be the touch which redeems commonplace from dreariness on the one hand and from vulgarity on the other. We may grant to Scott that such a faculty was "wonderful;" but when Mr. Lewes, one of our ablest and most finely cultured critics, is carried so far away by his genial enthusiasm as to pronounce Miss Austen "one of the greatest artists," we are unable to follow him. Great art cannot dispense with the imaginative element. This is demonstrated by the practice of great literary artists from Homer to Shakespeare and from Shakespeare to Scott. Sir Walter in his unparalleled modesty was unaware that it was the instinct of a great imaginative artist within him which impelled him to seek other characters and other incidents than those of Miss Austen. It is the inexorable law of nature that what is not memorable shall not be remembered, and it is the office of art to signalize what is great and memorable and to transmit it in fitting enshrinement to succeeding generations. The peculiar gift of Miss Austen was delightful once in a way, but the popularity of her writings has been due in great measure to the praise of critics, and they have not touched and will never touch the heart of the world. They are painted in watercolours, in watercolours of the old school, before Turner lit up the canvas of the watercolour painter with the lightnings of his genius. The incidents are very different from those dealt with by Homer even in the most garrulous parts of the Odyssey, or by Balzac when he is most intent on bringing out shades of character—morning calls, walks in the country, trips to Bath, preparations for private theatricals, things which you look at with a certain languid pleasure as they glide before you through the magic mirror of the authoress, but which soon float off irrecoverably from the recollection. If one of the characters tumbles and breaks his or her leg, it is an excitement of the first magnitude. Preparations for private theatricals are detailed at a length which would have sufficed Homer for ten battles, and the preparations end in nothing after all. The lovers are started off in walks with the recurrent regularity of boarding-school promenades. Almost the only thing which remains indelibly impressed upon the mind of the present writer from the novels of Miss Austen is a delicately intense realisation of female loveliness of body and soul, as presented chiefly in the Anne of 'Mansfield Park.' It is not, strictly speaking, the quietness of her delineations that is the fatal objection to Miss Austen's art—it is that there is nothing but quietness. Nothing relieves the perpetual afternoon—the mild somniferous sunshine. The quietness is well enough, but we want more. What could be quieter than Julia Mannering's arch tattle with her father, or than the picnic talk in the 'Antiquary'? But Scott has a Dirk Hatteraick and a Dandie Dinmont in 'Guy Mannering,' and scenes of storm and tragedy in the other masterpiece. George Eliot's quiet manner is almost as good as Miss Austen's, and if any one insist that it is as good or even better, we are not sure that we can silence him; but in all her great works, prose and poetic, George Eliot evinces an instinctive knowledge that art has to do with the strange, the startling, the terrible, the uncommon, and strikes the harp or sounds the clarion as well as discourses sweet soft music on the lute.

Of Miss Edgeworth we shall say less than of Miss Austen. Her merits are admitted, and there has been no tendency to exaggerate them. In humour and in general and versatile power she must be pronounced superior to Miss Austen. Scott expressly declared that "the rich humour, pathetic tenderness, and admirable tact" of her Irish portraits suggested to him that Scotland might furnish originals for a corresponding series. The touch of Miss Austen was too fine for the Andrew Fairservices and Baillie Nicol Jarvies and Cuddie Headriggs of Scott, but Miss Edgeworth, in her vigorously sketched Paddies, gave him exactly the hint he required. By birth, and by education until her twelfth year, she was English, but her family was Irish, having been "long settled at Edgeworth town, county of Longford." Singularly enough, it was on the Edgeworth property that Goldsmith was born. Had the contributions of Ireland in general to the literature of England been on the scale of the county of Longford, our list of eminent Irish writers would have been of very different dimensions from its present. It is to the credit of Miss Edgeworth that she was ardently patriotic, and equally to the credit of the Irish that, even in the paroxysms of the Irish rebellion of 1798, her patriotism and the friendliness which her family had shown to the native Irish were remembered, and within the gates of the mansion from which Miss Edgeworth and her father had fled, "not a twig was touched, nor a leaf harmed." The paternal Edgeworth was a man of great intellectual activity, and it was as co-author with him of an 'Essay on Irish Bulls' that Miss Edgeworth first came before the public. Of this essay it has been said that it was written to prove that the Irish do not make more bulls than other people, and that it *does* prove them to make more bulls than all other nations put together. Miss Edgeworth published a biography of her father after his death, and declared herself in it to have been greatly indebted to him for advice and encouragement in the composition of her books. Her principal novels are 'Castle Rack-rent,' 'Belinda,' and several series of 'Popular Tales,' and 'Tales of Fashionable Life.' Some of her works, such as 'Rosamond,' and 'Harry and Lucy,' were designed for the young, and have met with much approval from the point of view of the domestic educationist. Mr. Ruskin styles Madame de Genlis the French Miss Edgeworth, and includes the works of both in the list of books which young people ought to read. The pedagogic element, however, is a dangerous one in works of art. "The object of Miss Edgeworth," says an intelligent critic, "to inculcate instruction, and the style of the preceptress, occasionally interfere with the cordial sympathies of the reader even in her Irish descriptions; whereas in Scott this is never apparent." Miss Edgeworth began to publish novels more than ten years before the appearance of 'Waverley,' and continued to do so after the death of Scott. She died in 1849, having been a popular writer for about fifty years, and having lived upwards of fourscore.

Had Walter Scott died in the beginning of 1814, critics would have summed up his claims to distinction, and defined his character as a man of genius, by saying that he had produced several metrical romances of extreme freshness, interest, and brilliancy, that he had been an industrious collector of old ballads, and a sensible and vigorous writer of literary biography. It would have been admitted that he had some trace of humour, and, with more of reserve, that he was a man of sagacity and penetration. While this estimate, however, might have been sustained by reference to his Review articles and his 'Life of Dryden,' there would probably have been many to affirm that, since the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' the 'Lady of the Lake,' and 'Marmion' were his principal works, since it could not be pretended that there were more than a few passages in these about which he had any deep or earnest feeling, and since the heroes in each and all of them were of a semi-ornamental, semi-theatrical character, there was something flimsy if not meretricious in his genius. Had he produced those romantic brilliancies before twenty or even before thirty years of age, it would have been said, they might have passed for the first fruits of his genius or for the mere bloom and promise of his flowering time; but as he had nothing better than those to show at forty-two, it might be considered absolutely certain that there was not much more in him. Such, we say, would have been the account given of Walter Scott by historians of English literature, if he had died before the publication of 'Waverley.' That book appeared in June 1814, and gave its name to the series which, for about fifteen years, continued to succeed it. When that series was complete, and the literary critic was called upon for his estimate of the author, he could not if he did his duty have failed to declare that, in consummate knowledge of human nature, in vivid description of local and national manners, in realisation of bygone scenes and portraiture of historical personages, and above all in broad, homely, hearty, genial humour, no man of his time could be compared with Walter Scott.

So early as 1805 he had begun 'Waverley,' but even the composition of part of a tale in prose did not reveal to him the secret of his power, and he threw the manuscript aside. In 1813 his eye happened to fall upon it. The moment was propitious, for his poetical popularity had waned, and Miss Edgeworth's Irish sketchings had given him the hint of which we have already spoken. He took up the story and completed it with a rapidity and vigour which imparted to the portion then written an animation decidedly superior to that of the commencement. 'Waverley' was a marked success. It has some scenes of exquisite beauty and pathos, and there is perhaps nothing more nobly poetical in Scott's verse than the request of the gallant chieftain, who meets his death in England while fighting for his prince, that his severed head, when exposed as that of a traitor, may be so turned that its eyes will look toward the blue hills of Scotland. There is now the raciest fun also, and the descriptions of Highland landscape, while they have gained in freedom, have hardly lost in loveliness. The success of the book was natural and deserved; but Scott had not yet found his hand in prose narrative, and 'Waverley' retains something of the character of a *tertium quid* marking the transition from his poems to his novels. The inequality of its execution, and the impression it conveys of a lack of compactness and continuity, were doubtless consequent to some extent upon its having been composed at two periods with an interval of eight years between them.

Scott's eyes were now opened. In the winter of 1814-15, he threw himself with all his force upon a second novel, and the enthusiasm and concentration with which, for six weeks, he worked at it must have been similar to those of the glorious days when he had composed 'Marmion.' The book was published in two volumes in February 1815. Its name was 'Guy Mannering.' We are not sure that the history of literature can quite parallel the feat of producing this work in six weeks. 'Guy Mannering' is no crude performance in which occasional splendour gleams out amid dulness, and whose effect is due to extravagance or melodrama. There are few novels in the language which approach nearer to ideal perfection. We have seen it stated by a critic of ability that "marks of haste are visible in the construction of the plot and development of the incidents;" but we are unaffectedly unable to know what are the marks of haste alluded to. The plot strikes us as excellent and as excellently developed; there is no startling violation of probability either in the abduction of the child Harry Bertram or in his return. "The love scenes and female characters, and even Mannering himself," we are told, "seem allied to the Minerva press family." The principal reference, we suppose, is to the serenades on the lake, and to the correspondence between Julia Mannering and her school-girl friend. The Minerva press people may doubtless have dealt in such matters, but there is after all nothing improbable in the idea of a flute-playing lover regaling his mistress with a tune from the lake by moonlight. The objection to Colonel Mannering is to us incomprehensible; the portrait of the man is as firm in the drawing, as clear in the colours, as any that ever spoke from the canvas of Reynolds; and the general management of the female characters—whether in the felicitous contrast between Lucy and Julia, or in the exquisite piquancy, the charming naïve girlishness and womanishness of the latter, or in Meg Merrilies, or in Mrs. Dandie Dinmont—is one of those things to which we would specially point as demonstrating that the great artist, whose delineations of Helen and Clara and the heiress of Branksome were somewhat stiff in their gracefulness and meagre in their loveliness, had at length found the vehicle through which all the joyous energy of his spirit could go forth in describing the nature of woman. But surely "the astrological agency and predictions so marvellously fulfilled are excrescences on the story, though suited to a winter's tale in Scotland." Even to this we can give but a severely qualified assent. That the "excrescences" are suited to a Scottish border tale is a very strong point in their favour, and we have been so deeply impressed with the thought that Scott has *spared* the reader a quantity of astrological rubbish which he could easily have shot out upon his page, that we are not disposed to blame him for what, in our simplicity, does certainly enhance for us the interest of the tale. There is no reserve in our sympathetic agreement with this critic when we turn from his slight and kindly exceptions to his liberal and eloquent praise. "What length of time or patience in revision," he exclaims, "could have added to the charm or hilarity of such portraits as that of Dandie Dinmont, or the shrewd and witty counsellor Pleydell, the finished, desperate, sea-beaten villainy of Hatteraick—the simple, uncouth devotion of that gentlest of pedants, poor Dominie Sampson—or the wild savage virtues and crazed superstition of the gipsy-dwellers in Derncleuch?" Mr. Ruskin, whose critical genius has been recognized as superlative wherever the English language is spoken, states it as his deliberate conviction that the inventive power which Scott displays in this book sets him in a higher order of greatness than that occupied by Byron, Tennyson, Keats, or any other modern master of emotional and analytical writing. "To invent a story," says Mr. Ruskin, "or admirably and thoroughly tell any part of a story, it is necessary to grasp the entire mind of every personage concerned in it, and know precisely how they would be affected by what happens; which to do requires a colossal intellect; but to describe a separate emotion delicately, it is only needed that one should feel it oneself; and thousands of people are capable of feeling this or that noble emotion, for one who is able to enter into all the feelings of somebody sitting on the other side of the table. Even, therefore, where this sentimental literature is first rate, as in passages of Byron, Tennyson, and Keats, it ought not to be ranked so high as the creative; and though perfection, even in narrow fields, is perhaps as rare as in the wider, and it may be as long before we have another 'In Memoriam' as another 'Guy Mannering,' I unhesitatingly receive as a greater manifestation of power the right invention of a few sentences spoken by Pleydell and Mannering across their supper-table, than the most tender and passionate melodies of the self-examining verse." It is not necessary that we should assent to each and all of these important words; but we welcome and endorse the decision of this great critic that, as a creative artist, as an inventor and describer of character, Walter Scott surpasses all modern writers. We may remark in passing—our space does not permit us to linger on the subject—that Mr. Carlyle gives a very different account of Scott from that of Mr. Ruskin. To Mr. Carlyle, Scott seems to have been a shrewd, energetic, worldly man, who never did anything consummately good in literature, and who differs altogether in his manner of drawing character from a Shakespeare or a Goethe. After considering this opinion with the utmost care and deliberation, we are constrained to pronounce it exceedingly wrong. In *range* of inventive and descriptive power Shakespeare has no rival among the sons of men; but his *manner* of drawing character, to wit, by expressive words put into the lips of his personages, and by incidents which bring out in action their inmost being, is identical with that of Scott; and *within his own range*—in touching those notes in the octave which he could command—Scott is as true as Shakespeare. "Your Shakespeare," says Mr. Carlyle, "fashions his characters from the heart outwards; your Scott fashions them from the skin inwards, never getting near the heart of them." This is a metaphor which dazzles for the moment; but when we look into it, we find that it is not just. You may find characters in Scott that are superficially painted; so you may in Shakespeare, but the characters which Scott knew and loved are revealed to the very heart. Is it not the whole nature of the Laird of Ellangowan that we know, better perhaps than if we had lived in personal intercourse with him for twenty years? The garrulous vanity with which he over-crows Dominie Sampson, the easy indolence with which he lets the gate hang by its one hinge, the fitful energy with which, when his dignity has been flattered, he puts the law in force against the gipsies, the kindness with which, in his dotage and on the edge of the grave, he calls upon Lucy to give wine to Colonel Mannering—are these touches which show us Godfrey Bertram's skin, or do they let us see into his heart of hearts? And might we not say as much of the description of Dandie Dinmont, Meg Merrilies, Pleydell, of Oldbuck, Edie Ochiltree, and Mucklebackit, of Rob Roy and Nicol Jarvie, of Davie Deans and Jeanie Deans, of Reuben Butler and the Laird of Dumbie-dikes? The fact, strange as it may seem, appears to be that Mr. Carlyle, when he wrote his essay on Scott, had not read Scott's novels with the comprehensiveness and care requisite to enable him to pronounce judgment upon them. "Contrasting 'Waverley, " he says, "which was carefully written, with most of its followers, which were written extempore, one may regret the extempore method." This is perhaps too indefinite to be made the basis of a decisive inference; but it conveys the impression that 'Waverley' stands high in the critic's opinion, in the series to which it lends its name. If Mr. Carlyle's estimate of Scott rests upon this estimate of 'Waverley,' we have at once accounted for and refuted it; for, as weighed in the balance against 'Guy Mannering,' the 'Antiquary,' the 'Heart of Mid-Lothian,' 'Rob Roy,' 'Old Mortality,' and 'Kenilworth,' not to mention the 'Bride of Lammermuir,' the 'Legend of Montrose,' 'Quentin Durward,' and some others, 'Waverley' is slight and insignificant. It could be thrown out of the account without seriously affecting our judgment of Scott as the greatest literary creator since Shakespeare. Goethe rose higher in 'Faust,' and was more of a sage and thinker; but he could not tell a story like Scott. As a poet, as a dramatist, as a philosopher, the German was the superior; but he himself pronounced Sir Walter the greatest master of narrative the age had produced, and the few characters whom we feel to be really alive in the works of Goethe cannot, on the whole, be deemed proof of so powerful an inventive faculty as the whole gallery of such provided for us by Scott. Mr. Carlyle enlarges on the rapidity with which the Waverley novels were produced, suggesting the inference that they must be little worth. "No great thing was ever or will ever be done with ease, but with difficulty." Safe as a general maxim, this cannot be said of works of art without careful qualification. That qualification, or enough of it for our present purpose, Mr. Carlyle himself supplies. "Shakespeare," he writes, "we may fancy wrote with rapidity; but not till he had thought with intensity: long and sore had this man thought, as the seeing eye may discern well, and had dwelt and wrestled amid dark pains and throes—though his great soul is silent about all that. It was for him to write rapidly at fit intervals, being ready to do it. And herein truly lies the secret of the matter: such swiftness of mere writing, after due energy of preparation, is doubtless the right method; the hot furnace having long worked and simmered, let the pure gold flow out at one gush. It was Shakespeare's plan; no easy writer he, or he had never been a Shakespeare." That Shakespeare wrote rapidly is attested by his contemporaries; that he underwent the preparation postulated by Mr. Carlyle, though we do not dispute it, is conjectural; but there is not the least doubt that Scott had such preparation. He was, we repeat, forty-two years old before he addressed himself resolutely to novel-writing. All his life had been a preparation for his novels, the composition of his poems included. The actual writing of 'Guy Mannering' occupied six weeks; but Scott's "Liddesdale raids"—the wanderings from valley to valley and from hill to hill upon the Borders—had extended over a larger number of years. From the days when he had prattled at the knees of "Aunt Jenny," Scott was learning to write of Scotland. He knew, as no man had ever known, the character, habits, usages, prejudices, virtues, vices, of Scotchmen, and the scenery and history of Scotland. He has executed imperishable works of which the subject is not Scottish; but it is his Scotch novels that form the pillar of his reputation; and to write these quickly was for him as easy as it is for the torrent swollen by long rains to rush downwards to the sea. Two other remarks may be made bearing upon this subject, each in a single sentence. The first is that though no great work in art is done without preparation, the true artist—the man who has upon him the glow of genius warmed to its congenial toil—always works with a grand and joyous ease. The second is that Scott, though a most effective, was a methodic and steady worker, who lost no time, never dawdled, never fretted over and altered and patched what he had done, and was probably, when actually engaged in composition, more deliberate and careful than many writers who, if we may judge by the amount produced, might be pronounced much slower workers than he.

Scott's third novel was the 'Antiquary.' The general opinion has, we think, been that this is his masterpiece, and in this verdict we are disposed to concur. It is not, however, with much decision that we say so, for several of the novels strike us as of about equal merit,—'Guy Mannering,' 'Rob Roy,' the 'Heart of Mid-Lothian' and 'Old Mortality.' Lockhart regarded this last as his masterpiece,—the

'Marmion' of the novels. It would have been such if the interest of the second half had been as noble and as well-sustained as that of the first. But the combination of grandeur with picturesqueness, of solemn pathos with humour, which makes the first half of 'Old Mortality' unique, is not kept up in the second half. The mighty music of storm and battle in the one sinks into the piping of a love-tale in the other. Much might be said to prove the 'Heart of Mid-Lothian' the best of the series. Provided that the didactic purpose be never for a moment obtruded upon the reader, heroic virtue in trial and in triumph is the noblest theme the artist can have; and the inflexible truthfulness of Jeanie Deans answers pointedly to this description. The pathos of Davie Deans's appearance in the court-house, and of Effie's refusal to quit the prison is Shakespearian. There is delicious quiet fun in the scenes in which Davie lets it be known that "Johnny Dods, o' Farthing's Acre, and ae' man mair that sall be nameless," had alone avoided "right hand snares and extremes and left-hand way-slidings," and represented, as Mr. Middleburgh put it, "the true, real, unsophisticated Kirk of Scotland." The same may be said of Jeanie's interview with Dumbiedikes and the Laird's ride after her on his "powny." We have said that Scott's range is not so wide as Shakespeare's; but, if he does not rise as high, he can stoop as low. Shakespeare lets us see into the heart of Launce's dog, and has the friendliest interest in the deer of the forest of Arden; Scott does not grudge the sympathetic touch that sets before us Sir Henry Lee's good hound, Bevis, or reveals the whole cross-grained personality of Dumbiedikes's incorrigible pony, Rory Bean. Another of the novels that might contest the palm with the 'Antiquary' is 'Rob Roy.' Die Vernon, lightly sketched as she is, is one of the most fascinating heroines in fiction. So perfectly brave, so perfectly true and wise, yet so sweetly, brightly, piquantly feminine! Rashleigh is one of the finest of modern villains, though all villains are second-rate in comparison with Iago. Of Nicol Jarvie enough has been said, but we do not think that the character has ever been over-praised. The Northumbrian Justice, however, is almost as good as the Glasgow Baillie, and we can conceive nothing better in fun, humour, or dramatic effect than the whole scene of the visit of Frank and Die Vernon to that free-and-easy Minos. Rob himself is admirably drawn, without a trace of the swaggering robber of the Minerva press. It is known that Scott's Rob Roy was an original conception, the actual MacGregor having been a poor-spirited ruffian, with little better to commend him than great strength and ferocious cunning. The incidents of Rob Roy's escape when crossing the river, and of the decoying by the Dougal creature of the company of English soldiers into the ambuscade, are as happily devised and described as it is possible to imagine. But whatever may be adduced in favour of these or other novels of Scott, the palm must, we think, be adjudged to the 'Antiquary.' While instinct, on every page, with the raciest interest of life, it has the qualities of an artistically composed and ideal picture in a degree which it will not be easy to parallel in the works of Scott. There is the brightest and clearest foreground, crisp with fern and furze, dewy in soft sunlight, but in the middle-distance there is a solemn deepening of the tones, and in the background there is gloom. It is neither too heavy nor too light, neither trivially comic nor oppressively tragic. The force, picturesqueness and precision with which the characters are distinguished from each other are beyond praise. Scott's humour is perhaps at its finest in this book; and at its finest it comes nearer, we deliberately maintain, to the humour of him that drew Malvolio and Aguecheek, Mercutio and Bottom, than that of any modern. It is a humour which makes us love true and kind people while we laugh at them, and qualifies the fierceness of our hatred even for the knave. We feel the thorough goodness of Oldbuck, and yet enjoy Edie's joke against him; we intensely relish the discomfiture of Douster-swivel, and yet would not like to see the poor quack hanged. The light crackling wit of Oldbuck is admirably in keeping with his general character, and the firmness and faithfulness of the drawing in the contrasted portrait of the rather stolid Hector, who *never* deviates into wit, are masterly. But we shall not permit ourselves to be led into a detailed examination of this astonishing work. Scores of volumes of fictitious composition might be named which contain more exciting and eloquent passages, and perhaps a few which are more skilful in plot; but when we consider the range of character portrayed, from Steenie Mucklebackit to Lord Glenallan, and the number and variety and perfection of the incidents described and of the landscapes drawn,—when we recollect how it carries the reader through all moods from the gayest laughter to profound distress,—when we think how consummately it avoids all extremes of sentimentality, of bombast, of caricature, of dulness, how far removed it is from the melodrama of Dumas, from the exaggeration of Victor Hugo, from the too much wisdom of Goethe, from the "carrion" on which Fielding "stoops," and the theatricality into which Dickens lapses,—we are confirmed in the persuasion, which we have entertained for many years, that the 'Antiquary' is the best novel ever written. Thackeray has gone higher in the delineation of the Colonel in the 'Newcomes,' but Thackeray's masterpiece—without question one of the finest novels in the language—breaks down hopelessly as a story. A novel ought to be good as a novel, and Thackeray's work, incomparable as a chronicle of family life in the middle of the nineteenth century, fails exactly where a novelist may be expected to succeed. The coming in of Ethel, far and away the heroine of the book, as Clive's *second* wife, when poor Rosie is in her grave, is a fatal flaw from the novelist's point of view. The greatness of the historian may be of a higher order than the greatness of the novelist; but what would be legitimate in a history may nevertheless be faulty in a novel—as a hump, which is well enough in a camel, would be a hideous deformity in a horse.

During Scott's lifetime grave exception was taken by so high an authority as Dr. MacCrie, the biographer of Knox and Melville, to his account of Claverhouse and the Covenanters. Scott's Claverhouse of 'Old Mortality' was styled by MacCrie 'a beautiful bloodhound,' and many have been found, since MacCrie's day, to maintain that Scott did not appreciate or sympathise with the best elements in the character of his countrymen or discern what had been the main current in the history of his country. On reading Dr. MacCrie's famous critique on 'Old Mortality,' Scott was irritated into the use of more contemptuous and angry expressions respecting the Covenanters than had previously left his pen; but when we calmly estimate the evidence on the subject, we find that, although in particular instances cause was given for Dr. MacCrie's censure, yet, on the whole, Scott did justice to the Covenanters, and was not unaware of what was noblest in the history of Scotland. Claverhouse had beyond question, along with the perfect intrepidity of his house and its inflexible devotion to the Stuarts, that personal beauty and that charm of personal demeanour which descended to him from Montrose. We are not aware that Scott in any place denies that Claverhouse was cruel, and it is as certain as any fact in history that he was brave, intelligent, and disinterestedly loyal to the crown. But Scott's final word on Claverhouse, and those associated with Claverhouse in the oppression of the Covenaters, was spoken not in 'Old Mortality,' but in a novel which appeared much later, namely, 'Redgauntlet.' We there have the principal actors in the evil time between 1660 and 1688 brought together into one group, with place and occupation presumably adapted to their merits and their tastes. "There was the fierce Middleton, and the dissolute Rothes, and the crafty Lauderdale; and Dalyell, with his bald head and a beard to his girdle; and Earlshall, with Cameron's blude on his hand; and wild Bonshaw, that tied blessed Mr. Cargill's limbs till the blude sprung; and Dumbarton Douglas, the twice-turned traitor baith to country and king. There was the bludy Advocate MacKenzie, who, for his worldly wit and wisdom, had been to the rest as a god. And there was Claverhouse, as beautiful as when he lived, with his long, dark, curled locks streaming down over his laced buff-coat, and his left-hand always on his right spule-blade, to hide the wound that the silver bullet had made. He sat apart from them all, and looked at them with a melancholy, haughty countenance; while the rest hallooed, and sung, and laughed, that the room rang. But their smiles were fearfully contorted from time to time; and their laughter passed into such wild sounds as made my gudesire's very nails grow blue, and chilled the marrow in his banes." The scene of this grisly merry-making is hell. Of course we may not affix a definite and explicit import to such a passage, as if it were Scott's deliberate verdict on the historical personages named; but it is by his use of the common machinery of poetical justice that we must learn what are the general sentiments with which a novelist regards his characters. Consider what would have been the outcry if Scott had grouped a number of the leading Covenanters, and consigned them to the infernal regions. He puts Claverhouse apart from the rest, not because he does not in essentials belong to them, but because he is the best of the bad, the archangel ruined. In the same book we have, in Scott's own words, a description of what the genuine Covenanter was, and what his hypocritical imitators of a later period tried to appear. The Covenanter was rigid indeed, but he "said only what he thought right, acted on no other principle but that of duty, and, if he committed errors, did so under the full impression that he was serving God rather than man." And is not this the character of Davie Deans? Is it not a hero, and a hero of the very highest moral type, that Scott depicts in the peasant of St. Leonards? "A Roman," says Scott of old Davie, "would have devoted his daughter to death from different feelings and motives, but not upon a more heroic principle of duty." With this we may take the glimpse in 'Redgauntlet' of the Scottish parish minister, that "true chip of the old Presbyterian block," who "walked his parish like a captain on the quarter-deck, and was always ready to do good to rich and poor." If Scott brings out a few of the absurd and ridiculous traits which distinguished the persecuted hill-men, the candid historian must admit that there *were* such traits. That they were disputatious and opinionative, and that they split into sects whose differences were minute, cannot be denied. This is not the whole truth, nor is it inconsistent with the statement that the later Covenanters, amid all their differences, agreed on a few grand principles; but Scott had a right to use, for picturesque purposes, peculiarities of manner and of creed which do not blur the essential features of the portrait. Even while Davie Deans proclaims that his faith is nicely defined amid shades of opinion which strike the reader as ludicrously multiplied, we feel that "the stalk of carle hemp" is in the old man. "I am *not* a MacMillanite, or a Russelite, or a Hamiltonian, or a Harleyite, or a Howdenite. I will be led by the nose by none—I take my name as a Christian from no vessel of clay." If Scott laughed a little at the Covenanters, he had at least taken the trouble to know about them. How few men, at the date when he wrote the 'Heart of Mid-Lothian,' could have furnished Davie with the list of finger-posts by which he marks off the line of covenanted orthodoxy! The Scottish patriotism of Sir Walter is to us as perceptible in his account of the skirmish of Drumclog as in his account of the battle of Bannockburn, and we are convinced that the honour of Scotland is as safe in the keeping of his peasant Covenanters as of his Cavalier noblemen. In point of fact the dislike of Scott for the old Presbyterianism of his country was on the surface. He was in sympathy and profession a Jacobite, though the House of Hanover had no more loyal subject, the administration of Pitt no more sincere friend; and he loved the manners of the Cavaliers of the seventeenth century, and admired their devotion to the Stuarts, although he knew right well that the battle of constitutional freedom in that age had been fought by the Puritans and the Covenanters. Walter Scott was true to Scotland at all points; no country ever had a more faithful son.

Mr. Ruskin sets Scott among the very greatest moderns, but on one point he gives him up. "Scott," says Mr. Ruskin, "made his romance so ridiculous that, since his day, one can't help fancying helmets were always pasteboard, and horses were always hobby." This is too sweeping to be nearly just. Scott could, when he chose, write sheer schoolboy romance. There is much in the applauded 'Ivanhoe' which must inexorably be pronounced such. The incident of a knight or forester, when he wants a pen to write something, raising his bow and bringing down a goose from the flock which happens at the moment to be flying overhead, belongs to pantomime. But if we are to look upon Scott's historical novels generally as romances, they assuredly cannot justly be called ridiculous. So wide is the diversity of times, manners, and characters over which they range, that it was impossible that they should be always correct. But when Scott constructed a novel from the history of a period which he really knew, he not only told a capital tale, but wrote as good history as any we are acquainted with. He had not mastered the history of the English Puritans as he had mastered that of the Scottish Covenanters; his Cromwell is a much less true portrait even than his Claverhouse; but his Charles II. in 'Woodstock' we take to be one of the most just, complete, and admirable representations in the whole gallery of historical biography. He sounds for us Charles's utmost capacity at once of baseness and of nobleness. Particular anachronisms, such as that of making people talk in 1651 or 1652 of Samson Agonistes, do not detract in a degree which any one but a pedant would appreciate from the value of such history as we have in 'Woodstock,' the 'Fortunes of Nigel,' or any of the other historical novels in which Scott is really at home. To have produced three such masterpieces of historical fiction as 'Old Mortality' for Scotland, 'Kenilworth' for England, and 'Quentin Durward' for France, places Scott in this province far beyond rivalship whether by his predecessors or his successors.

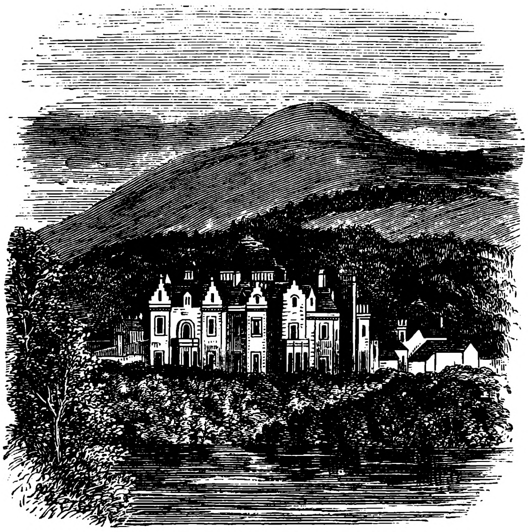
We shall not say that Scott could probe the mysteries and malignities of human nature so subtly as Balzac, and he contributes nothing like so much as Goethe towards the solution of those problems which perplex many earnest minds in our time; but in the art or gift of interesting readers, he incomparably excelled Goethe, and there is a wholesome and bracing atmosphere over all his books which has an infinite superiority to the sultry and pestilential vapours which brood over some at least of Balzac's. It is always to be recollected that the combination of spontaneity in the action of Scott's intellect and of modesty in the habitual mood of his mind was without parallel except in the case of Shakespeare. As we read him we are conscious of a reserve of power; he does what he does with perfect ease, and never seems to call upon his faculties for an effort. He was always ready to accept the public estimate of his abilities and of his work,—abandoned poetry the moment Byron caught the general ear, and flung down his pen altogether when told that the sale had ebbed from his last book. He seems to have felt that he had some powers as a purveyor of harmless entertainment, but he did not give himself out in the least as a teacher of his generation. And yet we always feel that he knows human nature in its deeps as well as in its shallows, and in bold, quick sketching like that of Nanty Ewart and Peter Peebles in 'Redgauntlet,' we have glances and indications which show strange insight into the tragic medley of human affairs. There is no sadness more sad than that of the effect of such sorrows as those of Peter Peebles, not in softening but in hardening the heart—not in clearing and invigorating but in crazing the brain. The man who has himself suffered for long years in the hope deferred and the justice denied of complicated litigation is cruel as a devil to the aged widow who cannot pay him what she owes. There are few deeper sayings in Shakespeare than that in which Enobarbus mournfully comments upon the wreck which Antony's misfortunes had wrought in his intellect.

> "I see men's judgments are
> A parcel of their fortunes; and things outward
> To draw the inward quality after them,
> To suffer all alike."

But the most lamentable wreck of all is when "things outward" affect the quality of the heart, and turn it into a Marah of immedicable bitterness. Scott does not forget, however, that it is not every nature that becomes hopelessly bad under the tutoring of adversity. Nanty Ewart has endured more than Peter Peebles, but there are roots of goodness in Nanty which the plough of affliction, drawing its furrows deep upon him, has not been able to extirpate. He has never denied his religion, and no bribe can make him betray his friends. If Scott falls immeasurably below Shakespeare and Goethe in the wisdom of the speculative philosopher, he is their equal in that practical, every-day wisdom which goes by the name of sagacity. 'Redgauntlet' is not regarded as one of the greatest of his novels, and the verdict is just, for it is rather a series of sketches than a well-devised, well-proportioned book. It leaves the impression of all the characters having been in the back-ground; the heroine comes only incidentally and occasionally into view, and the part of hero is in commission, the commissioners being Darsie, Alan, and Redgauntlet. Yet the interest never flags for a moment, and the pencillings of Solway scenery and the descriptions of the numerous characters are crisp and vivid as life. Not only does the book exhibit Scott's consummate knowledge of human nature and wholly unexampled acquaintance with Scottish manners and character—it illustrates, with peculiar force and pertinence, his powers as an historical novelist. "At Lincoln cathedral," writes Macaulay, "there is a beautiful painted window, which was made by an apprentice out of the pieces of glass which had been rejected by his master. It is so far superior to every other in the church that, according to the tradition, the vanquished artist killed himself from mortification. Sir Walter Scott, in the same manner, has used those fragments of truth which historians have scornfully thrown behind them in a manner which may well excite their envy. He has constructed out of their gleanings works which, even considered as histories, are scarcely less valuable than theirs."

Surely, in the whole history of our island, no period could be found in which the rejected or overlooked ears of the historical reaper promised a scantier reward to the toil of the novelist than that in which the embers of Jacobite conspiracy and insurrection mouldered slowly into white ashes in the last years of George II. and the first of George III. Yet what novel reader is not interested and moved by the unconquerable fidelity of Redgauntlet and the forlorn majesty of the middle-aged Prince Charlie! And who that requires from the historical novelist the sternest veracity of the historian can ask more than is conveyed in the few decisive, unerring strokes by which Scott shows us what it was, in the character of Charles Edward, in the legislation of the British Parliament, and in the policy of young George III., that rendered abortive the last schemings of the house of Stuart? The wilfulness and licentiousness of the Stuart prince, the abolition by act of Parliament of the customs of vassalage and the powers of hereditary jurisdiction in the Highlands, the opening of a vent for the warlike energies of the Highlanders by enlisting them in the royal service, and the determination of the young king and his advisers to pardon and conciliate all Jacobites who were content to keep the sword in its sheath, eradicated the dragon's teeth which had produced the formidable insurrections of 1715 and 1745, and which, under different circumstances, might have been a serious evil for another century. Had it come in Scott's way to mention the penetration of the Highlands by roads, the historical portion of 'Redgauntlet' would have been a comprehensive and exact account of the decline and fall of Jacobitism, fraught with suggestion for the philosopher and with instruction for the statesman. We have perhaps said too much respecting this book, but we cannot pass on without quoting from it an instance and illustration of Scott's power of accurate because *sympathetic* delineation of character. "These Miss Arthurets," says Nanty Ewart, son of the Scottish parish minister, "feed the hungry, and clothe the naked, and such like acts—which *my poor father used to say were filthy rags, but he dressed himself out with as many of them as most folk.*" The man who wrote this had seen into the heart's core of that practical Calvinism which was the vital energy of the Puritans and to which Scotland has owed her predominance and her repute in modern times,—a Calvinism which, with almost savage earnestness, rejects good works as works of merit, and which, with invincible enthusiasm, produces good works as works of grace. Hugh Miller said of this touch in 'Redgauntlet' that there was not one like it in all Dickens.

Attempting to do only what he could do without straining his faculties, Scott was supremely successful as a story-teller. He became the most popular literary man in the world, for if Byron had more impassioned admirers, no one had so many readers as Scott. "Byron," says Mr. Carlyle, who does full justice to Sir Walter on this point, "sang, but Scott narrated; and when the song had sung itself out through all variations onwards to the 'Don Juan' one, Scott was still found narrating, and carrying the whole world along with him. All by-gone popularity of chivalry lays was swallowed up in a far greater. What series followed out of 'Waverley,' and how and with what result is known to all men—was witnessed and watched with a kind of rapt astonishment by all. Hardly any literary reputation ever rose so high in our island; no reputation at all ever spread so wide. Walter Scott became Sir Walter Scott, Baronet, of Abbotsford; on whom fortune seemed to pour her whole cornucopia of wealth, honour, and worldly good; the favourite of princes, and of peasants, and all intermediate men. His 'Waverley' series, swift following one on the other apparently without end, was the universal reading; looked for like an annual harvest, by all ranks, in all European countries." When Scott was fifty-four years old (1825) the fabric of his fortunes was shattered, and he found himself in debt to the amount of nearly 150,000*l.* With a heroism which proved that the uprightness, the courage, the manly pride which breathe in his poems and his novels were the expression of his own noble nature, he undertook to pay off every farthing. The works which he produced in giving effect to this determination would have seemed amply sufficient as the results of a whole life's labour for an ordinary man, but they are, with one or two exceptions, secondary and unimportant as compared with the magnificent performances of his prime. He died in 1832, and when all had been realised after his death, it was found that 30,000*l.* still remained to be paid. Mr. Cadell, publisher, became responsible for this amount, receiving in return the copyright of Scott's works. Mr. Cadell died in 1849, leaving a small landed estate and 100,000*l.* He had previously disposed of the copyrights to Messrs. Adam Black and Co. for a sum stated at 15,000*l.* The extent of their subsequent diffusion may be gathered or guessed at from a letter addressed to Mr. Ruskin by Dr. John Brown of Edinburgh, and published by Mr. Ruskin in his 'Fors Clavigera.' It is evident that Dr. Brown derives his information from head-quarters. "In the twelve



ABBOTSFORD.

months," he says, "ending June 1873, Adam Black and his sons have sold over 250,000 'Waverleys,' and I know that when Dickens—that great master of fun and falsetto—went last to America, and there was a fury for him and his books, the sale of them only touched for a short time the ordinary sale of the Scott novels, and subsided immensely soon, the Scott's going steadily on increasing." The experience of the trade at watering-places and other localities where literary entertainment is in special request accords with the information supplied by Dr. Brown. No literary man ever entertained so wide a circle as Scott; and though we are not prepared to repeat the hackneyed observation that there is no line in his works objectionable in a moral point of view, we are clearly of opinion that their blemishes are spots in the sun, and that their influence on the whole is beneficent.

General Prose Literature.

The novel having played an incomparably more important part in prose literature during our period than in any former age, it was fitting that a large proportion of our space should be devoted to the consideration of prose fiction.

In other departments the prose literature of Great Britain has been exceedingly rich, but it will not be requisite for us to do more than point out the fields in which the principal part of its harvest has been reaped. The general characteristics of the literary activity of the time have been perhaps sufficiently indicated, but we may add that, while a few masterpieces of preceding periods remain unsurpassed, the amount of skilful writing has enormously increased, and the class of capable and cultivated readers has been proportionally extended. No historical work has eclipsed that of Gibbon. The 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' would still be pronounced by a majority of critics the noblest historical work in the English language. Nor can it be said that the exquisite blending of philosophical irony with worldly wisdom and sly humour, which lends the style of Hume its subtle charm, has been surpassed, if it has been equalled, by any of his successors. But a far more close and critical analysis has been brought to bear upon historical epochs and characters than that either of the gracefully pompous Gibbon or of the elaborately cynical Hume; and the number of able and successful historians has greatly increased. Mitford, Thirlwall, Arnold, Grote, Mure, and others have brought consummate scholarship, combined with intellectual acuteness and the utmost independence of judgment, to new investigations of the annals of Greece and Rome, and to new descriptions of political, social, and individual life in those exhaustlessly interesting times. Modern history has been cultivated by Brodie, Tytler, Lord Stanhope, Hallam, Froude, Macaulay, Carlyle, and many others, with results of the highest value. Along with history the cognate study of biography has been vigorously prosecuted; and if the historical masterpieces of last century have been unsurpassed, the biographic masterpieces of the present century throw those which preceded them into the shade. As a gossiping biography, photographically reproducing the life of a remarkable man, Boswell's 'Johnson' remains unique; but, as a work of general ability, it is far inferior to Lockhart's 'Life of Scott;' and the eighteenth century has absolutely nothing to be placed in comparison with Carlyle's 'Life and Letters of Oliver Cromwell.' The critical articles and treatises of the present age have almost completely superseded the corresponding literature of the preceding period, and a literary reputation of the highest order has been established by Mr. Ruskin in a series of books on painting and architecture.

The work that was the means of determining the manner in which English scholarship was to employ itself on Greek history in the period under survey had for its author William Mitford, born in London and educated at Oxford. He treated of the Greek commonwealths from the point of view of a steadfast admirer of monarchical institutions, a man imbued with all the conservative instincts of an English landlord. With his strong conservatism, however, was curiously joined an excessive singularity. This he exhibited in his matter as well as in his style. His language, according to Macaulay, "is distinguished by harsh phrases, strange collocations, occasional solecisms, frequent obscurity, and, above all, by a peculiar oddity, which can no more be described than it can be overlooked." His spelling is obstinately singular, his practice being guided by "no principle but that of being unlike the rest of the world. Every child "—it is still Macaulay who speaks —"has heard of Linnæus; therefore Mr. Mitford calls him Linne. Rousseau is known all over Europe as Jean Jacques; therefore Mr. Mitford bestows on him the strange appellation of John James." Of his manner of estimating evidence Macaulay gives this account:—"He is a vehement admirer of tyranny and oligarchy, and considers no evidence as feeble which can be brought forward in favour of those forms of government. Democracy he hates with a perfect hatred—a hatred which, in the first volume of his history, appears only in his episodes and reflections, but which, in those parts where he has less reverence for his guides, and can venture to take his own way, completely distorts even his narration." It is fair to recollect that this criticism is from the pen of a writer, able, indeed, and well-informed, but only twenty-four years old, and with as ardent an admiration for liberty as the admiration imputed to Mr. Mitford for despotism. That Mitford's work was popular admits of no doubt; nor can it be denied that it presents a view of Greek democracy which is by no means, on the face of it, absurd. Political institutions under which Socrates was condemned to drink the hemlock and Themistocles driven into exile, *may* deserve enthusiastic eulogy; but there will always be a considerable number of persons, not necessarily fools, to think they deserve the reverse.

It is a striking illustration of the importance of periodical and serial literature in our time, that such a work as Bishop Thirlwall's 'History of Greece should have been contributed to 'Lardner's Cyclopædia.' It was the first formal and comprehensive statement of the other side of the story which had been told by Mitford; and Mr. Grote, whose fame even in the same department has risen higher than the learned bishop's, acknowledges its great value : "If my early friend Dr. Thirlwall's 'History of Greece,'" says Mr. Grote in his preface, "had appeared a few years sooner, I should probably never have conceived the design of the present work at all; I should certainly not have been prompted to the task by any deficiencies, such as those which I felt and regretted in Mitford." Differing with Dr. Thirlwall on some points, Mr. Grote pays, nevertheless, a generous tribute to one who was partly his rival, partly his ally. "Having studied of course the same evidences as Dr. Thirlwall"—the words are Mr. Grote's—"I am better enabled than others to bear testimony to the learning, the sagacity, and the candour which pervade his excellent work; and it is the more incumbent on me to give expression to this sentiment, since the particular points on which I shall have occasion to advert to it will unavoidably be points of dissent oftener than of coincidence." These words give us the clue to an apportioning of praise and blame to Mitford, Thirlwall, and Grote respectively, which is likely to be not far from the truth. Mitford is extreme on one side; Grote is extreme on the other; Thirlwall stands between the two. The cultivated man, capable of deriving exquisite enjoyment from the exercise of his intellect, would read them all, and sit as judge to sum up the net result of the evidence as exhibited by three pleaders of consummate ability, erudition, and adroitness. We shall not attempt to discharge this office of judge on the present occasion; but it can, we think, be denied by no intelligent person that Thirlwall and Grote performed an important service in preventing the glory of Athens from being buried under a rubbish-heap of old-Tory prejudice. Few of Mr. Grote's readers probably will go so far as he goes in extenuating the wickedness and stupidity which sent Socrates to death, and still fewer will admit that he has told the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, in connection with the Sophists and their contention with Socrates and Plato; but his account of the trial of Socrates enables us, to say the least, to understand how men not altogether reprobate could have promoted it, and his fundamental notion as to the Sophists, that they were the professional educators and rhetoricians of the time, is certainly a *part* of the truth. "In this work," says Professor Blackie respecting Grote's History, "while the democratic institutions of Athens have been vindicated in the most masterly manner, and the political tone of the work may be regarded as, on the whole, sound, the author has in some prominent sections blotted his pages with the peculiarly German rage of substituting conjecture for fact, and overriding testimony by theory." It is, however, permissible to regard with some considerable enthusiasm a work which has shown the cast-iron patriotism and cruel pride of Sparta, good only for war, thrown into everlasting shadow by the more serene and expansive splendour of Athenian freedom. That those free Athenians who inscribed what is confessedly the most glorious page upon the pre-Christian annals of mankind were fallible indeed, like the rest of us, and liable, when influenced by passion, by prejudice, or by panic, to do unreasonable and unjust things, but were neither habitually unjust nor passionate, and had rational pleas to urge in defence even of those customs which are most apt to shock the modern mind, was a fact which required to be impressed upon cultivated men. Nothing seems more unjust and preposterous than ostracism. Exactly those men who tower in pre-eminence above the mass of their fellow-citizens, and who probably have wrought the state some signal service, are to be exiled. How shocking! But if the danger which had always proved fatal to free commonwealths, a danger to which the quick and impulsive nature of the Greeks peculiarly exposed them, was just this of the most eminent citizen becoming a tyrant, then the adoption of a precaution against the peril was not irrational, but the reverse; and *if* a precaution was to be taken, that of exile was more humane either than that of imprisonment or than that of death. There is a deeper principle, in the philosophy of government, or rather in the philosophy of civilisation, in the repression of dangerously-predominant men by ostracism than in all Mr. Carlyle's hero-worship.

Since the publication of Mr. Grote's work several men of genius and accomplishment have laboured in the same province. Mr. George Finlay published a book on 'Greece under the Romans;' Colonel Mure, of Caldwell, won a high reputation by his 'Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece;' and Mr. Gladstone's eloquent studies of Homer and the Homeric age have been the theme of discussion throughout the whole world of literature in Europe and America. Under the auspices of the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge, Dr. J. W. Donaldson undertook the translation and completion of Karl Ottfried Müller's learned and comprehensive 'History of Greek Literature.' The society became defunct before the work was ready for publication, but Messrs. Parker, who came into possession of the manuscript, engaged Dr. Donaldson to complete it, and the three volumes, as completed by that renowned scholar, constitute an admirably luminous and interesting view of the literary activity of Greece, from the most ancient hymns chanted in honour of the gods of vintage and of harvest to the expiring struggles of Greek genius in Byzantium. Innumerable essays on different departments of classical literature have appeared in the leading reviews and magazines, and the contributions of Mr. Symmonds, Professor Blackie, and others, whether descriptive or critical, have illustrated many points and added precision to the opinions of scholars on difficult and contested questions.

The history of Rome has occupied the learned during our period as well as the history of Greece. The intrepid and original speculations of Niehbuhr in the end of last century opened the eyes of philosophical students of history to the fact that the early history of Rome had been constructed from legendary and poetical materials, and could not be accepted as literally true unless the kernel of the original stories were carefully distinguished from the husk. In England, the views of Niehbuhr were ardently adopted by Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, whose 'History of Rome,' unhappily interrupted by the death of the author at the age of forty-seven, formed a new start in the treatment of the subject in Great Britain. Not only did the fresh and vigorous learning of Dr. Arnold sift truth from falsehood in a masterly manner, but his own genius, and insight into character, and fervent sympathy with moral nobleness, imparted new vitality to the whole. The work was completed only to the end of the second Punic war. Sir George Cornewall Lewis announced a still more sceptical and searching estimate of the authenticity of the formerly received history of the early Romans. Believing the history to have originated in legends and myths, he questions the ability of the modern critic to discriminate in them an element of truth. At this point, as in the corresponding case of Mr. Grote, the very extremity of the scepticism suggests scepticism as to its own sobriety and moderation. After all, however, Sir George admits that, until we reach a very remote period, the Roman annals "contain a nucleus of fact," and he does not despair of obtaining "some means of separating the truth from the fiction."

As the main question of Greek history is whether Athenian democracy or Spartan oligarchy was theoretically and practically the better system, the grand battle-field of English history has been that in which the struggle between Cavalier and Puritan has been fought over again on the printed page. After having thoroughly vanquished their opponents in war, and ruled, under their chief, Oliver Cromwell, the British Islands, the English Puritans were disastrously hurled from their ascendency into a completeness of subjugation more cruel and humiliating than they, in their hour of triumph, had ever inflicted upon their adversaries. What seems still more strange, but is certainly true, the memory of the Puritans was regarded during the earlier part of the eighteenth century with contempt and dislike. There might be a considerable number who believed that they had served the cause of political freedom, but philosophers, literary men, and men of the world seem to have agreed that religiously they were mere noxious fanatics. Hume represented the religious scepticism of the age in its most decided form, and he was far too indifferent to historical truth to care seriously about anything, except telling a fascinating story. "Hume," said Voltaire, "wrote his history to be applauded," and the criticism is just. Applause was Hume's motive, and severe inquiry into the sources of English history in the seventeenth century was not felt by him to be necessary, and, in fact, was not necessary, in order that applause might be attained. But though Hume was read and admired by his own generation, and has continued to be read and admired until the present day, he was, during his lifetime, assailed by critics, on the ground that he had misrepresented the Puritans and unduly extolled the Stuarts, and in the present century the attack has been followed up with overwhelming effect. It is a striking illustration of the power of charm of style to resist critical attacks, that, after Brodie, Hallam, Carlyle, and Macaulay have brought their artillery to bear upon Hume's edifice, men continue to look with pleasure on its arches and its towers, and to feel that it is "lightly, beautifully built."

Mr. George Brodie's 'History of the British Empire, from the Accession of Charles I. to the Restoration,' is as much a reply to Hume asGrote's 'History of Greece' is a reply to Mitford. Eclipsed as he has been by the genius of his successors, Mr. Brodie was a powerful and logical writer. His tone has perhaps rather more of asperity than is appropriate to historical composition, but it has the justification that he combated misrepresentations of men whom he knew to have deserved well of their country. Godwin, in his 'History of the Commonwealth of England,' took the popular side with great decision, although the languor of his historical style is something of a contrast to the animation with which he wrote 'Caleb Williams.' But the man who, entering the lists against Hume, fairly and irretrievably unhorsed him was Henry Hallam. The comprehensive disguise of the drift and purport of English history in the first half of the seventeenth century which we find in Hume was lifted off by Hallam, and the true state of the case made apparent. Hallam is certainly not so vivacious as Hume, but, when we consider the weight and worth of his matter, Hallam's style may be justly called wonderful. In his 'Constitutional History of England,' he does not shrink from drawing the nicest distinctions, or from arguing with as much subtlety as might be expected from a writer on the philosophy of jurisprudence, and yet there is an expressiveness in all he says, a pith, and even a picturesqueness of language, which entitle him to be considered a master in the art of composition. His judicial fairness has often been recognised and celebrated, but not once too often, and not a whit too enthusiastically; for judicial fairness is almost as rare in writing history as perfect truthfulness and magnanimity in life. "On a general survey," says Macaulay, "we do not scruple to pronounce the Constitutional History the most impartial book that we ever read." There is not known to us a nobler tribute to any historian. Having had occasion to study with particular care that period of our history which embraces the Puritan revolution, we have some right to endorse as we do, respecting its treatment by Hallam, this judgment of Macaulay's, and to add that, even after Hallam's critic had written much upon the Puritan period, Hallam remains, in our opinion, the most impartial of the writers who have treated it. In addition to his work on the 'Constitutional History of England,' Hallam published other works which are highly esteemed: a 'View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages,' and an 'Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries,' besides contributing articles to the 'Edinburgh Review.'

Astronomy.

The eighteenth century closed magnificently with the telescopic discoveries of Sir W. Herschel, who added to our universe a primary planet, with its satellites, and resolved the milky-way into countless myriads of stars. The discovery of the principles of the achromatic telescope, but especially the erection of a "monster telescope" by Herschel, laid open a vast field of discovery to the astronomer. To this we owe the discovery, in 1781, of the planet Uranus, as well as several new satellites, and the discovery of four new planets.

In 1790 Herschel discovered two more satellites of the planet which, on its discovery by him in 1781, had been named Uranus; besides this he determined the rotation of the ring, or belt, which surrounds the planet Saturn. In 1792 the eightieth comet, whose orbit has been since calculated, was discovered by Miss Herschel. In 1794 Herschel discovered the fifth and sixth satellites of Uranus, and in the following year proved that the vast river of light, the milky-way, which in more southern climes is seen streaming across the nocturnal sky, consists of myriads of stars. Delambre's observations on refraction, and Laplace's theory of the tides in 1799, and Humboldt's observations in South America between that period and 1804, contributed not a little to the advancement of science.

In 1801 Piazzi discovered the planet Ceres; in 1802 Herschel gave a catalogue of the nebulæ, and in the same year Olbers discovered the planet Pallas, and Harding, in 1804, Juno. The publication of Laplace's Mécanique Céleste, the Solar Tables, and Tables of Refraction of Delambre, and Burg's Lunar Tables, rendered great aid to the progress of astronomy, resulting in Herschel's conjecture that the motion of the whole solar system is towards the constellation Hercules. In 1807 Olbers discovered the planet Vesta. The period comprised between 1807 and 1814, though marked by no brilliant discovery, was distinguished by the publication of several valuable tables and other astronomical works, in particular by Piazzi's catalogue of 7646 stars, at that time the best and largest extant. The year 1816 was marked by Lindenau's 'Determination of the Nutation,' and Poisson's' 'Researches on the Perturbations of the Planets.' In 1818 Encke's Comet was discovered by Pons; and in 1820 the Royal Astronomical Society was founded, followed by the erection of the Cambridge Observatory in 1823. The year 1826 was marked by the discovery of the short-period comet, Biela's, so called from its discoverer. In 1827 Struve published his catalogue of 3112 double stars; and in 1829, Poisson his 'Observations on the Attraction of Spheroids.' In 1830 Sir J. Herschel published his measures of 1236 double stars; and in 1831, J. Herschel his micrometrical measures of 364 double stars. The same year an annular eclipse of the sun was observed in America. In 1832 a transit of Mercury occurred, and Sir J. Herschel made his investigations of the orbits of revolving double stars. Don Joaquin de Ferrer published his determination of the sun's parallax, from observations of the transit of Venus over the sun's disc, in the year 1769. Sir John Herschel published his catalogue of 2007 double stars, and in 1833 his catalogue of Nebulæ in the Northern Hemisphere. Professor Airy obtained the same year an important correction of the value of the mass, or bulk, of the planet Jupiter. Lieutenant Foster published his results of pendulum-experiments for determining the ellipticity of the earth. In 1834 occurred a total eclipse of the sun, which was visible in North America. Sir John Herschel published his researches on the satellites of Uranus. In 1835 Encke published his researches on planetary perturbation. Appearance of Halley's Comet. Professor Airy determined the time of the rotation of the planet Jupiter. In 1836 appeared Damoiseau's tables of Jupiter's satellites. An annular eclipse of the sun, visible in Scotland. In 1837 Argelander published his 'Researches on the Motion of the whole Solar System in Space.'

Geology.

AMONG the most important sciences which owe their origin to the present century is the science of Geology. It is the science which treats of the structure and mineral constitution of the earth, the position of its various strata, and the causes which have produced its physical features. Until within the last seventy or eighty years it consisted of a very limited collection of facts, strung upon amusing but insufficient theories and hypotheses. It now takes rank among the exact sciences, and for its due comprehension requires not only an intimate and extensive acquaintance with the crust of the earth, but also a knowledge of the physical causes that are, or have been, active in producing the past and present changes which we observe in the structure and constituent elements of the globe. Speculation was busy upon the subject long before our time; for even in the sixteenth century Mercati wrote upon the fossils contained in the pope's museum. In the seventeenth Leibnitz put forth his theories on the crust of our earth; and Hooke, in his work on Earthquakes, published in 1688, said that fossils were monuments of nature, more certain as tokens of antiquity than coins or medals. In 1690 Burnet published his 'Theory of the Earth,' and Whiston his in 1696. Buffon, in 1749, put forth his view that the present condition of the earth is due to secondary causes, and that these causes will yet produce further changes. This opinion was condemned by the Sorbonne in 1751, and consequently retracted by its author. In 1755 Werner ascribed all rocks to the agency of water, while Hutton in 1788, and Playfair in 1801, opposed the theory of Werner, asserting that the principal changes observable in the earth's crust are due to the action and energy of fire. Hence the rival schools of geologists were respectively called Neptunists and Vulcanists. The father of British geology is Mr. William Smith, who had walked over a large part of England and drew up a 'Tabular View of British Strata,' in 1799. He also published a geological map of England and Wales in 1812-15.

The earth contains within itself "a book wherein men may read strange matters." To the shrewd questionings of those who know how to interrogate her she gives replies fraught with the deepest interest. She is full of relics of ancient and long-forgotten time, relics so interesting, so extraordinary, as to arrest the attention of the most superficial enquirer, yet sufficient to awaken the deepest interest in the mind of the most philosophic observer. Thronged with records of strange and mighty changes, of terrific convulsions, of revolutions in climate and in the genera and species of the organic creation, she carries back the mind to a period indefinitely remote, when our present continents were at the bottom of the ocean, whence they have been slowly upheaved during long centuries, or at other times by a more rapid and violent cause. The geologist sees on all sides of him the most convincing proofs that both sea and land were tenanted by distinct tribes and races of gigantic animals and extraordinary vegetables; he sees that everything as we now find it has been gradually and sucessively developed, and that man—the masterpiece of nature—has but recently appeared on this stage of action. By a careful and accurate examination of the records of the earth's former state, which are contained in the organic remains of former life treasured up in its strata, we obtain a kind of rude chronology. The successive deposits of strata, in which these indisputable evidences of former life are found, may be marked out in epochs more or less definitely terminated; and each epoch may be recognised by some peculiarity which enables the geologist to identify and recognise the deposits of any given period, in whatever part of the globe they may be found. The fundamental principle on which the whole system rests is the fact, that these deposits, or strata, are *always in the same order of succession in every part of the world;* although the series is frequently rendered irregular by the absence of one or more of the strata, still, the same order of succession is preserved, although sometimes whole series of strata seem to have been removed from certain districts by causes which are comprehended under the term *denudation.*

It is evident that water on the one hand, and fire on the other, have been the great and mighty agents in modifying, changing, and upheaving the constituent strata of our earth. What changes are due to these agencies during the myriads of ages which elapsed before man's tenancy of the globe we can only conjecture from their effects; but, judging from the effects produced by these powerful agents within historical times, we arrive at the conviction that they must have been immense, both in force and duration. The intimate connection between earthquakes and volcanic agency has long been admitted, and numerous instances are on record of the volcanic eruption preceded by the earthquake.

It is astonishing to witness the effects of rapid streams, silently employed for ages, in deepening their channels. Thus, to go no further than Bristol, the River Avon has, in the course of ages, cut for itself through the rock an immense gorge of not less than 200 feet in depth. Any one standing on the Clifton Suspension Bridge, which spans this chasm, will see that the strata on the Gloucester are conterminous with those on the Somerset side; that, in fact, the river has cut for itself a passage to the Bristol Channel. Remarkable instances of the excavating power of running water are presented by some of the great American rivers. Thus, in the channel of the Falls of Niagara, which extends from Lake Ontario, a distance of six miles, the water is gradually wearing away the rock at the rate of from one inch to one foot per annum. Taking the latter estimate, the Falls of Niagara must have existed, according to Sir Charles Lyell, for 32,000 years. But even this sinks into insignificance when compared with the erosion occasioned by the water of the great gorge, or cañon of the River Colorado, in California, which has hollowed for itself a channel out of the solid rock, in part granite, of 300 miles long, with a depth of from 3000 to 5000 feet. The sand and soil brought down by the constant flow of mighty rivers has been deposited at their mouths, forming a *delta;* new land, in fact, has been, as it were, recovered from the ocean. Hence we have the delta of the Nile, the Ganges, and the Mississippi. The facts of geology go on ever accumulating, and from these facts and observations is being constructed, by philosophic minds, a system which will go far to explain the present condition of our globe. Already the powerful minds of Buckland, de la Beche, Hugh Miller, Mantell, Lyell, and Sir Roderick Murchison have been employed upon this subject, and we begin even now to reap the fruits of their labours. In 1807 the Geological Society of London was established, and in 1835 Sir Henry de la Beche suggested the establishment of the Museum of Geology, removed from Craigs Court to its present position in Jermyn Street, St. James's, where de la Beche presided as its first director, to whom we are indebted for the valuable Geological Maps based on the Ordnance Survey.

Geography.

THE period now under consideration is not without interest in point of geographical exploration and discovery. Nootka Sound (Vancouver's Island), discovered by Captain Cook in 1778, having been recovered from the Spaniards, was confirmed to us as an English possession in 1790. In 1795 Captain Vancouver, after whom the island is named, returned in the ship *Discovery* from a voyage of survey and discovery on the north-west coast of America. Various attempts now followed to find a north-east or north-west passage; that of 1815, under the command of Lieutenant Kotzebue; that of 1819-22 in the ships *Dorothea* and *Trent,* commanded respectively by Captain Buchan and Lieutenant Franklin; the expedition of 1818, under the command of Captain Ross and Lieutenant Parry, in the *Isabella* and *Alexander.* In an expedition to Baffin Bay in 1819, the extensive inlet on the west, formerly known as Sir James Lancaster's Sound, was passed through by Parry, who gave it the name, which it now bears, of Barrow Straits. In May, 1819, Lieutenants Parry and Liddon sailed in the *Hecla* and *Griper,* returning to Leith in the November of 1820. In May 1821, Captains Parry and Lyon, in the ships *Fury* and *Hecla,* pursued their Arctic explorations, and in 1824 Parry made his third expedition in the *Hecla.* In 1825, Captains Franklin and Lyon, after having attempted an expedition with sledges, over the ice, again sailed from Liverpool. In October 1827, Parry returned from a successful expedition in the *Hecla,* having reached, on the 22nd of June, a spot only four hundred and thirty-five miles from the North Pole. In October 1833, Captain Ross arrived at Hull, after an absence of four years, and when all hope of his safety had been abandoned, having discovered Boothia Felix in 1830, and reached, on the

31st of June, 1831, a spot (70° 5′ 17″ north latitude, and 96° 46′ 45″ west longitude) which he regarded as the true magnetic pole. In September 1835, Captain Back and his companions arrived at Liverpool, having, in a perilous overland expedition, visited the Great Fish River and examined its course to the Polar Sea. In the following year, Back sailed in command of H.M. ship *Terror* on an exploring expedition to Wager River. For their services in these expeditions Captains Parry, Ross, Franklin, and Back were severally knighted, besides which Parry and Back each received the king's premium for successful enterprises. Of the South Polar regions our knowledge was very vague previous to February 1831, when Captain John Biscoe discovered land in latitude 65° 57′ south, longitude 47° 20′ east, extending east and west for about two hundred miles; this he named Enderby Land, after the gentleman who had fitted out the expedition. In 1832, Biscoe discovered Graham Land, in latitude 67° 1′ south, longitude 71° 48′ west. Little, however, is known of the southern continent beyond these facts: 1st, that it is ice-bound; and 2nd, that it contains volcanoes in a state of activity. But the zeal for geographical discoveries was not exhausted by the expeditions enumerated above. Australia, discovered by the Dutch and Spaniards, was further explored by Captain Cook, who discovered the eastern coast from Cape Howe to Cape York, which he called New South Wales. Bass, a surgeon, and Flinders, in 1798, discovered Bass Straits, by which Tasmania is separated from the Australian continent. In 1800, Grant discovered the coast, named after him Grant Land, extending from Bass Land to Cape Northumberland. Flinders, in 1805, having surveyed Nuyt Land, discovered a large extent of coast to the east of it, which, after him, is called Flinders Land; so that nearly all the remaining part of the coast unseen by the Dutch was discovered by the English in less than fifty years. Only a small portion remained undiscovered, that between Flinders Land and Grant Land, which was afterwards explored by the French, under Captain Baudin, in 1805. Captain Basil Hall's voyages made us acquainted with the coasts of eastern Asia, especially Loo Choo and Corea, while the wonderful accounts brought home by the traveller Bruce had excited a great curiosity in the minds of the public to know more of the interior of Africa, and the course of the Niger. To this we are indebted for Mungo Park's two expeditions to Bambarra and Timbuctoo, and Hornemann's journey from Cairo to Morzouk, on the line of route from Tripoli to Timbuctoo. In 1816, Captain Tuckey ascended the Congo for two hundred and eighty miles, supposing it to be the same as the River Niger, examining also the adjacent country; and, in 1817, Bowdich explored the extensive country of the Ashantees. One of the most important expeditions was that of Major Denham and Lieutenant Clapperton in 1822, who, setting out from Tripoli, crossed the great desert of Sahara, reached the great inland sea called Lake Tchad, and arrived at Saccatoo. On the death of Clapperton, at Saccatoo, his servant, Richard Lander, continued the exploration. Major Laing, in 1826, made his way from Tripoli to Timbuctoo, but was murdered on his return. The long-sought termination of the Niger, Joliba, or Quorra was at length discovered by the brothers Lander in 1830.

Medicine and Surgery.

The discovery by Dr. Jenner, in 1798, of the benefits to be derived from vaccination, as a preservative against the danger and disfigurement of small-pox, ranks as the greatest medical discovery of this century. It soon took the place of the more dangerous system of inoculation introduced by Lady Wortley Montague from Turkey, it being well known that the virus, or poison, obtained from the vesicular eruptions of the cow is less virulent than that obtained from the pustules of a human-being suffering from small-pox.

Among eminent anatomists may be mentioned Mr. John Bell of Edinburgh, who died in 1820, and Dr. Matthew Baillie, also a Scotchman, who succeeded Dr. Hunter as a lecturer upon anatomy and surgery at his Anatomical Theatre in Great Windmill Street, London. Sir Charles Bell, also a native of Edinburgh, rose to great eminence in his profession. He lectured at Great Windmill Street, and also delivered clinical lectures at Middlesex Hospital, London. He was placed at the head of the medical school of University College, London, in 1826, and, with several other eminent scientific men, was knighted on the accession of His Majesty William IV. Another eminent practitioner of surgery and medicine was John Abernethy, who was either a native of Derry, or of Abernethy in Scotland, whether, therefore, an Irishman or a Scotchman we cannot decide. He was a pupil of John Hunter, and on the death of his former master, Sir John Blick, succeeded to his post as surgeon of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London. He published a very valuable contribution to medical science in his 'Constitutional Origin and Treatment of Local Diseases,' in which he enunciated a principle which changed the aspect of the entire field of surgery, and elevated it from a manual art into the rank of a science. He also performed operations in surgery, bolder than any that had ever before been achieved. The discovery of the metalloids iodine, bromine, &c., and their introduction into medicine, with the vegetable alkaloids, morphia, codeine, berberine, salicine, and especially quinine, have furnished the medical practitioner with powerful remedies against the attacks of disease, while the application of galvanism or electro-magnetism has been found most useful in the cure of rheumatism and paralysis. Homœopathy, an entirely new system of medicine, the discovery of Dr. Hahnemann, of Leipsic, was first proposed by him in 1796. Its motto is "*Similia similibus curantur*," that is, *like things are cured by like;* in other words, that we must seek to cure diseases and alleviate pain by the application, in minute doses, of those very medicines or appliances, which, in a healthy person, would produce those effects. Sulphur produces a pustular eruption upon the skin, when administered to a healthy person; in skin-disease, therefore, homœopathists would administer small doses of sulphur: quinine administered to a man in health, produces febrile symptoms; therefore it is proper to administer it in infinitesimal doses in cases of fever. Hence, the distinguishing characteristic of homœopathy is the smallness of the doses exhibited; it being presumed that by triturations and infinite subdivisions the potency of the remedies is proportionately refined and exalted. Where the allopathic practitioner would administer a grain, or perhaps two grains, of a powerful medicine, the homœopathic doctor would give a millionth of a grain, or less. Infinitesimal doses, such as the millionth part of a grain of aloes, have been exhibited, it is said, with efficacy. There is no question of the advantage derived from the homœopathic system in one respect, at least; that is, the prohibition of tea, coffee, tobacco, pepper, and all alcoholic stimulants during the operation of the medicine, and the regulation of the patient's diet according to the dictates of common sense. Medicine in England has consequently been divided of late years into two hostile camps, the allopathic and the homœopathic. We have known as eminent men on the one side as on the other, and have seen as remarkable cures effected by the one system as by the other: we have also known men who have grown grey in the service of allopathic medicine turn to homœopathy at the last. The patients are no longer confined to the ignorant and credulous, but comprise men of culture, of rank, and social position. We are not disciples of the system ourselves, but common fairness, and an extensive acquaintance with medical men, compel us to write of homœopathy in this place as we have.

Mechanics.

Under this head will be embraced that science, or branch of applied mathematics, which treats of the action of forces on bodies, whether solid, liquid, or gaseous. It is capable of subdivision into various branches; as, when we consider the action of forces in producing *rest*, it is called statics; used in reference to such pressure, or action, as produces *motion*, it is called dynamics. The mechanics of liquid bodies is called hydrostatics, or hydrodynamics; that of gaseous bodies is called pneumatics; while that of fluids in motion, as the water in canals, rivers, mill-streams, aqueducts, or in large water-mains for the supply of towns, constitutes the science of hydraulics. It is not our intention, for obvious reasons, to enter upon the consideration of all these subjects; we propose briefly to treat of the second only, dynamics, under which head we shall speak of the application of steam, in combination with suitable mechanism, to the propulsion of machines for weaving, spinning, pumping of water, and for purposes of locomotion. Steam as a motive power was known some two hundred and fifty or two hundred and sixty years before Christ. To Hero of Alexandria in Egypt, this knowledge is attributed, as also the invention of the aeolopile, which, although a mere philosophic toy, possesses the essential properties of a steam-engine. But to Solomon de Caus, a French engineer of the beginning of the seventeenth century, the first germ of knowledge culminating in our present steam-engine is assigned. In 1698, Captain Savery constructed a machine for raising water; and in 1713 appeared the atmospheric engine of Savery and Newcomen. In 1736 Jonathan Hulls, in the specification for a patent which he then obtained, first put forth the idea of steam-navigation. In 1765 Watt improved upon Hulls' patent by effecting the condensation of the steam in a vessel separate from the cylinder. Watt took out his first patent in 1769, and commenced soon after the erection of his engines in various manufactories. His first efforts were made to get it adopted in the mining districts, for drainage, as a substitute for horse-power in working pumps. His first engines, therefore, were pumping engines; and it was not until 1784 that Watt took out a patent for a double-acting engine. Notwithstanding various improvements effected from time to time, the mining and manufacturing interests were reluctant in their adoption of them; and, at the end of twenty years from the date of his first improvement, Watt and his partners found that, instead of realising a fortune, they had entailed upon themselves a loss of capital to the extent of 50,000*l.*

From reliable data supplied by Macpherson, on the authority of a pamphlet published in 1788, it appears there were no less than one hundred and nineteen cotton-mills in England, four in Wales, and nineteen in Scotland; and that two-thirds of them had been erected during the preceding five years. The introduction of steam effected a complete revolution in the manufacture of cotton. Waterfalls became of little value when once it was found preferable to place the moving power among the people, instead, as heretofore, of carrying the people to the power. The first steam-engine constructed by Boulton and Watt to impart direct rotary motion to the machinery of a cotton-mill, without the intervention of a water-wheel, was at Robinson's Works, Papplewick, in 1785. In 1787 they erected one steam-engine at Warrington, and three at Nottingham. In 1789 Manchester set up its first steam cotton-mill; and in 1790 Sir Richard Arkwright erected one at Nottingham. In 1792, the first steam-engine for cotton-spinning in Scotland was erected at Springfield, near Glasgow. In 1781 the Marquis Jouffroy constructed an engine on the Saône, and in 1787 Patrick Miller patented his invention of paddle-wheels; soon after which Miller and Symington are reported to have constructed a small steam-boat which travelled at the rate of five miles per hour. In 1789 Symington made a passage on the Forth and Clyde canal, and in 1801 the first trial of steam-navigation was made on the river Thames. The credit of inventing a carriage moved by steam—a locomotive engine—is due to Richard Trevethick, a Cornish tin-miner, who made a locomotive to run on common roads or rails, in 1802, and exhibited it in London. Improving on this invention, he completed in 1804 a locomotive to draw coal on the Merthyr-Tydvil Railway in South Wales, which drew waggons with ten tons of iron at the rate of five miles an hour. After this came, in 1811, Blenkinsop's locomotive for coal-traction, which drew as many as thirty loaded waggons from the Middleton collieries to Leeds, at a speed of three and a quarter miles an hour. Woolf's double-cylinder expansion engine was brought out in 1804, and Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, had been tried in the August preceding in France, on the river Seine. This trial was accompanied with such success that, in 1807, Fulton commenced running a steam-boat on the river Hudson, North America. In 1812 the steamer *Comet*, built by Henry Bell, began plying on the Clyde; and two years afterwards steam was applied to the machinery for printing the *Times* newspaper in London.

After a variety of experiments, George Stephenson satisfied himself that there would be sufficient adhesion to the rails to prevent any tendency to slip or slide, and that teeth and cogs, which had hitherto been in use on railways, might safely be dispensed with. In accordance with this discovery he constructed his locomotive engine called the 'Blucher,' which began running on the Killingworth Railway, where it hauled eight loaded waggons, weighing thirty tons, at the rate of four miles an hour. To return again to steam-navigation, we find from parliamentary returns, that in 1814 there were no less than five steam-vessels in Scotland alone. The following year saw the first steamer, brought from Glasgow by Mr. Dodd, on the Thames. In 1819 the *Savannah*, a steamer of only three hundred and fifty tons burden, crossed the Atlantic from New York to Liverpool, making the passage in twenty-six days; and in 1825, Captain Johnson obtained the prize of 10,000*l.* for making the first steam-voyage to India. He left Falmouth in the *Enterprise*, on the 16th of August. The father—if we may use the term—of railways, which now add so much to the comfort and advantage of life, and enable us in a few days, or hours, to visit all parts of Europe, is George Stephenson. He was engaged on the Stockton and Darlington Railway, a concern largely promoted by Mr. Edward Pease, and was also a partner in an engine-factory at Newcastle. From this establishment three locomotive engines were ordered by the directors of the Stockton and Darlington Railway Company; the directors having secured to themselves in their Act of Parliament the right to employ steam in the traction of goods and passengers. The opening of this, the first public railway for the conveyance of passengers, took place on the 27th of September, 1825, in presence of an immense concourse of spectators. The number of passengers amounted to four hundred and fifty, which, with the coals, water, merchandise, six waggons loaded with coal, and the carriages, must have weighed about ninety tons. It reached Darlington, a distance of nearly nine miles, in sixty-five minutes; the speed in some parts of the journey having attained the rate of twelve miles an hour. When the project for a railway between Manchester and Liverpool was before Parliament in 1825, Stephenson's assertion that it would not be difficult to make a locomotive travel fifteen or twenty miles an hour, provoked the reply of an honourable member, that the engineer who made that assertion could only be fit for a lunatic asylum. In spite of this, Stephenson's locomotive, called the 'Rocket,' in its trial-trip on the aforesaid railway, travelled over the stipulated thirty miles in about two hours and seven minutes; attaining sometimes a velocity of twenty-nine miles an hour, and making nearly twelve at its lowest rate of speed. The prize of 500*l.* was at once awarded to the makers of the 'Rocket.' This was in 1829, and on the 15th of September, 1830, the railway between Manchester and Liverpool was opened for traffic. The 'Northumbrian,' another locomotive, drew a train with one hundred and thirty passengers in one hour and fifty minutes, and before the close of the week six trains daily were running on this line. This line now forms part of the vast system of the London and North Western Railway. In 1837, the mail-bags were first sent by railway.

Chemistry.

To chemistry we are indebted for some of the greatest conveniences of public and domestic life. As an *art*, chemistry may be traced back to a very remote period; but it can scarcely be said to have existed as a *science* previous to the commencement of the seventeenth century. As a most important branch of natural philosophy, the science of chemistry has for its object the study of the nature and properties of all the materials which enter into the composition or structure of the earth, the sea, the air, and the various organised beings which inhabit our world. Every object accessible to man is thus embraced by the wide circle of chemical science. Nearly all the objects of the material world are of a complex nature; scarcely anything exists which is absolutely simple, even the least composite consisting of at least two, if not more, constituent elements. Thus, a piece of marble, simple as it may seem, consists really of *two* elements held together in a state of chemical combination. Expose this piece of marble to a red heat, and you will obtain quicklime and a gas called carbonic acid. The lime, however, is not itself a simple body, but the protoxide of a brilliant white metal called calcium; the carbonic acid, again, may be resolved into two elements, carbon and oxygen. Beyond this second step in decomposition the chemist cannot proceed; the three bodies, calcium, carbon, and oxygen, having resisted all attempts to resolve them into simpler forms of matter, are admitted into the list of elements, or simple substances. In like manner every substance with which we are familiar may be dissolved or reduced into its primary elements. The air we breathe may be separated into oxygen and nitrogen; the water we drink into oxygen and hydrogen; the salt we consume at our tables into chlorine and a bright metal called sodium, and the gas which lights our streets into carbonetted hydrogen, olefiant gas, and liquid carbides of hydrogen.

Coal-gas, which not only lights our streets, churches, and theatres, but has done much towards clearing our thoroughfares of the cut-throats and burglars with which, at the end of the last century, they were infested, was first applied to the purpose of illumination by Mr. William Murdoch, of Redruth in Cornwall, who, in 1798, constructed an apparatus for the purpose of lighting with gas the manufactory of Boulton and Watt, at Soho, near Birmingham. In 1802 the same manufactory was publicly illuminated in celebration of the proclamation of peace. In 1803 Winsor lighted with gas the Lyceum Theatre in the Strand, and in 1804, by way of experiment, one side of Pall Mall. Proving successful, the manufacture of gas, by the destructive distillation of coal, was taken up as a successful speculation; oil lamps were banished from our streets and thoroughfares, and companies were formed for the manufacture and distribution of coal-gas, for the purpose of illumination, upon an extensive scale. By the end of the year 1814, most parts of London were lit with gas.

The oldest of the London gas companies is the Chartered Gas Company, which has three factories for the manufacture and supply of gas in the metropolis. The London Gas Light Company was established on a scale of great magnitude in 1833, and since that period gas has been introduced into Paris, Rome, Athens, Constantinople, and the principal cities of the continent.

The introduction of gas has not been, however, free from some disadvantages. To say nothing of the injurious effects upon the eyesight, and the injury to the lungs caused by the abstraction of the oxygen from the atmosphere, by which it is deteriorated and rendered unfit for respiration, it is certainly chargeable, to a great extent, with the unreasonable prolongation of the hours of business. The facility with which the light is obtained, the comparative cheapness, and, above all, the brilliancy of it, are the occasion, no doubt, of many of our young people of both sexes, employed in shops and places of business, breathing an exhausted atmosphere for many hours, suffering from diseases of the respiratory organs. Another important service has been rendered to society by the discovery of bleaching-powder (chloride of lime). Not only is it a most powerful deodoriser and disinfectant, but, by its use as a bleaching agent, it has rendered Great Britain the leading manufacturing country of Europe. By means of this alone are we able to bleach for the world's market the thousands of miles of cotton fabrics made in this country annually. Before the discovery of chlorine-gas, bleaching could only be effected by the long and tedious process of exposure of the fabric for some months to the combined influence of light and air. For this purpose shiploads of calico, the produce of the British loom, were sent off every month to Holland and Germany to be bleached, endeavouring in this manner to avoid the smoky atmosphere of England. It is to Scheele, the eminent Swedish chemist, that we are indebted for the discovery, in 1774, of chlorine; he also ascertained its extraordinary power of destroying all vegetable colours, upon which its value as a bleaching agent depends. It was at first used diffused in water; then, potash being added to the solution, it was called *eau de javelle;* and, finally, Mr. Charles Tennant, of St. Rollox, combined it with lime, thus making bleaching powder.

Another important chemical product, the manufacture of which, on a large scale, has been introduced, is the production of soda from common salt. This valuable process was introduced from France into Scotland by Mr. Losh, who may be regarded as the father of the soda trade of this country, in 1802. Having obtained from the government the concession of a brine-spring at Walker, on the river Tyne, he proceeded, according to Le Blanc's process, to the manufacture of crystals of sulphate of soda, from which, by a further process, he obtained carbonate of soda.

Before the introduction of Le Blanc's process, soda was made from kelp, or barilla, procured by burning the seaweed of our coasts, and was sold at about 60*l.* per ton. It is now obtained from salt at about 4*l.* per ton, or even less. The introduction of this valuable process was, however, rendered almost nugatory by the enormous duty of 30*l.* per ton imposed upon common salt. Upon the repeal of this heavy duty, Mr. James Muspratt erected extensive works at Liverpool, in 1823, for the purpose of carrying out the French process of decomposing salt by means of sulphuric acid, and thus obtaining carbonate of soda. The escape of immense quantities of hydrochloric acid into the air, by which the atmosphere was poisoned, and all vegetation destroyed, led Mr. Gossage to patent a process in 1836, by which the acid is condensed, thus obtaining a valuable article of commerce, at the same time that the atmosphere is relieved of its caustic and irritating fumes. So great has been the progress in this branch of chemical manufacture alone, that there are at the present time above sixty establishments where soda is manufactured by Le Blanc's process, by which from 4000 to 5000 tons of soda-crystals are produced every week. Bicarbonate of soda is made from the carbonate by confining the carbonate in an atmosphere of carbonic-acid gas. Caustic soda is produced by dissolving the carbonate in water and adding milk of lime. It is extensively used in the manufacture of glass. Phosphate of soda is used in calico-printing instead of the disgusting process of dunging. Stannate of soda, made by acting on oxide of tin with caustic soda, is used as a mordant in dyeing. Tungstate of soda, employed to render muslin and other inflammable articles of dress incombustible, is a combination of the peroxide of the metal called *tungsten* with soda. Silicate of soda, a combination of soda and flint, has numerous uses. It is employed as a coating to the surface of building-stone to preserve it from atmospheric influence, where it is exposed to the action of carbonic-acid gas, as in London; it is used instead of dung in calico-printing, and in place of resin in the manufacture of soap. Hyposulphite of soda is used extensively by photographers as a fixing agent, and by bleachers to remove all trace of chlorine, especially in the manufacture of paper; and, lastly, aluminate of soda is used as a substitute for alum in some printing and dyeing operations. We have entered thus into particulars in order to show how extensive are the uses to which a single chemical product, when combined with other elements, may be applied. Space will only allow of our glancing at a few more applications of chemistry to the uses and conveniences of life, for to relate them all, a whole cyclopædia would hardly be sufficient. Foremost among these stand lucifer-matches. Those who remember the old, tedious process of obtaining fire by means of a tinder-box and flint and steel, will alone be able sufficiently to appreciate the rapidity and convenience of obtaining it by means of lucifer-matches. Phosphorus, discovered in 1668 by Brandt, of Hamburg, is used in the manufacture of lucifer-matches. The tops of thin slips of pine-wood are dipped in melted sulphur, and, when cool, in a mixture of gum, phosphorus, and chlorate of potash, coloured with Prussian blue, or red-lead; friction is sufficient to ignite the phosphorus, and the flame is caught by the potash and sulphur. Paraffin (so called from its almost total want of affinity with any other substance), also called photogen, is a solid substance, almost like spermaceti, procured by Reichenbach in 1830 from the distillation of coal, or of the tar of beech-wood. It is a tasteless, inodorous, fatty matter, a hydro-carbon, fusible at 112°. Dr. Christison has since obtained a similar substance from the petroleum, or rock-oil, of Rangoon. Benzole or benzine is another valuable product of coal-tar; and *aniline*, one of our most valuable dyes, may be obtained equally from coal-tar and indigo, for Unverdorben, in 1826, while engaged in distilling indigo, discovered a base which he called *crystalline*, which is now proved to be identical with *aniline.* It takes its name from *anil*, a Hindustani name for the indigo-plant.

Besides the vegetable alkaloids so useful in medicine, quinine, berberine, morphia, santonine, strychnia, salicine, and cinchonine, chemistry has discovered a great number of new metals, the existence of which was previously not even suspected. Thus, in 1791, Gregor discovered the metal titanium; in 1797 Vauquelin found out chromium; Wollaston, in 1803, palladium and rhodium; and Tennant, at the same time, iridium and osmium. In 1807 Sir Humphry Davy discovered the alkaline metals potassium, sodium, barium, strontium, and calcium. Between 1818 and 1830 the following metals, many of which are of great use in the arts, and add much to the conveniences and comforts of life, have been added to the list; viz., cadmium, lithium, silicium, zirconium, aluminium, glucinum, yttrium, thorium, magnesium, and vanadium.

Sir Humphry Davy has also conferred a great boon upon our mining population by his invention of the safety-lamp, which, constructed of wire-gauze, ensures the miner against explosions of fire-damp. It is based upon the observation, that the ignited gas cannot, or will not, escape through the wire-gauze, and so set fire to the surrounding gas. It may burn to a small extent within the gauze inclosure, but it has no power to ignite the gas outside of it. Photography, the electric telegraph, galvanism, and electroplating, are all so many applications of chemistry to the wants and conveniences of life.

Photography.

Photography is a beautiful illustration of the principles of chemistry applied to the arts. It is a chemical process from first to last. As early as the sixteenth century the peculiar action of light upon solutions of silver had attracted attention. Scheele, in 1777, and Ritter and Wollaston afterwards, investigated the phenomena, but it was reserved for the practical mind of an Englishman to apply it to any useful purpose. Wedgwood, the celebrated potter, may be considered as the first photographer. He gave an account of its application to the production of figures on porcelain and glass in a little work entitled, 'An account of a Method of Copying Paintings upon Glass, and of making Profiles by the agency of Light upon Nitrate of Silver.' Although assisted by Sir Humphry Davy, he did not, however, succeed in rendering the pictures *permanent.* A Frenchman, M. Niepce, of Chalons, having directed his attention to the subject, discovered that a plate of glass or metal, covered with a thin film of resin, received impressions, when exposed to the sunlight, of the images presented to it. This process he called heliography. M. Niepce then associated himself with Daguerre, who, after the death of the former, discovered the beautiful process, named after himself, daguerreotype. By this process a thin sheet of copper, plated with silver, and well polished, upon being exposed to the vapour of iodine, receives a slightly brown film upon its surface, which is, by the agency of the iodine, rendered sensitive to the action of light. The image of the object desired being thrown, by means of a camera-obscura, upon the sensitive plate, receives a *negative* picture, not yet, however, visible. The plate is then exposed to the agency of the vapour of mercury, heated to about 170°, which "brings out" the image, and renders it visible. The plate is then carefully washed with a solution of hyposulphite of soda, then with boiling distilled water, then allowed to dry, and the picture is complete. Subsequent discoveries have introduced the use of compounds of iodine and bromine, and iodine and chlorine, by which the sensibility of the plates is greatly increased. With these improvements, and under favourable circumstances, a picture may be produced in a few seconds; while the action of chloride of gold, as recommended by Fizean, has given the pictures greater permanence.

Aeronautics.

Aërial navigation, or the power of navigating the air as man does the water, appears from the earliest times to have been thought an object worthy of man's attainment. Man has succeeded in imitating the motions of a fish in the sea, thereby conveying himself to distant lands with the produce of his industry, and he would fain imitate the bird, and sail through the air with the rapidity of the eagle. Hence, ancient history abounds with fables of men flying in the air, as of Dædalus, who flew from Crete to Sardinia, and of Bladud, or Baldud, in British mythology, the father of the well-known Lear, who may be styled the British Dædalus. Roger Bacon says he knew the inventor of a flying machine, and Van Helmont in very eloquent discourses proved the possibility of sailing in the air, while Archytas is said to have invented an artificial pigeon which, by means of internal springs, wafted itself through the air.

Passing by these marvellous stories, we must come down to our own times to find anything like a realization of this dream of humanity. It was only when the real nature of the atmosphere had been ascertained, and man had succeeded in filling vessels with a gas specifically much lighter than atmospheric air, that the problem can be said to have been in any way solved, and that man has succeeded in his audacious attempt of riding in the air.

The brothers Montgolfier, owners of a paper manufactory at Annonay, near Lyons, were the first to reduce to practice the principles of aërostatics. Early in 1782, by applying fire underneath a balloon, they succeeded in raising a body of 23,000 feet capacity into the air. The first public experiment was made at Annonay in June 1783, when a balloon weighing 500 lbs., measuring 110 feet in circumference and containing 22,000 cubic feet, on being filled with air, assumed the form of a large globe, which, on the application of fire underneath, rose with great rapidity, attaining in less than ten minutes an elevation of 6000 feet. This first balloon then contained nothing but rarefied air, maintained in a state of rarefaction by a fire burning underneath the globe of paper, which had an orifice opening downwards. On the 1st of January, 1784, an ascent was made in a balloon filled with hydrogen gas, the specific gravity of which is to atmospheric air as 69 to 1000, or less than three grains for one hundred cubic feet, by MM. Charles and Robert, who, after a pleasant voyage of one hour and a half, descended in safety in the meadows at Nesle, twenty-five miles from Paris. Many successful ascents followed. In January 1785, M. Blanchard made the voyage across from Dover in a balloon filled with hydrogen, when he and his companion Jefferies, an American, safely landed in two hours and thirty-two minutes in a wood near Guines, one mile from Calais.

In 1785 Blanchard invented the parachute, a small conveyance in the shape of an umbrella, and made successful trial of it by descending in it from a balloon. The same aëronaut had effected no less than sixty-six successful ascents up to the year 1805. Garnerin had a very narrow escape when descending in a parachute at London on 2nd September, 1802; and in the same year General Money ascended at Norwich, but the balloon unfortunately dropped into the water, where the unfortunate aëronaut remained for six hours before being rescued. In 1812 Sadler, who had made many previous voyages, fell into the sea near Holyhead, but was eventually rescued.

The most successful aëronaut who ever navigated the regions of the air, Mr. Charles Green, the hero of six hundred aërial voyages, made his first ascent on the 19th July, 1821; he was followed in 1824 by Lieutenant Harris, who was killed in descending from his balloon on the 25th of May, 1824; and Sadler, also killed in 1825.

On the 7th of November, 1836, Mr. Green, accompanied by Messrs. Holland and Monck-Mason, made his remarkable voyage from London to Nassau, in Germany, in the famous Nassau balloon. At half-past one in the afternoon of the above-named day, these voyageurs started from Vauxhall Gardens, London, intending to reach Paris. They crossed the English Channel, continued their course during the night, and after a voyage of eighteen hours found themselves, at half-past seven the following morning—not at Paris—but in the Valley of Elbern, about two leagues from Weilburg, in the Duchy of Nassau; a striking proof of the powerlessness of man to guide his course in so subtle a medium as the atmosphere. The following year Mr. Cocking made a fatal descent at Vauxhall Gardens, when, in descending from his balloon, the parachute collapsed, and he was thrown out and killed, July 24th, 1837. Before quitting this interesting subject, we may just mention that Mr. Green completely revolutionized the science of aëronautics by the introduction of coal-gas, instead of hydrogen, for the purpose of balloon-inflation. By this means an immense saving of cost is effected, and the buoyancy of the balloon may be longer maintained, as coal-gas is far less liable to escape than hydrogen.

Architecture.

THE architecture of this period is neither characterised by the brilliancy of Sir Inigo Jones, nor the daring originality of Vanbrugh. Yet the period is most interesting in an architectural point of view, as it enables us to watch the gradual bifurcation of styles, which has ultimately divided architects into two entirely different, if not hostile, camps—the Grecian and the Gothic. The publication of Wood and Dawkins' 'Illustration of Palmyra and Baalbec,' is supposed by Ferguson to have first given the English public a taste for the classic style in all its purity. Since then, numerous imitations of Greek and Roman temples have been erected, not only in England, but in other lands; for, while St. George's Hall, Liverpool, professes to be a reproduction of a building of the time of the Emperor Augustus, and St. Pancras Church, London, to be a correct imitation of a Grecian temple, say of the temple of Theseus, at Athens (still existing), or of the Parthenon, the Valhalla in Germany, near Ratisbon, claims to be a literal reproduction of the magnificent temple of Minerva at Athens, called the Parthenon.

However ill-suited to our climate, and untractable in its application to modern wants and purposes, the beauty of the Grecian style soon begat the desire to possess examples of it, and, the fashion once introduced, it was taken up with great enthusiasm. Hence, no building was complete without a Doric portico; churches were erected in the metropolis and elsewhere in the strictest style of classicality; gaols, town-halls, even railway termini, as that of the London and North Western, in Euston Square, London, were distinguished by their imitation of the Grecian style.

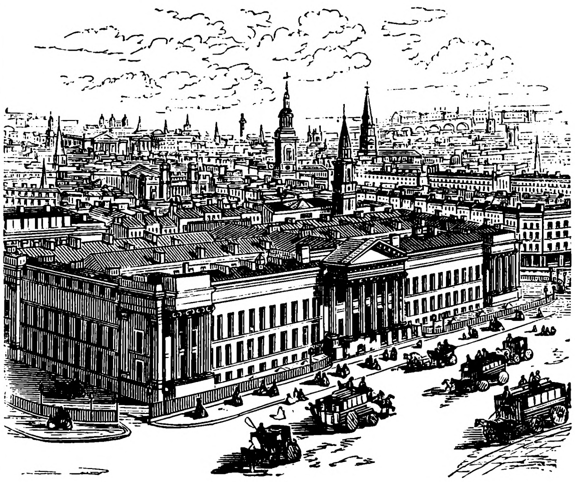
To this revived taste for classic architecture we owe the erection of the Colosseum in Regent's Park, London, in 1823, from the designs of Messrs Morgan and Pugin; a very good imitation of that fine old pagan temple, the Pantheon (now used as a church), at Rome.

Owing, among other causes, to the gigantic war we were waging with France, London furnishes but few examples of architecture at the beginning of the century beyond her bridges. Thus Waterloo Bridge, over the Thames at London, was erected by John Rennie for a company of shareholders in 1817; the first stone of it having been laid in 1811. It is of stone, and consists of nine elliptical arches of 120 feet span. Its entire length, including the abutments, is 1380 feet.

Southwark Bridge, which is of iron, was erected by Rennie in 1819, having been commenced in 1815. This was also the property of a public company, but is now purchased and thrown open to the public. It consists of three arches, the centre one being 240 feet in span; and the two side ones each of 210 feet. Only the two piers and abutments are of stone. No less than 5780 tons of cast iron, and 50 tons of wrought iron, were employed in the work. London Bridge, which is of granite, was built after the designs of John Rennie, under the superintendence of his son Sir John Rennie. It was commenced March 15th, 1824, and opened by his majesty William IV., August 1st, 1831. It has five semi-elliptical arches, of which the centre one has a span of 150 feet. The total length of this magnificent bridge, including the piers and abutments, is 920 feet. It cost nearly 2,000,000*l.* About the same time the Custom House, in Lower Thames Street, was erected from the designs of Mr. David Laing; but the foundations having sunk, the original centre was removed, and the present commanding front, facing the river, was erected by Sir Robert Smirke. The East India House in Leadenhall Street, long the seat of government of the Honourable East India Company was built originally in 1799 by Jupp, but subsequently enlarged, from designs by Cockerell and Wilkins. Since the abolition of the company it has been converted into merchants' offices and chambers, and its fine portico removed. Its façade was 200 feet in length, and the pediment of the Ionic order.

The Royal Mint on Tower Hill, where the coin of the realm is struck, was erected by Johnson on the site of the old Victualling office, but the entrances, &c. were by Sir Robert Smirke, who finished the work in 1811. It is in the Grecian style, composed of a long stone front, consisting of three stories, surmounted by a handsome balustrade. The wings are ornamented with pilasters, the centre with demi-columns, and a pediment on which are sculptured the armorial bearings of the United Kingdom. Over the porch is a gallery of the Ionic order.

On Tower Hill, the scene of so many judicial murders, where some of the noblest and purest of the land poured out their blood, now stands, in the centre of a garden-enclosure, called Trinity Square, an elegant structure called the Trinity House, erected after the designs of Wyatt. It stands on the north side of the hill, nearly facing the principal entrance to the Tower. The corporation of the Brethren of the Trinity House was founded in 1529. Their duties consist in the erection and maintenance of lighthouses and sea-beacons, buoys, light-vessels, marking the site of dangerous wrecks, &c; in consideration of which services they are entitled to receive tonnage and other dues upon the shipping. After paying the necessary expenses, the surplus revenue is applied to the maintenance of aged and worn-out sailors, and the widows and orphans of seamen. The Bank of England, originally erected by Sampson in 1734, has undergone such repeated transformations at the hands of eminent architects, that it is no longer the same edifice. Taylor did much, but Sir John Soane, who died in 1837, still more. It was from 1788 to 1829 undergoing a continual process of transformation. By some it is considered in its present form as substantially the work of Soane. Most of the exterior, at any rate, is as he left it, and at the time of its erection it was regarded as Soane's masterpiece, though now it is as commonly condemned. The north-west angle is, in general, much admired. This was Soane's own favourite composition. The General Post Office, at St. Martin's-le-Grand, is one of the noblest buildings in the metropolis. The structure was commenced in 1818 under the superintendence of Sir Robert Smirke, and opened for business on the 23rd of September, 1829. It is built according to the Ionic order of architecture, and is cased with Portland stone. Its length is 389 feet, breadth 130, and height 64 feet. The principal front has three Ionic porticos; one of four columns at either end, and one of six in the centre, with a pediment surmounting it. The Corn Exchange in Mark Lane was enlarged and partly rebuilt in June 1828. The British Museum, now one of the most extensive buildings in the metropolis, was originally established in Montague House, Great Russell Street. The new building was commenced in 1823, under the direction of Sir Robert Smirke. It consists of a large quadrangle encompassing an interior court, extending 500 feet from north to south, and about 350 from east to west. The grand entrance faces the south, and exhibits a superb Ionic columnar façade. In the centre is a grand portico of double columns, each column 45 feet high and 5 feet in circumference, flanked on either side by projecting wings, also surrounded by columns. The south front is unquestionably one of the finest architectural ornaments of the metropolis, and worthy the high and elevating purpose to which the building is devoted. In Gower Street, and not far from the British Museum, stands University College, occupying about seven acres of ground, erected after the plan of W. Wilkins, R.A., to promote "the general advancement of literature and science, by affording to young men adequate opportunities for obtaining literary and scientific education at a moderate expense." The education imparted here is entirely


GENERAL POST OFFICE.

unsectarian; all subjects being included in its curriculum, except theology. Hence, it is frequented by students from India and Persia, from Japan and the great South American republics, Peru, Chili, and Bolivia; in fact, by men of every colour and creed. The building comprehends a central portico, consisting of ten Corinthian columns, sustaining an enriched entablature and pediment, adorned with emblematic ornaments. Over the whole, arising from the vestibule, is an elevated dome, surmounted by a Grecian temple of eight pillars; over each wing corresponding domes of a smaller size are seen.

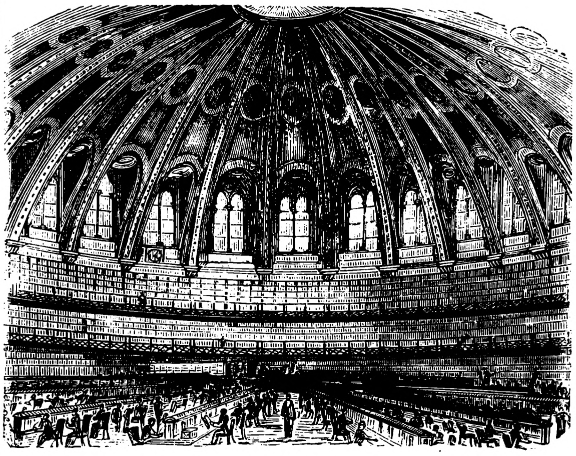
King's College in the Strand, an institution designed to afford young men a literary and theological training, at a moderate expense, as a preparation for the ministry in the Church of England, occupies the east wing of Somerset House. It was founded in 1828, but possesses no architectural features requiring special mention. Covent Garden Theatre, which was burnt down in 1808, was rebuilt by Smirke, and opened in September 1809.

Drury Lane Theatre, destroyed by fire in 1809, was rebuilt by B. Wyatt, and opened in October 1812.

In 1795 the Church of St. Paul, Covent Garden, the work of Inigo Jones, having been destroyed by fire, was soon afterwards restored by Mr. Hardwick. The front is a plain, but massive, portico of the Tuscan order, and the capacious roof is sustained by the walls alone, without pillars.

Buckingham Palace, the London residence of Her Majesty the Queen, at the west end of St. James's Park, occupies the site of Arlington House, the whilom residence of the earl of Arlington, the Achitophel of Dryden, and a member of the celebrated *cabal* in the reign of Charles II. John, duke of Buckingham, having purchased the mansion, it was demolished, and a more magnificent edifice, called Buckingham House, erected in its stead. It was purchased by the Crown, and granted to queen Charlotte, wife of George III., in lieu of Somerset House in the Strand. In 1825 that mansion was removed, and the present palace erected. It was commenced by Mr Nash, and completed by Mr Blore in 1835. The park front is an open quadrangle, in the centre of which is a portico, combining the Doric and Corinthian styles. Architecturally considered, however, this is not the chief front, which is the garden one. It is 345 feet long, and comprehends five ornamental Corinthian towers. The terrace, which extends the whole length of this front, between two conservatories in the form of Ionic pavilions, greatly augments the general effect. The triumphal arch by which Buckingham Palace is approached from Piccadilly was erected by Nash. It is surmounted by Wyatt's equestrian statue, in bronze, of the duke of Wellington. On the east side of the Green Park are several noble mansions, the most distinguished of which is Stafford House, built by Mr. B. Wyatt in 1825 for the late Duke of York, now the seat of the duke of Sutherland. One of the seven entrances to this park from Hyde Park consists of a screen of fluted Ionic columns, with three arches for carriages and two for foot passengers, completed by Decimus Burton in 1828.

Very fine examples of domestic architecture are furnished by the several terraces which enclose Regent's Park on three sides, viz., Cornwall, Hanover, Chester, Ulster, and Munster Terraces. The Thames Tunnel, connecting the busy townships on the north and south sides of the river by a subterranean passage, was commenced by Sir Isambard K. Brunel in 1825, and, after innumerable difficulties successfully encountered, was opened to the public for traffic in 1843. St. George's Hospital, Hyde Park Corner, was incorporated in 1824, and the present handsome edifice, the chief front of which is 180 feet in length, was erected by Wilkins in 1829. It contains 350 beds and a lecture-hall.



READING ROOM, BRITISH MUSEUM.

Covent Garden Market, which covers three acres of ground, was erected in 1830 by the duke of Bedford, on whose estate it is situated, at a cost of 42,000*l.* The centre is formed by an arch, on the entablature of two Tuscan columns, with a single-faced archivolt, supported by two piers, which sustain an elevated triangular pediment, the tympanum and bearings of which is adorned by the armorial-bearings of the Bedford family. On each side of this centre-promenade, which is high enough, if need be, to admit a loaded waggon, is a colonnade of the Tuscan order, projecting before the slopes. The columns are of granite, and those of the palladium are Tuscan, with an ornamental balustrade. Over the centre of the building is a conservatory for foreign and other plants for sale, reached by a flight of steps at either end, the pediment adorned with an emblematic figure of Plenty. Hungerford Market, now occupied by the Charing Cross Railway Terminus, was erected between 1831 and 1833, under the direction of Mr. Charles Fowler. It had an entrance from the Strand. Adjoining this market was the entrance to the Hungerford Suspension Bridge, the first of the kind in London, erected according to the plans and under the superintendence of Brunel. The entire length of the bridge was 1440 feet; the number of links in the chain was 2600, and their weight 715 tons. Upon its removal to make way for the permanent iron-bridge, or viaduct, of the London and

South Eastern Railway, it was purchased by the proprietors of the Clifton Suspension Bridge. It now spans the gorge of the River Avon at Hotwells, near Bristol, at a height of about 200 feet, thus forming a connecting link between the adjacent counties of Gloucester and Somerset. The Royal Military Asylum, King's Road, Chelsea, was erected in 1801 by the duke of York, second son of George III. Here 700 boys and 300 girls are boarded, lodged, and educated. This structure forms three sides of a quadrangle, with an elegant stone balustrade; the appearance of the western front being much improved by a fine portico of the Doric order, and a well-proportioned pediment, on the frieze of which is inscribed the name of the institution.

Of the numerous elegant churches with which the metropolis and its suburbs is studded in all directions, our space will permit us to name but one —a typical one, it is true—the new church of St. Pancras in Euston Square. This is a pile of considerable architectural pretensions, erected after the plans of Messrs. Innwood. The design was borrowed from the temple of Minerva, on the Acropolis at Athens. The duke of York laid the foundation-stone in 1819, and it was consecrated in 1822. The cost of this magnificent fabric exceeded 76,000*l.*; but, by the best architects, Ferguson included, it is regarded as a great architectural mistake; the extreme delicacy of the Grecian Ionic being neither suited to this climate nor to the size and purpose of such a building. The worst features of the whole design are the surmounting it with a steeple, a thing unknown to Grecian architecture, and the introduction of the caryatid portico on either side, from the Erectheum, or Pandroseum, a small temple, also on the Acropolis. In the case of St. Pancras church it is simply out of place, the porticos being quite crushed by the expanse of plain wall to which they are attached. The steeple is a reproduction of the elegant little Temple of the Winds, still existing at Athens in a very fair state of preservation. It is here rendered ridiculous, by piling one such temple upon another, in order to elevate the steeple. The immense cost of this edifice, and the strange incongruities here brought together, no doubt hastened, in great measure, the reaction towards the Gothic style, although other churches in London and the suburbs aimed at equal purity of Hellenism in style, with less ambition in design and detail.

Sculpture, Painting.

Sculpture.—Up to nearly the close of the eighteenth century, English art was in a very low condition. Sculpture especially was in the hands of Italians, Germans, and Frenchmen, who held the highest places in the profession, while foreign writers referred to the state of art in England with a sort of contemptuous pity. At this time arose John Bacon and Thomas Banks, who were followed by John Flaxman. These artists did much to further English art, and render it respectable in the eyes of foreigners. Some share of this credit is, however, due to the Society of Arts, which, by its modest grants of ten guineas each to Banks and Flaxman, stimulated their earliest efforts in sculpture. Flaxman produced works of great poetic power, and Banks some of considerable beauty. His monument in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, to Captains Burgess and Westcott, is justly admired, as also his recumbent figure of Penelope Boothby in Ashbourne church. Bacon, who died in 1799, has left us his monument of John Howard, the philanthropist, in St. Paul's Cathedral, and also that of Dr. Johnson. Flaxman, whose mind was imbued with thorough classical taste, is esteemed one of the greatest sculptors that England has produced. Among other productions of his chisel may be mentioned his monument to Lord Mansfield, and his magnificent group at Petworth, representing the 'Archangel Michael overcoming Satan,' a subject taken from Milton's 'Paradise Lost.' His private monuments, to females especially, are of the most touching tenderness. A pupil of his, Edward Hodges Bailey, of Bristol, gained in 1809 the silver medal of the Society of Arts, and the silver and gold medals of the Royal Academy. His 'Eve at the Fountain,' 'Hercules casting Lycus into the Sea,' and 'Maternal Love,' are among Bailey's most admired productions.

Chantrey succeeded Flaxman, and became one of the most distinguished portrait-sculptors, fairly grappling with the difficulties of modern costume. His poetic treatment is shown in his monument of the 'Sleeping Children,' in Lichfield Cathedral. Sir Richard Westmacott is another eminent name in British art. Besides his 'Cupid and Psyche,' at Woburn, and his 'Euphrosyne,' belonging to the duke of Newcastle, we have his colossal statue of 'Achilles,' erected in honour of the duke of Wellington, in Hyde Park, in June 1822.

Painting.—Sir Joshua Reynolds laid down his pencil and retired from the presidency of the Royal Academy in 1787. He was succeeded in the presidential chair of the Academy by Sir Benjamin West, whose magnificent picture of 'Christ healing the Sick,' now in the National Gallery, Trafalgar Square, was acquired for the nation at a cost of three thousand guineas. Hilton, Haydon, Morland, Copley, Alston, Bird, Linnel, and Martin are the principal painters of this period. The 'Macbeth,' 'Judgment of Solomon,' and 'Christ's entry into Jerusalem,' of the unfortunate Haydon, the 'Joshua' and 'Fall of Babylon,' of Martin, and the 'Death of Chatham,' of Copley, now in the National Gallery, are the paintings of this period deserving of particular mention. Lawrence, as the successor in portrait-painting of Sir Joshua Reynolds, obtained universal favour. Others, as Northcote, Opie, Hopner, Beechy, and Jackson obtained for themselves a fair amount of royal and popular patronage. In some points Lawrence was surpassed by Raeburn, who gloried in painting the hard-featured and shrewd Scottish head, which he depicted so well. Wilkie, as a painter of scenes of domestic life, gave general delight and satisfaction. Hogarth, to point a moral, had painted both high and low life as a stern satirist; but Wilkie was the first to paint with thorough artistic skill, genial humour, and quiet appreciation of character. He knew how to seize the pleasant side of every-day life, as his 'Village Politicians,' the 'Blind Fiddler,' the 'Village Festival,' the 'Cut Finger,' and 'Blind-man's Buff' sufficiently show. All were alike of the same homely and cheerful character. In his 'Distraining for the Rent,' he, however, touched a more pathetic cord. But, besides these, Turner should be mentioned, whose genius had great influence in stimulating English art. Before his departure for Italy in 1819, he had already distinguished himself as a painter of English scenery. His 'Crossing the Brook,' one of the noblest English landscapes of its kind, was exhibited in 1815. It is now in the National Gallery; together with his 'Shipwreck,' and 'the Gale at Sea.' Collins was a painter of coast and inland scenery; Calcott a pleasing artist sometimes approaching the quiet manner of Turner; Constable a delineator of homely English scenery; and Hofland of quiet river scenery. Animal painting had representatives of great ability in Morland and Landseer. David Cox and Prout, eminent in water-colour painting, established the Society of Painters in Water-colours in 1805.

Music.

THE credit of the revival of Music in England must be attributed to the Germans. It began with Handel and Mozart, and was kept up by Haydn, who came to England in 1791, and Weber in 1825. The Royal Academy of Music had been established in 1822, and the Sacred Harmonic Society at Exeter Hall, London, for the performance of Oratorios and Sacred Music in 1831. Among the names distinguished in this department of art may be mentioned Battishill, who died in 1801, and was buried near Dr. Boyce in the vaults of St. Paul's Cathedral. Battishill and Webbe may be regarded as the founders of Glee-writing, a species of composition confined to this country, in which we have no rivals. Alcock, Arne, Attwood, Calcott, Dr. Cooke, Crotch, the Earl of Mornington, Horsley, Spofforth, and the two Wesleys have contributed to its perfection.

CHAPTER V.

History of Industry, Commerce, &c., from A.D. 1789 to A.D. 1837.

OUR last chapter, dealing with the commercial and industrial history of the United Kingdom, brought down this portion of our work as far as the middle of the sixty years' reign of George III. This chapter on the same theme covers a period so teeming with marvellous developments in the chief branches of industrial enterprise, and in prodigious growths in home and foreign trade, as to dwarf into comparative insignificance all earlier advances in the same direction, through all the centuries of progress since the dawn of history, and among all the races of mankind.

The last of the ten years of peace that preceded the twenty years' struggle with revolutionary France, exhibits an expansion of our foreign commerce to the extent of almost double its limits in the first of those years. The imports in 1792 represent 19,660,000*l.*, and the exports 24,905,000*l.*; the tonnage inward stands at 1,892,000, and outward at 1,730,000. In the same year the number of vessels belonging to all the ports of Great Britain was 12,776, with an aggregate burden of 1,349,000 tons. The entire mercantile shipping belonging at that date to the whole of the British dominion, including India and the Colonies, comprised 16,079 ships, measuring 1,540,000 tons, and manned by 118,000 seamen and boys. For the same year the net amount of customs paid into the Exchequer was 4,027,000*l.* All these items, in contrast with the corresponding returns ten years earlier, show a rate of progress that is hardly below an actual doubling of the commerce of the nation in that brief interval. The advance had been steadily progressive throughout the ten years without a single check. The two most prosperous years which the nation had ever known were 1791 and 1792. At the close of the latter year, however, came a sudden and severe check in this flowing tide of prosperity. In November a monetary panic burst upon the commercial world, bringing ruin, in the course of the four succeeding months, on many houses of old standing and great eminence. In the following spring, when war with France had broken out, adding its disturbing influence in the stagnation in trade, government was urged to lend a helping hand towards the revival of commercial credit. Mr. Pitt thereupon called together a body of the leading London merchants and capitalists, and took their opinion on the expediency of assisting, by advances of public money, such firms as could give due security for repayment. At a meeting at the Mansion House on the 23rd of April, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, it was unanimously agreed "that the interposition of parliament was necessary, and that the issue of exchequer bills, under certain regulations and stipulations, was the best practicable remedy." Action was thereupon taken in parliament. A committee of the House of Commons elicited facts showing that there were many great mercantile houses possessed of quantities of goods abundantly sufficient to cover their liabilities, but which, in the crisis, they could neither dispose of nor raise money on their credit; that on this account the usual orders to manufacturers were interrupted, and vast numbers of working people were thrown out of employment. The committee held it advisable to adopt the plan which had been proposed by Mr. Pitt; that commissioners should be empowered to issue exchequer bills, for the assistance and accommodation of such firms as should be desirous of receiving the same, on due security being given for the repayment of the sum so advanced. A bill giving effect to this scheme was passed, within a few days, through all its stages. The advances were to be in sums of not less than 4,000*l.* in exchequer bills, bearing interest at the rate of 2½*d.* per day on the 100*l.* They were to be made on security approved by the commissioners, or on the deposit of goods to double the amount of the money lent; such goods to be lodged in warehouses to the satisfaction of the commissioners, if in London, or of the principal officers of customs or excise, if in Liverpool, Hull, Bristol, Glasgow, Edinburgh, or Leith. The remedy was effectual. "The very first intimation of the legislature to support the merchants operated all over the country like a charm, and in a great degree superseded the necessity of the relief by an almost instantaneous restoration of mutual confidence" ('Macpherson's Annals of Commerce,' iv. 269). Out of the 5,000,000*l.* authorised to be advanced, less than half was actually taken up, and every farthing of the loan was in due course repaid with the appointed interest. The great number and the reckless operations of the country banks caused the mischief, which was thus allayed. More than a hundred country banks were among the worst sufferers from the distress, occasioned mainly by their improvident management. Chalmers, a contemporary, and a most judicious observer of events passing under his notice, holds that more good than evil came out of this monetary derangement. In his 'Historical View' appears, among other evidence in support of this notion, the following passage from a Glasgow correspondent under the date of 1793:—"The truth is that most of us are of opinion that the late stagnation has been exceedingly useful to our trade, and that, if it does not proceed too far, it will be attended with the most beneficial consequences to men of real capital. For previous thereto the sales were so rapid, the returns so quick, and money so abundant, that much business was established upon little better than mere paper circulation, or speculation alone, which is now at an end. The wages of our labourers, too, had got to such a height that we must in all probability have been undermined in foreign markets by foreign manufacturers; and, if this had once occurred, it would have been much more difficult to recover from than any temporary shock like the present. . . . Upon the whole, therefore, we may say, with truth, that all which has hitherto happened has been for the best." The lesson taught, as usual in such cases, sobered for a time the tendency to rash speculation; and the diminished number of bankruptcies throughout the earlier years of the war, as compared with the last year of peace, together with a steadily progressive increase in exports and imports, despite the war, furnishes conclusive proof that the country was extending its trade on solid foundations.

The exports to France in the year preceding hostilities stood at 1,228,000*l.*, and the imports thence at 717,000*l.* Most of this trade disappears in the years of war, and the fact that hostilities raged on every sea presented heavy discouragements to commerce; yet the totals of our exports and imports went on augmenting with almost uninterrupted strides. In 1792, the last year of peace, the exports amounted to 24,905,000*l.*, and the imports to 91,660,000*l.* In 1793, the first year of war, the corresponding totals stand at 20,369,000*l.* for exports, and 19,255,000*l.* for imports. The combined influence of a sudden outbreak of hostilities, and a severe monetary panic at home, sufficiently explains this first falling off in exports. Speedy recovery and steady progress are plainly stamped in the subsequent returns. In 1794 the exports were 26,748,000*l.*, and the imports 22,277,000*l.* In 1795 exports were 27,123,000*l.*, and imports 22,737,000*l.* In 1796 the figures are 30,519,000*l.* for exports, and 23,187,000*l.* for imports. The last-named year shows a growth, taking exports and imports together, of more than a third on the foreign trade as it appears in the returns for three years earlier. But in 1797 both exports and imports exhibit a falling off, the former standing at 28,917,000*l.*, and the latter at 21,014,000*l.* This declension was, however, more than compensated in 1798, when exports rose to 33,592,000*l.*, and imports to 27,858,000*l.* In 1799 the exports reached 35,992,000*l.*, and the imports 26,837,000*l.* In 1800 exports reached 43,152,000*l.*, and imports 30,570,000*l.* For the last quoted four years the increase of the entire foreign trade was again fully a third on the totals in the first of that brief term of years. The Convoy Act of 1798 introduced large changes in the Customs' system of estimating values. Until that date official values were estimated on a scale of prices drawn up more than a century earlier. This scale had long ceased to be a standard of actual values, but it was nevertheless a fair measure for comparative quantities of goods imported and exported year by year. The amended system, introduced by Pitt, gives real or declared values, as stated by the importer or exporter. Large variations appear in the returns, as stated by the best authorities, for the few first years under the altered reckoning of values. Mackintosh ('Statistical Account of the British Empire,' Fourth Edition, ii. 18) omits the figures for official values in the years 1801–2, owing apparently to the impossibility of arriving at exactitude. He, however, gives the real or declared values of the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom exported at 39,730,000*l.* in 1801, and 45,102,000*l.* in 1802, leaving blanks in his column for imports and for foreign and colonial produce exported.

The total amount of merchant shipping belonging to the British dominion, inclusive of the colonies, at the close of the eighteenth century, is stated at 17,885 vessels of all sizes, of an aggregate burden of 1,855,880 tons, and manned by 138,721 seamen. England owned 12,198 of the number; Scotland 2,155; Ireland 1,803; the Colonies 2,161, and the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands the remainder. The new shipping built and registered in British ports in the same year is stated at 965 vessels, measuring 126,268 tons.

The war came to an end in October, 1801, only, however, to be resumed eighteen months later. British commerce had not only suffered no decline in its total amount through those nine years of war, but continued to grow with almost uniform regularity throughout the period. Our supremacy on the sea secured free passage for the products of our home industries, which were expanding with giant strides each year. Foreign produce, which to a large extent had previously found its way to Europe in the ships of our rivals, now came almost exclusively in vessels belonging to British ports. Obstacles were thrown in the way of our trade with large sections of the European continent, but indirect intercourse was nevertheless maintained even with France herself, and with the countries overrun by her armies. The stoppage, or diminution of trade with one country gave rise to the opening of fresh markets, from which, by circuitous routes, the accustomed supplies found their way to old customers. In the course of the war our territorial acquisitions, made at the expense of the enemy, were very extensive, and gave fresh markets for exports and imports. In 1793 we took from the French Pondicherry, and all their settlements in the East Indies, and the Island of Tobago in the West Indies. In the following year we wrested from them Martinique, St. Lucie and Guadaloupe. In 1795 we took Malacca, Ceylon, and the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch, as also Demerara and Amboyna in the following year. From Spain we took Trinidad, in 1797. Corsica was held by our troops from 1794 to 1797. Malta, Goree, and Curaçoa were added in 1800 to the list of conquests; in the previous year our Indian empire was enlarged by the annexation of Mysore and Seringapatam.

On the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, for twenty years from 1793, the trade to India was partially opened to merchants not members of the company. British subjects were empowered to send out, but only in the company's ships, any British produce or manufacture except munitions of war, military stores, arms, masts, spars, cordage, anchors, pitch, tar, and copper. Free merchants living in India under licence of the company, and the company's civil servants in India, were, on the other hand, permitted to send home in the company's ships all kinds of India goods except calicoes, muslins, and other piece goods, for which an express permission from the company was required. The outward freight was to be 5*l.* per ton, and the homeward 15*l.* The company were to set apart not less than 3,000 tons of their shipping each year for this traffic.

The twelve years of war, from 1803 to 1815, present greater vicissitudes and a slower rate of growth than in the equal term of years preceding 1803. In these years the official values of goods sent out of and brought into the country were as follows:—

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
1803	. £25,105,000	£28,075,000
1804	. 26,451,000	31,071,000
1805	. 27,334,000	30,520,000
1806	. 25,554,000	32,984,000
1807	. 25,327,000	30,588,000
1808	. 25,680,000	29,957,000
1809	. 30,170,000	45,667,000
1810	. 37,613,000	42,657,000
1811	. 25,241,000	27,841,000
1812	. 24,924,000	37,981,000

For 1813, no returns remain on record.

1814	. 32,621,000	51,358,000
1815	. 31,822,000	57,420,000

In several of the years to which these returns apply, the Berlin and Milan decrees on the side of France, and the retaliatory orders in council on the part of England, well nigh abolished all neutral trade, without augmenting that of either belligerent. Neutral ships could not satisfy the requirements of one set of decrees without becoming liable to seizure and confiscation under the other. So dominant was Napoleon on the European continent in 1807, and so efficacious were his efforts to put down our trade wherever his influence extended, that our home markets at the close of that year exhibited the prospect of a total stoppage of all importation of corn, and of European produce required as the raw materials of our manufactures, or as naval stores. Under this ominous prospect wheat rose from 66*s.* to 92*s.* per quarter; hemp, from 58*l.* to 118*l.* per ton; flax, from 68*l.* to 142*l.*; Memel timber, which in the two previous years had ranged from 73*s.* to 170*s.* per load, rose to 340*s.* in 1808; Baltic linseed went up from 43*s.* to 150*s.* per quarter; Russian tallow from 55*s.* to 112*s.* per cwt. Spanish wools and Italian silks, under threatened stoppage in the further supply, went up to four or five times the prices at which they were to be had in ordinary years. At this crisis, to make bad worse, the United States resented the crippling of neutral commerce, under the operations of both the English and French decrees, by abstaining, so far as their own shipping was concerned, from trading with either belligerent. The value of our exports to the States declined, under this retaliatory stroke, from about 12,000,000*l.* in 1807, to 5,242,000*l.* in 1808. As a set-off, however, against such decrease, trade with Brazil and the Spanish dependencies in South America underwent at this time a sudden and vast expansion. In 1809, Sweden, the only country of Europe then open to our shipping, was closed against us like the rest. In March of the same year, the American Government gave full effect to its policy of non-intercourse by shutting out from its ports the shipping of both belligerents. Impartial as this resentful stroke appeared in its working towards both offenders, the hurt it did to France must have been insignificant, while its injury to ourselves was enormous and manifest, for the control of the seas rested with us, while the French flag could show nowhere. Foreign markets were, of course, heavily depressed, under a glut of products for which they had lost the outlet, at the same time that famine prices ruled the trade in the same commodities in our markets. In this condition of affairs the merchants on both sides left no resource untried for eluding the barriers to traffic, and their respective governments made occasional concessions under licences. Then, again, the demand for our manufactured goods was fully as keen abroad as our demand for raw material, so importations went forward pretty freely. Cotton imports, which in 1808 stood at 43,606,000 lbs., rose next year to 92,812,000 lbs.; hemp, in the same years, rose from 260,000 cwt. to 859,000 cwt.; tallow, from 148,282 cwt. to 353,177 cwt.; sugar, from 3,753,485 cwt. to 4,002,000 cwt.; coffee, from 417,642 cwt. to 828,683 cwt.; and similarly for a variety of other foreign produce. Prices went down under this influx, but wheat stood at the high level of 102*s.* 6*d.* per quarter at the close of the year. In 1810, despite an importation of grain and flour represented by a cost of 7,000,000*l.*, wheat rose to 116*s.* The Americans now returned to a more friendly attitude for trading purposes. They rescinded all their regulations under which commerce had been suspended between themselves and the two belligerent powers. The South American markets were at this date completely gorged with English-manufactured goods. So enormous were the stocks sent out in speculation to Rio Janeiro and Buenos Ayres that warehouses could not be provided sufficient to hold them, and they were exposed on the beach to the weather and to every sort of depredation. Valuable merchandise sent out from Liverpool had to be sold at a loss to the exporter, often exceeding twenty per cent. Under pressure of difficulties brought upon themselves by over-speculation in the same direction, five Manchester houses in the city stopped payment, with liabilities to the amount of 2,000,000*l.* Bankruptcies multiplied at an unprecedented rate, besides stoppages and compositions estimated as equal in number to half the traders in the kingdom. Stagnation in the mills and workshops followed, and confidence in the commercial world seemed nearly at an end. At London, Liverpool, and Bristol the Customs' stores were full of all kinds of colonial produce, deposited there for security of their duties, the owners meanwhile being reduced to the severest embarrassment. In April, 1811, Parliament offered the same kind of help that had been given in 1793, in aid of the distressed manufacturing and mercantile interests, by granting a sum of 6,000,000*l.*, to be advanced by commissioners on loan, to parties who could give due security.

By this time the glut of exports to America and the West Indies had been cleared off by low prices; and the populations among whom these goods were dispersed became thenceforward good customers. Wellington's victories in Portugal, resulting in the total expulsion of the French from that country, and the advance of our army into Spain, opened at this time nearly the whole of the Peninsula to a brisk and lucrative trade. Large orders poured in for all kinds of cotton, woollen, linen, and other manufactured goods, for Lisbon, Oporto, Rio, Buenos Ayres, and the West Indies. This impetus to production was most opportune, for employment was scant in some of our most important industries, while the cost of subsistence was swelling to an alarming extent. In August, 1812, wheat reached an average price of 155*s.*, and the finest quality fetched 180*s.* ('Tooke's History of Prices,' i. 323.)

Breadstuffs had maintained a high range through the five preceding years, under a succession of deficient home harvests and the stinted import of grain. Rents of farms went up enormously, under the expectation of continued high prices for food products. At the same time, however, a general movement for higher wages occurred in most departments of industry, and the rates of payment for services of all kinds were advanced. But the high level of prices, on the strength of which these changes were brought about, rested on slippery foundations. The French military hold on Europe was giving way. Russia and Sweden were now siding with us in the war; Prussia and Austria joined the confederation; our armies had expelled the French from Spain; the Dutch had shaken off the yoke of France; most of the ports of Europe were again open to our shipping; and France herself presented the prospect of being numbered among our European customers at an early date. The United States, on the other hand, were at war with us through the two and a half years ending with the close of 1814, and all direct trade with them came to a stand-still.

But the balance of conditions favourable to our manufactures and commerce was most pronounced, even before all the old avenues of trade were opened up by the overthrow of Bonaparte in 1814, and the re-establishment of peace with the United States in December of that year.

The brief but decisive war that ensued on Bonaparte's breaking away from Elba, and seizing afresh the sceptre of France, made no noteworthy impress on trade; but it must have limited the purchasing power of Continental customers, thus lowering the range of prices realised on our exports to them.

The fear that corn and other farm produce would fall in price with the return of peace stirred the landed interest to strenuous efforts for a remedy, in the shape of a law placing increased restrictions on the importation of grain. The predominance of the landed interest in both Houses of Parliament enabled it to carry its selfish purpose into effect, despite a keen and protracted opposition in the interest of the masses, to whom cheap food was all-important. This bad law (55 Geo. III. c. 26) entirely prohibited the importation of grain until the price in the home market should reach 80*s.* for wheat, 40*s.* for barley, 26*s.* for oats, and 53*s.* for rye, pease, and beans. Thirty years of popular discontent and agitation were among the evil fruits of this measure for artificially raising the price of the people's food.

Imports and exports, at the official valuation, in the first ten years of peace, stood as follows:

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
1816 .	£26,375,000	£48,216,000
1817 .	29,911,000	49,503,000
1818 .	35,845,000	52,796,000
1819 .	29,682,000	42,863,000
1820 .	31,515,000	48,345,000
1821 .	29,769,000	50,797,000
1822 .	30,531,000	53,170,000
1823 .	35,798,000	52,431,000
1824 .	37,468,000	58,935,000
1825 .	44,207,000	56,320,000

These figures tell, on the whole, of almost uniform growth in foreign trade and home industries, notwithstanding the competition which now came into full play with nations that during the war were wholly, or to a great extent, deprived of their share in the general trade of the world. The aggregate increase of production and interchange of commodities among the entire family of nations must have been very substantial to allow, not only of our holding our own, but of extending our operations in the face of a universal rivalry. Great fluctuations in the prices of commodities marked this term of years, but neither the rise nor the fall of prices was general: one class of commodities became dearer, at the same time that another class became cheaper.

The high prices were in all cases the effect of scarcity; the low prices, of abundance. The scarcity and the abundance, real or apprehended as the case might be, grew out of vicissitudes in the seasons, the manifold circumstances affecting production, and the helps or hindrances to commercial intercourse imposed by the legislative systems of the many nations concerned.

Inclement weather in 1816 deprived France of its vintage, and reduced its grain-crop to a point threatening famine. Wheat in England stood at more than *5l.* per quarter at the close of that year; but, high as prices were in our markets, the French bought from us about 300,000 quarters, and the price mounted, in January 1817, to 112*s.* 8*d.* per quarter. The yield of silk and oil in Italy, of flax, hemp, wool, tallow and other products of wide tracts of continental Europe, likewise suffered from the same unpropitious weather that afflicted France. Scant supplies in the commodities thus affected engendered among dealers a disposition to lay in stocks, and under the run thus occasioned upon the markets, silks, wools, oils, linseed and tallow fetched, in 1817 and 1818, from 50 to 100 per cent. more than in the preceding year or two. A good season in 1818 brought abundance of the commodities in question into the market, and prices thereupon subsided. The imports of wool rose from 14,716,000 lbs. in 1817, to 26,405,000 lbs. in 1818; of silks, from 1,178,000 lbs. to 2,102,000 lbs.; of cotton, from 124,913,000 lbs. to 177,282,000 lbs., and similarly with other items. The entire quantity of colonial and foreign produce imported and retained for home use, in 1818, was more than twice as great as in 1816, and nearly a third greater than in 1817. This glut of imports was of course followed by a great fall of prices, with the usual consequence of heavy losses to importers and speculators, and to not a few manufacturers who had committed themselves to over production, in reliance on the former range of prices being maintained. Throughout the succeeding five years, prices of manufactured goods, farm produce, and the raw material of our principal manufactures, continued in the main to decline, though with some fluctuations. A succession of good seasons largely augmented the home-grown yield of food products, giving that greatest of blessings to the bulk of the community — cheapness of provisions. Then, too, the sources of supply of the raw materials of all our leading manufactures were multiplying and extending, at diminished cost of production. Improved machinery, the rapid growth of steam power, and large additions to the number of mills and factories, played at the same time no unimportant part in reducing prices. Articles produced at lower cost than before, could of course be sold at lower prices without injury to the producer.

The mania for speculation which began in commercial circles in 1824, and drew into its vortex in 1825 alike the cautious, the bold, the crafty, the credulous, the educated, the ignorant—men of all professions, and women of all ranks—has already been described in a previous chapter (iii.) and will therefore be passed over without further comment in this place. The want of employment, and the reduction of wages growing out of this era of commercial bubbles, continued to produce severe distress among the working classes until almost the close of 1826, when trade and manufactures happily entered on a new and prolonged term of prosperity, and upon a rapidly enlarging scale, not, however, without some interruptions and adverse incidents to chequer the general flow of satisfactory onward movement.

The official values for the remaining years, comprised in this section, stand as under:—

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
1826 .	£37,814,000	£51,042,000
1827 .	44,908,000	62,053,000
1828 .	45,167,000	62,735,000
1829 .	43,995,000	66,838,000
1830 .	46,300,000	69,701,000
1831 .	49,728,000	71,431,000
1832 .	44,611,000	76,070,000
1833 .	45,944,000	79,821,000
1834 .	49,365,000	85,397,000
1835 .	49,027,000	91,158,000
1836 .	57,896,000	97,612,000
1837 .	54,702,000	85,780,000

The interval between 1826 and 1832 was a period of low and continually falling prices for commodities generally; the increase of supply, owing to lessened cost of production and the widening of the area of yield, being so ample as greatly to outrun the rapidly increasing consumption. The imports of cotton wool continued to increase in quantity, at less than half the cost which used to be deemed the lowest remunerative price of growing and sending it to the markets of Europe. Sugar, coffee, tobacco, and colonial produce generally; wool, silk, flax, tallow, and indigo, went down to a level of price unknown before. Metals showed similar depression, for despite a growing increase in the consumption, the extension of furnaces, and the application of increased powers of machinery and improved processes, had caused an increase in the yield, larger in proportion than the extended rate of consumption. This progressive decline in price reached its lowest limit in 1832, and was followed by a gradual recovery under a great and increasing demand in all the markets of the world. The Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1833 to inquire into the state of manufactures, commerce, and shipping, produced a report showing that the trade and manufactures of the country were in a remarkably sound and healthy condition; that they were carried on with ample capital and reasonable returns; and that, with the exception of the hand-loom weavers, all classes of the working population were in the enjoyment of a degree of comfort, springing out of full employment, cheap food, and other articles of consumption, such as had not been experienced since the close of the war in 1815. From 1833 onwards, new mills were rising in quick succession in all the manufacturing districts, but could not be brought into operation fast enough to meet the ever-growing demand for the great staple articles of manufacture, both for home use and foreign trade. A great and constantly enlarging increase in the consumption of iron had now set in, for the use of the many railways that were in progress both at home and in the United States. What with the railroads and manufactories together, the working population were in full employment, at good wages; and their increased means of spending, with a low or moderate range in the price of all the prime necessaries and minor luxuries of life, made their mark in a progressive rise in the public revenue.

Towards the close of 1835, the great success of not a few of the new joint-stock banks and other undertakings raised their shares into a favourite stock with investors and speculators. In the following year the share market displayed, in the words of Mr. Tooke, "a spirit of speculation and of general excitement which presented some resemblance to the spring of 1825, although far short of that period in extravagance, and attended with the important difference that, whereas in 1824–5 a considerable part of the investment speculation ran on investment in foreign loans and foreign mines, those of 1836 were chiefly, if not exclusively, directed to undertakings within the United Kingdom." The proved success, as a paying concern, of the first line of railway for passenger as well as goods traffic, the Liverpool and Manchester line, won the confidence of investors in the many similar undertakings that now sprang into existence. Hundreds of railway projects had their origin in this period of general activity in great industrial enterprises, and not a few of the schemes that then first won favour in the share market rank at the present time among the greatest successes in this description of investment.

The powers and privileges of the East India Company as a trading association entirely ceased in 1833. Up to that year the trade with China was in the exclusive possession of the company, as indeed had been the trade with India until twenty years earlier, with the exception of a limited amount of private trade carried on under licence from that almost imperial corporate body.

Some facts set forth in the First Report of the Commissioners of Customs are of interest for the light they throw on the growth of commerce through the years covered by this section. To appreciate their significance, however, it is necessary to preface them by a few similar facts connected with an earlier period. In early times customs' duties on imports and exports were farmed—that is, the right of levying them was let or sold to some enterprising merchant, or some royal favourite, for a fixed yearly sum payable to the king. In some instances the privilege was bestowed in recompense for a loan made to the king. This practice has been traced as far back as the reign of Edward I. In 1329 the entire customs of England were farmed for 20*l.* a day. In the reign of Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Smith, a secretary of state, rented them for annual sums varying from 14,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* As the commerce of the country increased in extent, and the mercantile classes gained influence, the exactions of these farmers of the revenue were resented, and demands were pressed upon the government for an amended system. It was not, however, until 1671 that the customs were finally taken out of farm, and their collection vested in a board of commissioners. At the accession of George III. they yielded 2,000,000*l.*; in 1800 the amount levied was 11,000,000*l.*; in 1810, 16,886,555*l.* gross, but only 14,287,471*l.* net; in 1820, gross, 14,100,521*l.*, and net, 11,969,390*l.*; in 1830, gross, 21,084,525*l.*, net, 19,527,101*l.*; in the succeeding years, to 1837, about 22,000,000*l.* on an average, being pretty closely on the level since maintained, despite enormous remissions of duty. The cost of collection was no less than 12*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* per cent. on the gross amount in 1816, but a series of reductions and consolidations subsequently brought down this per-centage to 5*l.* 12*s.* on the gross amount. In 1829, the reductions and simplifications in this overgrown service produced a yearly saving of more than a quarter of a million. In 1790, about 1,400 articles, exports as well as imports, were subject to duty; in 1837, the number was still over 1200; subsequent changes have brought down the total to less than a dozen principal articles, and all exports have long ceased to pay any duty. Owing, however, to the vast increase in the commerce of the country, the customs revenue has continued to be almost uniformly as productive as ever.

The same encouraging tale of progress is told by the number of vessels built and registered in successive years throughout the period. Thus, in 1801, the number was 1,065 vessels, of 122,593 tons; in 1810, 685 vessels, of 84,891 tons; in 1820, 1,125 vessels, of 112,173 tons; in 1830, 1,150 vessels, of 116,872 tons; in 1840, 1,981 vessels, of 296,000 tons. The registered tonnage of the British empire was, in 1801, 19,711 vessels, 2,038,253 tons, 149,766 men; in 1810, 23,700 vessels, manned by 164,195 seamen, and carrying 2,426,044 tons; in 1820, 25,374 vessels, 2,648,523 tons, 174,514 men; in 1830, 23,721 vessels, 2,531,819 tons, 154,812 men; in 1840, 28,962 vessels, 3,311,480 tons, 210,918 men. The later years, to be noted further on, show yet more forcibly the ever-enlarging trade of the empire.

In natural sequence to the foregoing condensed retrospect of foreign trade in its collective aspects, it remains to trace in brief the progress made in the same term of years in that class of public improvements by which commerce and the general intercourse of the country are promoted.

CANALS.—Inland navigation by means of canals had, as recorded in a previous chapter (vol. iii. p. 636), made great advances towards connecting all the great rivers and seaports, and most of the large inland towns, with each other, before the period now under notice. Brindley's bold conceptions, though deemed visionary at the outset, had worked out in perfect success as paying speculations, bringing, at the same time, enormous advantage to the public, in speedy, cheap, and regular transmission of minerals and other heavy goods. Under the spur of such encouragement, a rapid succession of fresh canal projects found favour with investors, until a network of canals linked most of the inland towns with all the principal seaports. A few of the most important only of these schemes of water communication need be mentioned in this summary. The Forth and Clyde Canal, completed in 1790, is on a larger scale than most English canals, its original purpose being to offer a short cut for seagoing ships between the eastern and western coasts, and thus save the passage round the north of Scotland. The ship-canal between

Gloucester and the Severn came into use a few years later. The Ellesmere Canal, joining the waters of the Mersey, the Dee, and the Severn, and passing by lofty aqueducts over wide valleys, was completed in 1805. The Grand Trunk Canal, linking the Mersey with the Humber, and joining all the manufacturing towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire with each other and with the ports of Liverpool and Hull, was commenced long before the period under notice, though not completed until 1816, but the different sections of it came into use as soon as finished. The Grand Trunk Canal was afterwards united with other lines in the southern and western system, thus connecting by inland navigation the docks on the Thames and Severn with all the midland and northern towns, and completing the internal communication, first projected by Brindley, between the four largest ports of the kingdom, viz., London, Liverpool, Hull, and Bristol. A shorter line of canal traffic between Hull and Liverpool was subsequently established, by means of the Huddersfield and Rochdale navigation, which crosses the great central ridge known as the backbone of England, passing under Standedge Hill in a tunnel upwards of three miles long. The Caledonian Canal, opened in 1822, was constructed entirely at the expense of Government. It stretches across Scotland, from a point near Inverness to another near Fort-William. It is chiefly formed by a line of picturesque lakes, the excavated parts between the several lakes making about a third of the total length. It was intended to give passage to ships of 1000 tons burden, but this ambitious notion was eventually abandoned—not, however, until the locks and the excavations between the lakes had been constructed of suitable dimensions for such large craft. The Caledonian Canal cost more than a million, but has turned out an utter abortion so far as its paying capacity is concerned. The same must be said of the great lines of Irish canals—the Royal, the Grand, and others—which also were in a large measure constructed at the public expense. But very many other canals, especially in England, were brought into operation in the period under review, until no large town, and but few small ones, remained unserved with easy, if not rapid, water-communication with the principal markets for their industrial products, and with the sources whence they drew the raw material of their industries, and the fuel and food consumed by their inhabitants. The length of all the canals in the United Kingdom reached a total of about 3,000 miles, 2,400 being the English portion of the aggregate. As soon as the system of canal traffic was thus far completed, railways began to enter into rivalry with the scheme of water-transit. Canals thenceforward sank in value; many of them soon ceased to pay their working expenses; some were actually transformed into railroads; others became humble handmaids and dependant servitors, ministering to the work of the locomotive of boundless energy, and supplying freight to its long following of goods trucks and mineral waggons.

Roads.—The public highways or turnpike roads, equally with navigable canals, had made large advances towards completeness and efficiency in the period preceding that now under review. Much, however, yet remained to be accomplished before the best description of coach or carriage, drawn by the best breed of horses adapted to such service, attained an average speed of eight miles per hour. Telford and Macadam, two famous reformers in the art of road-making, came forward at this juncture and carried out a series of improvements which have made the public roads of the United Kingdom the accepted pattern for all civilized nations. The 800 miles of military roads, constructed by the troops quartered in the Highlands after the rebellion of 1715, continued to be kept up at the public expense down to the close of the last century, though no longer in request for imperial purposes, and only in part useful for the ordinary requirements of the districts traversed. The districts intersected by these roads had so largely benefited by them, that when the question was at length mooted whether it was worth while for the Government to keep them in repair, the proprietors and inhabitants generally offered to bear a part proportioned to their means in improving and extending the system of Highland roads. Thereupon followed the appointment of commissioners to decide which of the old roads should be kept up and what new ones should be constructed. Telford guided the counsels of these commissioners, and superintended the works. Half the cost was borne by the Government, the other half by the landowners and others locally concerned in the improvement. The length of new roads formed by this joint fund was 875 miles; the number of bridges of all kinds was 1,117; the total cost being 540,000*l.* Nearly 300 miles of the old military roads were also placed under the control of the same commissioners to keep in repair, the other 500 being abandoned. The benefit of these roads to the districts traversed, in promoting industry and social intercourse with the outer world, from which they were before all but excluded, has been simply incalculable. No coach or other public conveyance existed in the Highlands before they were formed. The earliest stage-coach travelling attempted in the Highlands was in 1800, on the road between Inverness and Perth, and on that between Aberdeen and Inverness; but the ways were so bad and the passengers so few that the attempt had to be relinquished until some years later, when Telford's improvements were completed on both routes. The same engineer left his mark in an abiding form through the length and breadth of Scotland, in its roads, bridges, canals, harbours, and other works of public utility. He also vastly improved the road between London and Holyhead, the great highway to Ireland, carrying it over the Menai Straits by that huge suspension-bridge, which yet retains its front-rank place among the greatest triumphs of engineering skill. His method of road-construction consisted mainly in a foundation or bottoming of large stones, laid in the form of a pavement, over which was spread a thick covering of stones broken small, smoothly laid, and slightly convex. Macadam, another eminent road-constructor, was operating on the southern and western English counties during the same years in which Telford was making or mending the highways of Scotland. In

1827, Macadam's services were rewarded by a Parliamentary grant of 10,000*l.*, and in the same year he was appointed general surveyor to the commissioners entrusted with the management of the roads in and about London. Layers of broken granite or other hard stone, compressed into a smooth and solid mass by the traffic passing over them, constitute the leading principle of the *macadamized* road.

In England and Wales the total length of turnpike roads in 1837 was 23,000 miles, and the length of the cross roads and other public highways, exclusive of turnpike roads, about 100,000 miles more. The turnpike and other roads in Scotland are computed at about one-seventh the aggregate length of English roads.

RAILROADS.—But these magnificent roads, equally with the watery highways constructed for inland navigation, were destined soon to be utterly disused as main channels of trade between places of any importance. Even when the coaching system had attained the highest degree of perfection, on the excellent system of roads described above, a journey from London to Liverpool occupied a whole day and night, and the fare, including fees to guards and coachmen, was about 5*l.* The same journey is now made in five hours, at a small fraction of the former fatigue and inconvenience, and at a fourth part of the cost. The marvellous change in the means and methods of conveyance, of which this is but one among thousands of instances, had its origin and early development into the form of an assured success within the limits of time covered by this section. The first germs of our railroad system, as noted in an earlier chapter (vol. iii. p. 636), were the rude tramways on which coal-waggons bore their load from the pit's mouth, or conveyed ore from the mine to the furnace, and coal from the pit to the place of shipment. In the closing years of last century, stationary engines began to be substituted for horse-power for drawing trucks up the inclines of such tramways, by means of a rope wound round a large drum. This mode of traction was afterwards extended, by means of a succession of stationary engines, along the entire length of the coal and mineral tramways. The problem, how to put the steam-engine on wheels, and teach it to run with a burden behind it, was meanwhile racking the brains of many a mechanician. Watt, with all his felicitous contrivance, was foiled in this aim. Murdoch, an engineer employed in Boulton and Watt's establishment, constructed a small model of a locomotive moving on three wheels—the front wheel for guiding the carriage, and the hind wheels fixed to the axle, which was turned round by a crank attached to the piston-rod. Murdoch never brought his design into practical working; but his ideas were taken up by other engineers, who constructed steam-carriages to run on ordinary turnpike roads. Prominent among these were Gurney, Handcock, and Trevethick, who proved the practicability of employing steam-power in locomotive engines five-and-twenty years before the first passenger railway was brought into operation. Trevithick devised the first actual application of the steam-engine to the use of a railway locomotive. In 1804 he brought this engine into play on a mineral railway at Merthyr Tydvil. On the axle of the crank worked by the piston-rod a cog-wheel was fixed; this communicated motion to the hind wheels, which were fixed to the axle, so that when the wheels revolved the carriage was propelled. The colliery lines in the north of England soon afterwards presented examples of similar engines —clumsy indeed, and unsightly in their appearance, and hampered with gear that was an encumbrance rather than a help, yet fraught with ample promise of early success. Then followed Stephenson's improvements, bringing the engine to a pitch of progress that left for his successors mere points of detail to work upon, the principle of construction remaining the same in all the subsequent locomotives that have come into existence. Even at the date when the first passenger railway, the Liverpool and Manchester line, was projected, so little were the crude engines on the colliery tramways calculated to meet the demand for rapid transit, that it was at first proposed to work the carriages by the traction of ropes put in motion by stationary engines. But before coming to a final decision on this point, the directors appealed to the engineering skill of the day to produce a locomotive of greater efficiency than had hitherto been attained. They offered the modest reward of 500*l.* for an engine "capable of drawing three times its own weight at 10 miles an hour; the engine and boiler to be supported on springs, and rested on six wheels, if the weight should exceed 4½ tons; weight, including water in boiler, not to exceed 6 tons, or less if possible; the cost of the engine not to exceed 550*l.*" Four engines competed for the prize, which was awarded to Stephenson's "Rocket." This curious, ungainly precursor of the mighty engines—of 700-horse-power, and weighing 31 tons—which, twenty years later, bore passenger trains of 120 tons at a speed of 60 miles an hour, more than satisfied the stipulations of the directors. It weighed 4½ tons; the tender, with water and coke, 3 tons 4 cwt. Its speed, with tender only, was 30 miles an hour; with two loaded carriages in addition, making 19 tons in all, the average velocity on the first public trial was 14½ miles. The doubts of the directors as to the mode of traction to be adopted were now completely dispelled. More powerful engines, after the model of the "Rocket," were forthwith provided for the service. The line was opened for public traffic on the 16th September, 1830, and proved from the outset a highly remunerative speculation, and a complete success, notwithstanding that the actual cost reached a total threefold higher than the estimated outlay. At the commencement of the traffic, and for some years afterwards, the average speed through the length of 31 miles was from sixteen miles an hour for stopping trains, to 24 for express—rates which at the time were looked upon as marvels of velocity. The immense advantages of this novel means of intercourse, social and commercial, were at once manifest, and the country was forthwith astir through its length and breadth with projects for other lines. Before the current reign began there were hardly any towns in England and Scotland, however far apart, which were not in expectancy of soon being linked together by one or more of the proposed schemes of railway communication. Absurd as such anticipations must have appeared in the sober judgment of reflecting men at that time, the subsequent growth of our railway system has quite realised the expectation. Cornwall and Caithness, Yarmouth and Galway, the Isle of Wight and the Isle of Skye, are now less remote from each other, according to our present reckoning by the hours consumed in traversing the intervening spaces, than were Manchester and Glasgow, or London and Liverpool, in the days of a perfected service of mail-coaches on the best of turnpike roads. If our retrospect be carried back a full century, the contrast becomes simply startling. The journey by mail-coach between London and Edinburgh used then to occupy ten or more days; express trains now traverse the same distance in nine and a half hours! But this is not the place to record the marvellous development of the railway system.

Steam locomotion on ordinary roads was tried from time to time through more than the first thirty years of the current century, but was at length abandoned, the enterprise having proved a failure as a commercial speculation. The mechanism was frequently broken or disarranged by the jarring on rough portions of the road, and the working expenses were disproportionately heavy for the earnings.

Steam Navigation.—Steam navigation, by paddle-wheel boats, had become an accomplished fact, so far as river and coasting transit was concerned, some years earlier than the successful application of the locomotive engine to the purposes of general traffic on railroads. Crude notions as to methods of propelling boats and ships by paddle-wheels are found in the writings of ingenious men through the two centuries before Watt's memorable improvements in the steam-engine began to present the prospect of a vastly more powerful crank-turning appliance than any other hitherto available. Towards the close of the eighteenth century efforts were being put forth, in and about the same years, in England, Scotland, France, and the United States, for securing the potent alliance of the king of machines in the contests for mastery over currents, tides, and winds on the watery highways. In 1788 Mr. Patrick Miller, of Dalswinton, aided by Mr. James Taylor, a tutor in his household, and William Symington, an engineer, applied a small steam-engine and other mechanism to the working of paddles fitted to a pleasure-boat. In 1789 a larger boat, constructed for Mr. Miller, under Symington's direction, was propelled on the Forth and Clyde Canal at the rate of seven miles an hour. The fear of injury to the banks of the canal by the force of the waves kept in long abeyance the movement thus well begun. In 1801-2 further experiments, with a much more perfect boat, went forward on the same canal. In the following year Fulton, an American, made similar experiments on the Seine, and afterwards visited Scotland to learn what had been done there. On information gleaned from Symington and the Scottish experimentalists, Fulton carried with him to America the secret of success. In 1807 he launched on the Hudson the first steamboat ever brought into practical working against tides and currents. This vessel was fitted with machinery constructed by Boulton and Watt, at their works near Birmingham, and by artizans from their establishment. Henry Bell, of Helensburgh, on the Clyde, who had furnished Fulton with drawings of Miller's steamboat machinery, was the first to start a passenger steamboat on our own open waters. In 1811 he built, and fitted up with engines and paddles, a vessel named the *Comet*, which, in January, 1812, began to ply regularly between Helensburgh and Glasgow. In 1814 Bell sent this boat on an extensive round along the coasts of England, Ireland, and Scotland, "to show the public," as he said, "the advantages of steamboat navigation over the other mode of sailing." Thenceforward the progress of steam navigation was no longer fitful and intermittent, but continuous and rapid. In 1816 the Clyde steamboats had almost superseded travelling by land and by the old passage boats between Glasgow, Greenock, and the smaller river-side towns and villages as far down as Helensburgh. The Thames and other English rivers witnessed the introduction of steamboats soon after Bell's *Comet* established the practicability of the grand invention. In the four summer months of 1818, the steamboats employed between London, Richmond, and Twickenham, carried more than 10,000 passengers, despite a most persistent opposition on the part of the Thames watermen, who fancied they possessed a chartered and exclusive right to carry passengers within the limits of the City jurisdiction. Voyages between London, Gravesend, and Margate by steam packets date from 1813; but the regular service of boats on that line commenced somewhat later. The Tay, the Trent, the Tyne, the Humber, the Yare, the Orwell, the Shannon, the Mersey, Avon, Severn, and Forth, were very little behind the Clyde and the Thames in the adoption of the new mode of cheap and rapid transit. Previously to 1818, however, steamboats were not equal to the risks of the deep-sea passages; and it was only in fine weather that they ventured beyond the rivers and friths of our shores. But in 1818 Mr. David Napier contrived a new and superior mode of construction for steam-vessels. In that year Glasgow and Belfast, and in 1819 Holyhead and Dublin, were linked in regular intercourse by boats of his contrivance, which thenceforward continued to ply, not only in fine weather, but also during the stormy months of winter. The example thus set was promptly followed by the establishment of regular lines of sea-going boats, plying through all seasons, in all the narrow seas of Europe. It was not, however, until after the commencement of the current reign that ocean transit by steam-packets was established.

At the meeting of the British Association at Liverpool, in 1837, the possibility of making voyages between England and America by steamboats came under discussion. The prevailing opinion seemed then to be, that the passage could not be worked as a profit, even if it could be made at all, since so much of the tonnage would be taken up with coal as to leave scarcely any room for passengers and goods. At that very time, however, two ships that were to disprove such reckonings were nearly ready for the service. A few months afterwards the *Great Western*, a paddle-wheel steamboat, passed over in sixteen days, carrying passengers and cargo from our shores to the United States. Screw propellers were just then coming into that successful rivalry with paddles, which in the lapse of years has ended in the marked ascendancy of the more recent mode of propulsion, especially for sea-going vessels and ships of war.

AGRICULTURE.—Of the useful arts and industries now to be noticed, we glance first at agriculture, the most ancient and most important of them all. Agricultural enterprise continued in this, as in the preceding period, to be regarded as one of the principal patriotic duties in which men of wealth and rank could occupy themselves. The king himself filled quite a prominent place among the great amateur farmers, and his model farms at Windsor were among the chief centres whence improvements in rural economy were spread through the realm. Arthur Young, the eminent English writer upon agriculture, whose surveys and tours of observation have been adverted to in an earlier chapter (iii. 635), became secretary to the National Board of Agriculture, established in 1793, and continued until the close of his life in 1820 to devote himself with ceaseless energy to promote reforms in every branch of husbandry. Besides the many books in which he set forth the actual state of the arts of husbandry in the wide tracts he traversed, in England, Ireland, and France, he published forty-five volumes of the 'Annals of Agriculture.' These works exerted a powerful influence in directing the attention of landowners and farmers to amendments in every branch of rural industry. So highly were his contributions to this branch of useful knowledge esteemed, abroad as well as at home, that the French and Russian governments caused most of his works to be translated and published for the benefit of their subjects. Not less prominent among leaders in this patriotic movement stands the name of Sir John Sinclair, the first president of the Board of Agriculture, whose vigorous improvements in his native county, Caithness, formed the pattern from which tens of thousands of acres in Scotland were redeemed from barrenness, and estates which had been almost worthless for any rental to be got from them, grew into valuable properties. British wool, which for ages had held the first place among staple commodities of these islands, was found to be deteriorating, especially in Scotland, at the time when Sinclair found himself in the position of an accepted chief in agricultural reformation. He thereupon devoted himself in the founding of the British Wool Society, and led the way towards practical improvement by importing from England and elsewhere, at his own expense, 800 sheep of the best reputed breeds. The Highland farmers laughed at the notion that south-country breeds could ever flourish on their bleak mountains; but the experiment turned out a great success, and gave, not to the Highlands only, but to Scotland generally, the celebrated Cheviot breed. The counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Inverness, and Ross alone had soon no fewer than 300,000 of this improved breed, which, though less hardy than the native black-faced breed, yields a heavier carcase and a finer fleece. Grazing land thenceforth rose rapidly in value, and Scotch estates, that had before been almost worthless, now exhibited a substantial rent-roll. The Board of Agriculture instituted a survey of all the English counties, and the information thus gleaned was widely dispersed, and bore good fruit in the development of the food-producing resources of the country. The board further encouraged improved tillage and stock-rearing, by giving prizes to improvers on defective methods and practices. The yearly gatherings of eminent agriculturists at the two great sheep-shearing fêtes at Woburn in Bedfordshire, and Holkham in Norfolk—the former promoted by the Duke of Bedford, and the latter by Mr. Coke, two of the most famous agriculturists of the time—materially aided the movement favouring good husbandry in all its departments. The agricultural prosperity of the period was largely due to the growth of manufacturing industry and the increase of population. The rising and thriving seats of factory labour were calling into existence masses of profitable customers for animal food and farm produce generally. A succession of bad harvests through the later years of the last century, and the early years of the present, occasioning an enormous rise in the price of breadstuffs, led to a great extension of tillage, and drew large accessions of capital into the profitable business of food production. In 1795 wheat reached 134*s.* 5*d.* the quarter. In 1800 the harvest was one-third below an average yield. In the following March wheat rose to 156*s.* 2*d.* the quarter, and famine was literally present in the land. In those years of terrible scarcity importation was encouraged by large bounties; but the failure of harvests was so wide-spread, and so many of the ordinary sources of supply were closed by the operations of war, that very stinted supplies were forthcoming from abroad, even at famine prices. Orders in council, royal proclamations, and parliamentary enactments for ensuring the most sparing use of corn, mark this trying period. The use of grain in distilleries and starch-making was interdicted. Bakers were not allowed to sell new bread. The hair-powder tax was enacted. Substitutes for wheat came largely into use under the dire necessity. The cultivation of the potato was greatly extended. Famine prices, however, though calamitous to the community at large, gave the farmers larger profits than had ever been known. On the high authority of Arthur Young, the sum of twenty millions sterling above the average total found its way into the farmers' pockets in one of those years of scant yield. An eager competition for vacant farms in this period of high prices sent up rentals to more than double the old level, so that landlords, as well as tenants, reaped large benefit from the public misfortune. A larger area was each year put under the plough, and the enclosure of commons added to the quantity of cultivated soil. Capital was freely expended in adding to the fertility of that already in tillage. Manures and composts, and the ways and means of multiplying them, filled a leading place in the thoughts of all advanced agriculturists. Scientific farming extended over wider areas than ever. The clays were fertilized by the admixture of chalk. Marls were extensively spread over the sandy soils, and redeemed them from sterility. Draining operations were carried on with vigour and marked success. Many fens and peat-lands were made productive by this process, and by the free use of limes and clays. Root crops were more extensively cultivated. The improvement of oxen, sheep, and other live-stock engaged the most zealous attention of breeders, especially in regard to weight of carcase, quality of meat, and early maturity. From the earliest times onward to the years of advanced agriculture comprised in this period, the clay lands yielded the bulk of the meat, and nearly all the grain that fed the people of these islands. The general drift of the changes begun in the time of George III., and continued through the next reign, was to improve the light soils and increase their fertility. The clays remained very much in their primitive state until the days of extensive subsoil and other drainage. Farming implements were very clumsy at the opening of the period; nor can it be said that labour-saving appliances were brought to bear on farming to any considerable extent even up to its close. The thrashing-machine was the chief novelty; but although the employment of this machine relieved the labourers of the hardest drudgery of their calling, they waged war on it, especially in the southern counties, regarding it as an interloper coming to take away their occupation. In this respect they were no worse than the operatives in our manufacturing districts who, in the antecedent period, demolished power-looms; or than the Thames watermen, who contended against the introduction of steamboats. Crops thrashed by the machine are estimated, on high authority, to yield 5 per cent., or one-twentieth part, more produce than by the old method of the flail worked by manual labour. This saving on all the crops of the United Kingdom, which are reckoned at a total of fifty million quarters, gives an additional yearly supply of 2,500,000 quarters. The cheaper work of the machine, and the increase of produce it gives to the farmers, enables them to employ more rather than fewer labourers. Ploughs, harrows, and the minor implements of tillage underwent changes that redeemed them to a great extent from their old character of clumsiness, and drill machines, for sowing grain and other small seed in even rows, were brought into use. It remains to note, in the concluding section of this chapter, that multifarious application of machinery to all branches of agricultural industry which in later years has impressed a widely-altered aspect on farming operations.

COTTON MANUFACTURE.—A previous chapter takes account of the enormous impulse given to all branches of the cotton trade by the wondrous inventions of Arkwright, Hargreaves, Cartwright, and Crompton, and by the introduction of the exhaustless energies of steam into the service of the spinner and weaver. That impulse was but the first step in a movement which in less than twenty more years raised the cotton manufacture to a pitch of prosperity that placed it at the very head of our national industries, and gave it the rank of the chief business carried on in the country, whether for home uses or for foreign trade. The discoveries and inventions just adverted to, though immeasurably important in themselves, as the unquestionable foundations of a manufacture which has become a main source of the national wealth and power, must yet have remained in a great measure cramped and limited in their operation but for another invention that followed closely at their heels: this was a contrivance which increased the supply of raw cotton up to the level of the new demand created by the new mechanism, and the new motive-power for working it. North America, the main source whence we have drawn our supplies of the raw material since the earlier years of this century, did not furnish us with a single pound weight of cotton until after the beginning of the period under review. The Southern States had raised a little for domestic use while they were still dependent colonies of England, but 1791 is the date of their first small consignment of cotton to our markets. American cotton is of two kinds—the one called *sea island* and the other *upland.* The low sandy islands along the shores of Georgia, Florida, and Carolina grow the former sort, which is the finest cotton imported into England. It is silky in texture, long in the threads, and easily separated from the pod and seed. The area over which it can be grown is, however, so small that the quantity is limited, and has never been increased since 1805. The upland cotton, on the other hand, can be grown over such vast surfaces that the yield is practically unlimited. But this kind is short-stapled, and so difficult to separate from the seed, if the work be done by hand, as hardly to pay the cost of labour. Picking by the fingers was, however, the only mode known until 1793; and up to that date our supplies were drawn from India, the Levant, the West Indies, and South America—countries with which the United States could not compete so long as hand-labour alone could render cotton fit for export. But, in 1793, Eli Whitney, an American, contrived a machine which takes the wool from the pod, and rids it of the seed, with the utmost ease and rapidity. This machine conferred on the United States a boundless source of wealth, and worthily supplemented the inventions of our own countrymen for working up the raw material into the multifarious fabrics that clothe more than half the human race. In the first year after Whitney's machine came into play, 1,602,000 lbs. of American cotton were exported; in 1795, the quantity was 5,276,000 lbs.; in 1800 it rose to 20,000,000 lbs. These, however, were but the humble beginnings which were quickly to be followed by a marvellous rate of increase that has long since placed the United States in the position of yielding more cotton than all the rest of the world together. We are by far the best customers for this ever-growing supply, and both countries share about equally in the boundless wealth growing out of the transaction.

The rate of progress made in the various branches of our cotton manufacture is indicated by the following figures, showing the imports of the raw material. The average yearly importation, from 1791 to 1795, was 26,683,000 lbs.; in the next five years, from 1796 to 1800, the average was 37,350,000lbs.; in 1805, the imports reached 59,682,000 lbs.; in 1810, they were 132,489,000 lbs.; in 1820, 151,673,000 lbs.; in 1830, 263,961,000 lbs.; in 1837, 407,287,000 lbs. The official value of cotton goods exported stood at 2,088,525*l.* on an average for each of the five years from 1791 to 1795; the average for each of the next five years was 4,073,382*l.*; for the remainder of the period, down to 1837, the yearly average was about 20,000,000*l.* The lower price of the raw material that followed the invention for parting the seeds from the wool, and, still more, the lower cost of spinning and weaving by steam-worked mechanism, resulted in a great fall in the price of all cotton fabrics. The Hindoos and the Chinese, who work at wages barely a tenth of the earnings of our factory operatives, and who, before the days of Arkwright and Watt, sent to the markets of Europe cotton fabrics of unrivalled excellence, ceased henceforth to face the competition with the products of our looms. They now became our customers for the manufactured fabrics made from the raw material grown in their fields, and conveyed a distance equal to the circuit of the earth before passing again into their hands in the shape of cheaper goods than they can make, despite their unlimited supply of labour at a daily wage of about 3*d.* per man. Every newspaper tells, among items of important mercantile intelligence, flashed with the velocity of lightning from remotest Oriental markets, the prices at which grey shirtings, water-twist, and other cotton commodities are selling.

Among the lesser, yet not unimportant, mechanical contrivances by which cotton manufacture was yet further facilitated in the period following the grand conceptions already noticed, Radcliffe's ingenious machine for dressing warp before placing it in the loom, and Horrock's improved power-loom, claim mention. Our limited space forbids any attempt to describe these and the many minor appliances by which inventors have, from time to time, given increased efficiency to the earlier mechanism with which more eminent names are associated. But we must not pass over in silence the remarkable fact, that almost every one of those fresh discoveries, and new adaptations, and improved processes, and ingenious contrivances for adding to the efficiency of older original conceptions, sprung from the brains of unlettered toilers in the manufacture which it is their proud boast to have lifted, step by step, to a pitch of unrivalled excellence and unexampled magnitude among the industries of this or of any other nation, in any period. Mr. Rickards, formerly an inspector of factories, and who in that capacity became acquainted with the founders of many of the most flourishing mills of Lancashire, pays a high tribute to the merits and the homely virtues of the class in question. He holds that " every one of the great fortunes and immense establishments existing in the manufacturing districts may be traced to the minute savings of common operatives, who, from the smallest of small beginnings, have, by prudence, skill, and unremitting perseverance and industry, raised themselves, with unexampled rapidity, to a pinnacle of wealth and importance which, but for its existence, could scarcely be believed." With reference to the extraordinary growth of the cotton manufacture, he adds, to the further honour of the many lowly men whose children or grandchildren now rank with the higher, and even the highest, social grades: " Its progress and present results owe little to science—nothing to patronage—but all to the unaided efforts of natural genius and practical experience, often obstructed, but never encouraged, by legislative enactments, and consequently exhibiting a striking example of the benefits of non-interference in matters where nothing is wanting but equal protection and security to ensure splendid success."

Among the statutory regulations that have certainly hampered and curbed the mill-owner, must be mentioned several that were simply indispensable in the interest of the female, the juvenile, and the infant portions of the community employed in factories. Without any compulsion, not a few high-minded manufacturers always showed a praiseworthy concern for the health, education, and general well-being of all the operatives in their employ, and especially the young. On the other hand, many millowners were utterly indifferent to any consideration but how to make most money in the least time. In 1802, a law was passed which put a check on such taskmasters. This was followed, in 1816, by a more stringent measure, commonly called Sir Robert Peel's Act, imposing restrictions on the employment of children in cotton mills. Both these laws were superseded, in 1831, by Sir John Hobhouse's Act, which, among other regulations, disallowed the employment of children under nine years of age, and curtailed the hours of work for juveniles between nine and eighteen years. Then came, in 1833, the " Ten Hours Act." This disallows the employment of persons between the age of thirteen and eighteen longer than ten hours per day; forbids night-work for children under thirteen, and further curtails their hours of labour, insisting also on school attendance. The Ten Hours Act applied originally, not only to cotton industries, but also to all processes incident to the manufacture of wool, hair, silk, flax, jute, or tow, separately or mixed together, or mixed with any other material, or any fabric made thereof; with sundry exceptions that were ultimately set aside by later enactments, all aiming at the same humane purpose—that of preventing over-work for the young, and securing attention to their health and education.

The spinning-frame and the power-loom, though chiefly used for the production of cotton goods, are employed with almost equal success in the woollen, the worsted, and the linen manufacture, and in the weaving of all sorts of plain silk. Modifications of the same appliances figure in two rather peculiar but important branches of the cotton manufacture—those of lace-making and cotton stockings. The beauty and cheapness of frame-made lace were so marked, that this fabric has taken the place of the old pillow-made lace in England, France, and Belgium. The smuggling of French lace into England was succeeded by the smuggling of English frame-made lace into France. At a later stage in the competition, the French made such advances in the manufacture of bobbin-net as to hold their own in some of the principal markets where English machine-made lace had supplanted their hand-made fabrics. The concluding section of this chapter will exhibit yet vaster strides than those here briefly noted, in every section of our cotton industries. The present retrospect, through a period within which cotton came to the very front place among our staples of national industries and commerce, may fittingly be closed with the following graphic delineation of the stir, and bustle, and effective performance, going forward in the thousands of huge factories called into existence to serve the behests of cotton. "The operations," says Mr. Baines, "are numerous, and every one of them is performed by machinery, without the help of human hands, except merely in transferring the material from one machine to another. It is by iron fingers, teeth, and wheels, moving with exhaustless energy and devouring speed, that the cotton is opened, cleaned, spread, carded, drawn, roved, spun, wound, warped, dressed, and woven. The various machines are proportioned to each other in regard to the capability of their work, and they are so placed in the mill as to allow the material to be carried from stage to stage with the least possible loss of time. All are moving at once, the operations chasing each other, and all derive their motion from the mighty engine, which, firmly seated in the lower part of the building, and constantly fed with water and fuel, toils through the day with the strength of, perhaps, a hundred horses. Men, in the meanwhile, have merely to attend on the wonderful series of mechanism, to supply it with work, to oil its joints, and to check its slight and infrequent irregularities; each workman performing, or rather superintending, as much work as could have been done by 200 or 300 men sixty years ago. . . . That this vast aggregate of human discoveries and inventions should, with scarcely an exception, have proceeded from English genius, must be a reflection highly satisfactory to every Englishman." ('Baines, Cotton Manufacture,' p. 243.)

Woollen and Worsted Manufacture. — This branch of national industry ranked first in importance among English manufactures until surpassed, at about the commencement of the period under notice, by the cotton trade. The large substitution of cotton goods for woollens that followed the increase in the supply of the raw material and the lowered price of cotton stuffs, checked the progress of the older staple industry, in which, however, there has certainly been no decline, as will appear from figures to be quoted presently. Towards the close of last century the quality of native wool was found to have seriously deteriorated, and much attention was bestowed on the means of improving the fleece. Efforts were made to naturalise the Merino sheep, and to improve the native breeds by crossing with the Merino; but in the end it was established, beyond all doubt, that fineness in the fleece is only to be gained at the sacrifice of that chief aim of the agriculturists in a country where meat fetches a good price—the weight of the carcase. Poor and lean breeds yield a small fleece, but of good quality; large and well-fed breeds give more wool, but of inferior quality. The Spanish sheep does not degenerate in this country, so far as fineness of fleece is concerned; but its carcase affords too little meat, and of too poor a flavour, to answer the farmer's chief aim; so, despite the high patronage with which it was honoured at the outset, it quickly fell into disrepute. In the interest of the manufacturers, but to the great exasperation of the home-growers, the importation of Spanish wool was encouraged by an Act passed in 1799, allowing the free importation of wool from all quarters whence it could be obtained, notwithstanding the prohibition, under a previous Act, of any commercial intercourse with countries at war with Britain. Until the war, wool had always been admitted duty free; but in 1802 the agricultural interest managed not only to set aside the relaxation made in 1799, but to impose an import duty of 5*s.* 3*d.* per cwt. on all foreign wool. In 1812 the duty was raised to 6*s.* 8*d.*, and in 1819, to the almost prohibitory rate of 56*s.* per cwt. A marked decline in the manufacture was the natural result of this crooked policy, which sacrificed, in part at least, the prosperity of a very important native industry, in order to secure the home grower of wool against competitions with the foreigner. The manufacturer's difficulty in respect to the deterioration in the quality of native wool increased to such a pitch that only baizes and flannels could be made of unmixed English wool. Admixture with the finer foreign wools then grew into a necessity for the manufacture of the finer cloths.

From the most remote period in the history of the woollen manufacture in England, down till nearly the close of last century, scarcely any mechanical improvements had been adopted in it. Laws existed restraining manufacturers from using machinery, and even so late as 1802 serious commotions occurred in Somerset and Wiltshire on account of the introduction of gig-mills, or machines for raising the nap on cloths. But the great strides made in the cotton trade, by help of the inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright, roused the woollen interest to a sense of its danger unless the appliances brought to bear on the rival and newer industry were also turned to account in the older and chief trade of the country. In 1807 the repeal of several statutes, dating from the Tudor period, paved the way for the general employment of gig-mills, clearing-mills, brushing-mills, etc. Bit by bit the rest of the old statutory encouragements—as such laws had been designed to be—were swept away; but it was not until the reign of Queen Victoria was well advanced that the woollen trade consented to part with the last of its old statutory trammels, and to shift for itself. The spinning-frame and the power-loom superseded the hand-cards and the primitive spinning-wheel in the closing years of the last century; the carding-engine, the gig or raising machine, the shearing-machine, and other mechanical appliances of this trade, are of later introduction. With these aids the manufacture underwent a rapid extension. The average yearly value of woollen goods exported at the beginning of the period under review was 3,544,160*l.*; in 1802 the exports had risen to 7,321,012*l.*, a total not exceeded until 1833, when they amounted to 7,788,842*l.* The value of all the woollen goods made in England, including those used at home as well as the exports, was reckoned at about 20,000,000*l.* a year in the period of its highest prosperity in years preceding the present reign. The greater portion of our foreign wool came from Spain until about 1814; but from that date Saxony and other German States, in which the Merino sheep had been introduced, sent large and increasing quantities, until they in effect supplanted Spain in feeding our markets. Our entire imports of the raw material were less than 9,000,000 lbs. in the year 1800. Germany alone furnished more than threefold that quantity towards our imports in 1828, and a yet larger quantity in 1836; but colonial wool, chiefly Australian, has since supplied the main portion of our demand.

SILK.—The latter section of this chapter will tell, in brief, the story of the silk manufacture from 1790 onwards to the close of 1873. This will be a more convenient way of putting the facts of this particular industry than to state them in a divided form for the periods covered by each of the two sections.

LINEN.—As of silk, so also of linen, a yet more considerable branch of the textile manufactures, the story to be told within our limits is too brief to admit of dividing it with advantage. The latter section will accordingly set forth the facts properly belonging to this period, and their significance will be the more apparent, as part of one connected statement, than would be the case if put separately in the two main sub-divisions of this chapter.

MINES AND MINERALS.—Mining processes, especially for raising coal, were made more productive in the early part of this period. Until near the close of last century, only about 40 per cent. of the accessible coal in a pit used to be dug away; the remaining 60 per cent. was left unworked, to serve as supports to the superincumbent strata. Timber pillars were at length brought into the service, and by their use the yield of coal from a given area was gradually enlarged until quite 80 or 90 per cent. of the contents of each working were brought to the surface. Contrivances for efficient, or, at least, greatly improved mining ventilation, date from the same time. Then followed the Davy-lamp, by which the miner carries on his work in security even when surrounded by explosive vapours, and gets warning when to retreat. A new and immeasurably important use of coal dates from 1792, when Murdoch, a Cornish engineer, first applied coal-gas to domestic purposes in place of the light to be had from oil-lamps and candles. His first successful experiments were on a small scale, limited to the lighting of his own house and offices at Redruth. In 1802 he had so far developed his discovery as to be able to illuminate with gas-light the Soho Works at Birmingham, on the occasion of the peace celebration following the treaty of Amiens. In 1804–5 some Manchester cotton factories adopted the new appliance for lighting; and in 1807 one of the streets of London exhibited, for the first time, the spectacle of a row of gas-lamps in successful operation. In 1813 the earliest of the metropolitan gas companies was started, and the example thus set was soon followed in all the great towns.

The coal trade grew, as matter of course, with the growth of the great industries sustained by the latent power held in the mineral store which forms the groundwork of our manufacturing and commercial prosperity. Our coal-mines have been aptly called the *Black Indies*, and the riches they yield immeasurably surpass all the wealth accruing both from our Oriental dominion and our ownership in the islands of the western Atlantic. No trustworthy information can be given, except for quite recent times, as to the number of persons occupied in raising and distributing our coal supplies, and the quantities consumed. But on the authority of published letters addressed to Mr. Pitt in 1792, with reference to the taxes on coal, some facts relating to the chief seat of the coal industry are forthcoming. The coal-works on the Tyne at that date employed 6,704 men and boys, in the several occupations of digging the coal, conveying it to the river, and loading the keels in which it was carried to the ships; the coal-boatmen and keelmen were 1,547; the seamen on board the coal-ships, 8000; the dealers, clerks, meters, lightermen, &c., amounted to about 2,000; and the other persons deriving their subsistence from occupations depending on the same coal-works and shipping, to 3,649 more—making a total of 21,900. The coal-works on the Wear employed at the same date about 3,000 men and boys underground, and about 15,000 altogether, including pitmen, labourers, seamen, &c. Thus the Tyne and Wear collieries together gave employment to about 37,000 men and boys. In 1829, when a committee of the House of Lords reported on the coal supply of the kingdom, the Tyne and Wear collieries employed 21,000 men and boys, underground and on the surface, exclusive of those employed on the water. Adding 15,000 seamen, 2,000 boatmen, keelmen, trimmers, &c., the total number of men employed in this northern section of the coal trade was 38,000. The coal raised and carried by these men gave employment to 7,500 persons in London engaged in the various processes of distribution to consumers. It was estimated that the Tyne and Wear districts represented one-seventh of the total yield of coal throughout the kingdom; so that, omitting the seamen, and taking account only of the pitmen and others, below and above ground, employed in raising and delivering the coal at the water-side, the total for Great Britain was 147,000 men and boys. At the same date the total yearly consumption of coal was reckoned at 15,580,000 tons, exclusive of the quantity sent abroad, or about 18,000,000 in all. This, as will appear in the next section, is only about one-sixth of the annual consumption now taking place, yet fears had already begun to take hold of the public mind that serious difficulties must soon accrue from the diminished supply and possible exhaustion of the national stores of this essential mineral. Such fears gave rise to much research and computation, from which sprang the reassuring estimate that the Durham and Northumberland coal-fields alone contained stores sufficient for the total demand through many centuries. The South Wales coal-fields were said, on the reckoning of eminent geologists, to contain stores sufficient to meet the total demand for 2,000 years. On such assurances the growing apprehensions as to the risk of exhausting the coal-mines died away for the time; but the rapid and prodigious increase in the yearly consumption revived the national disquietude on this question about thirty years later, and all the computations of experts have failed to extinguish the very rational fear that posterity a few centuries hence will lose the inestimable advantage this country has hitherto enjoyed of an abundant and cheap supply of coal.

Iron.—At the opening of the period, 1789, the iron-smelting furnaces in the United Kingdom were only 85 in number, and their total produce only about 70,000 tons. In 1796, the furnaces were 121, and the produce 125,000 tons. In 1806, there were 169 furnaces, and the yield was 250,000 tons. In 1820, the quantity smelted was still only 400,000 tons. In 1830, the furnaces numbered 376, and the produce amounted to 677,417 tons. Ten years later, when railroads were pressing their claims for supplies never before dreamt of, the yield rose to 1,396,400 tons. Larger fortunes were made during that prosperous period in iron-works and other departments of the iron trade than in any other department of industrial enterprise. South Wales and Monmouthshire exhibited a rate of progress beyond all example in any nation, not excepting those of most recent growth and under most favourable conditions for rapid development. The lands and mines in Merthyr and a district of several miles surrounding it were let in 1755 on a 99 years' lease for 200*l.* a year. In the period under notice the largest iron-works in the world—those of Crawshay & Co., Guest & Co., Thomson & Co.—grew up on the hill-tops and intervening valleys in that quarter, and became the centres of large and prosperous industrial communities where only an insignificant mining hamlet was to be seen a generation before. A continuous line of iron-works sprang up in the same period in a range of country 25 miles long, commencing at Hirwain and Aberdare, a little westward of Merthyr, and extending thence in a south-easterly direction through Dowlais, Rhymney, Tredegar, Beaufort, Nant-y-Glo, Blaenafon, Abersychan, and Pontypool. The Staffordshire and Warwickshire iron-works, of which Wolverhampton, Walsall, Dudley, and Birmingham are the chief centres, expanded in almost equal proportions. The Scottish section of the same industry, carried on for the most part in the country round Glasgow, also exhibited marked progress. Ireland meanwhile dropped out of the list of iron-yielding countries, owing to the exhaustion of its timber supplies, and the lack of coal to fill the gap. The "hot blast," or air heated to a high temperature, instead of the old process of cool blast, or blast of ordinary atmosphere, in working the furnaces, was the chief improvement in iron manufacture that took effect within this period. This important discovery led to a large saving in fuel in the process of manufacture, and a consequent cheapening of production. Cheapness led to many new uses for iron, such as in making pipes for conveyance of water through long distances, and the building of ships. But the demand for railways, more than any other new application of this material, stands most prominent among the causes that so vastly stimulated production. Iron mines and iron production gave employment to more than 40,000 persons at the close of the period; but the total number supported by this industry, including the families of the workmen and others dependent on the prosperity of the trade, was not less than 150,000.

Tin.—Until 1814 the tin-mines of Cornwall had scarcely a competitor in supplying all the markets of the world. But from that date onward, Malay tin has come forward in large and increasing quantities, and British tin lost its hold on the Oriental markets, where it used to be largely in demand.

Copper.—The yield of the Cornish mines in this much more important metal than tin increased from about 4,000 tons yearly at the beginning of the period to 12,000 tons at its close. The Parys mines, in Anglesey, were highly productive in the earlier years of the period, but were well-nigh exhausted before its close. This single source of the copper supply is estimated to have supplied about 90,000 tons in all, of the total value of about 8,000,000*l.* The chief centre for smelting copper ore is Swansea, to which the supplies from Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and the foreign sources of supply all converge. It is cheaper to carry the ore to the coal than to convey the coal to the localities yielding the ore. The mines both for copper and tin are in some instances worked to a depth of nearly 2,000 feet, where the temperature ranges from ninety to ninety-eight degrees. At Gwennap, between Truro and Redruth, where the shafts are of the greatest depth, there are instances in which a single engine with its gear and apparatus for pumping and raising the ore, together with the cost of sinking the shaft, represents an outlay of 12,000*l.* No other industry presents such risks of large loss, mingled with chances of enormous gain, as the mining enterprises having copper and tin for their aim. The *Creanis* copper-mine yielded a clear profit of 84,000*l.* in a single year, and the *Huel Alfred*, during the last years before it was worked out, gave nearly 130,000*l.* per annum for division among the adventurers. About 60,000 persons derived their subsistence from the mining and smelting of copper and tin in the latter years of the period under review.

Salt.—The Cheshire and Worcestershire salt works are the most prolific in the world. From 1796 to 1806 the annual yield of white or manufactured salt carried down the river Weaver to Liverpool, for home use and exportation, was little less than 140,000 tons. In succeeding years the yield went on constantly augmenting, and in 1834 the same sources of supply furnished more than 400,000 tons, of which vast quantity, 220,000 tons were drawn from Northwich alone, and 150,000 tons from Winsford. The rock-salt sent from the Cheshire works in the same period averaged 90,000 tons per annum. The salt trade of Cheshire alone gave employment to about 8,000 persons towards the close of the period. The Droitwich brine springs furnished a large addition to the supplies from Cheshire, but the figures relating to this branch of the trade are less reliable, and are therefore not quoted here. The home consumption of salt is estimated at twenty-two lbs. per head on the population, or about 200,000 tons in 1837. The exportation in the same year represented nearly twice as much as the quantity used at home. The United States, Canada, Russia, Prussia, and Holland were the chief customers for exported English salt. Very heavy excise duties were formerly imposed upon this essential condiment. In 1798 the duty was five shillings per bushel, but this was afterwards increased to fifteen shillings per bushel, or about forty times the actual cost of the commodity. This most obnoxious tax was not entirely abolished until 1823, from which date the rate of consumption multiplied more than fourfold on the old yearly average.

EARTHENWARE.—The vast impetus given by Wedgewood to tasteful production in the plastic art, and his substantial improvements in the quality, glazing, colouring, and finish of potters' work, continued through this period to extend the trade. Improved processes resulted in so large a saving of labour that one workman at the close of this period could produce four times the quantity of manufactured articles that his predecessor turned out in 1790. A great fall in price followed this cheapening of the cost of production, and earthenware nearly supplanted pewter for plates, dishes, and other utensils constantly in request in every household.

HARDWARE, CUTLERY, FIREARMS, &c.—The extraordinary increase in the production of iron, noted in preceding paragraphs of this section, was accompanied by a corresponding increase in quantity and variety of articles of utility, convenience, and ornament, made from that metal. English hardware and cutlery held in the markets of the world a position of unapproached superiority. While South Wales, Coalbrookdale, and the Carron Works turned out massive castings, and rolled or forged metal work of the heavy and coarser articles—bridges, anchors, chain-cables, water and gas pipes, plates for shipbuilding, tanks, cisterns, rails for the new system of transit, cannon, and machinery—Birmingham and Sheffield were equally prolific in the production of the finer articles, from the minute and delicate fittings of a lady's workbox to all the varieties of cutlery, small arms, swords, tools, the implements of almost every industry, and machinery of multifarious sorts.

In 1815, Mr. W. Stephenson, a laborious and cautious gleaner of statistics bearing on the principal industries of the country, estimated the gross value of all articles made from iron at 10,000,000*l.* annually, and the number of persons occupied in their manufacture at 200,000. The allied trades in brass and copper represented the further sum, in his estimate, of 3,000,000*l.* a-year, and gave employment to 50,000 workmen; steel, plated, and hardware products, including locks, buckles, buttons and toys, were of the yearly value of 4,000,000*l.*, and gave occupation to 70,000 persons. Between 1804 and 1818 the Birmingham gunmakers supplied to government and private dealers nearly 5,000,000 firearms. Fully two-thirds of the small arms made for the public service during the war ending with Waterloo, including those supplied to the nations whose battles we were fighting, were fabricated at Birmingham. One kind of white metal buttons alone gave employment in that town to upwards of 1000 persons until 1814, when an artisan conversant with the trade, and detained as a prisoner in France, secured the patronage of the French government in setting up the manufacture in Paris. Thereupon this branch of work deserted Birmingham, and the markets of Europe were supplied from the new seat of production. In a similar manner other items of the smaller and fancy work were transferred to the workshops of our ingenious neighbours. But despite the loss of some branches of the trade, buttons continued to form a large and flourishing branch of business. In 1834 one of the Birmingham manufacturers had in his workshops 10,000 double sets of cut steel dies for livery buttons only. In the prosperous years of the buckle manufacture, from 4000 to 5000 persons gained their subsistence in that comparatively trivial section of the metal trade. But shoestrings took the place of buckles, and the representatives of the ruined industry waited upon the Prince of Wales in 1791, with a petition praying that he would exert his influence to stem the tide of fashion, and bring back to distressed thousands their lost occupation. But even royalty proved powerless in its well-meant effort to bring the buckle into vogue again, and the distressed operatives had to learn other trades. Throughout this period the steam-engines, plated-goods, bronzes, vases, candelabras, &c., gave to the Soho Works near Birmingham a world-wide name for finished workmanship. Most of the copper coinage for home use was struck in the same works, as well as silver and other coinage for some of the colonies. Hardly less important for the numbers employed, and the value of goods produced, was the toy and trinket trade, including brooches, clasps, seals, dog-collars, chains, rings, fishing-hooks, steel-purses, thimbles, bodkins, pins, needles, spurs, stirrups, corkscrews, and a long catalogue of other articles. Steel pens originated in this period, and from small beginnings grew into an important industry, nine-tenths of which is located in Birmingham. Sheffield, however, carried the palm for the production of choicest cutlery, and gained the name which it has never forfeited for the excellence of its plated goods. Manchester, the capital of the cotton districts, almost monopolized the manufacture of the large and complicated pieces of mechanism used in the various textile industries.

LEATHER MANUFACTURE.—This very important item of national industry—ranking for extent and value next after cotton, wool, and iron—exhibited none of the striking points in the period under notice, either for progress or depression, such as marked the history of other great industrial employments. It was nevertheless thriving in most of its branches, and steadily progressive in all, with perhaps the single exception of the leather-glove business, in which at one time a decided falling off was apparent, ascribable to the larger wear of home-made cotton, silk, and thread gloves. Until 1825, foreign gloves were shut out, as silk goods were, from our markets, under an absolute prohibition. From that date gloves were allowed to be imported, but under high duties. This relaxation was strenuously opposed by the glove manufacturers, who predicted the speedy and assured ruin of their business. But in point of fact, from the year when they ceased to be shielded from any competition with the foreigner, a rapid improvement in the quality, and a great increase in the quantity of home-made leather gloves took place, and the manufacturers, as well as their customers, found at length that "protection" had really been no benefit to their trade, but the reverse. Saddlery was from time immemorial a speciality of English workmanship, which distanced all foreign competition, so far as durability and finish were in question. At the close of this period, saddlery and harness-making employed nearly 13,000 men and boys. The choicest articles, and the most considerable quantity of goods in this trade, were made in London; but Walsall, in later years, secured a large and increasing section of the work. Shoemaking, too, had its chief seat in the metropolis; but Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Staffordshire turned out vast quantities of boots and shoes for the home and foreign markets. Norwich also made a figure in this branch of the leather industries.

Macpherson's work, the 'Annals of Commerce,' contains an estimate, that has been accepted by Macculloch and other authorities, from which it would appear that the total value of the leather and leather goods produced in England in the earlier years of the current century was about 12,000,000*l.* yearly.

Printing.—Until the opening years of the nineteenth century, the printing-press was little advanced from its pristine clumsiness and lack of celerity in action. The ingenious Earl Stanhope was the first to supersede the old wooden press, by one constructed in 1800 wholly of iron, of greatly increased power, yet more compact and convenient. The regular work of two men with the old wooden press was to print 250 sheets an hour on one side. The original Stanhope press yielded double as much work, and performed it better. Many improvements and modifications of the Stanhope press were soon afterwards brought to bear on the typographic art. Printing by means of cylinders, with a continuous action, so as to secure more impressions in a given time than the up-and-down action of the old press, had been matter of speculation for many years before it was perfected in practice in the year 1811. The *Times*, of 29th November, 1814, was the first print worked off by steam-impelled machinery. From that date onwards to 1827, the number of impressions per hour got from efficient machines ranged from 1,500 to 1,800. The Cowper machine then came into the field, yielding several thousand impressions per hour.

Stereotyping was brought into extensive use in the same period, and *lithography* began to present good samples of its capabilities for diffusing and cheapening works of art.

Steel plates, instead of copper, for engravings, began, too, to render help in book illustration analogous to that given by stereotyping in the typographic art.

The pressmen and compositors took alarm at the extended use of improved printing machines and stereotyping, which they supposed would lessen the demand for their labour. Johnson's 'Typographia,' published in 1824, contains predictions of assured impoverishment and ruin impending over operative printers, through the adoption of the "new fangled articles," and urges an application to Parliament for a tax upon all printed matter produced otherwise than by manual labour. But in printing, as in other trades, the lessened cost of production, brought about by machinery, gave rise to a greater demand than ever for manual labour in association with the new labour-saving appliances. Cheap periodicals and cheap books were impossible in the days of the manual printing press, but so soon as mechanism lent its aid in securing a tenfold yield of copies in a given time, and stereotyping saved the expense of keeping on hand large stocks of printed paper, or of having the types set up afresh whenever a new issue was called for, cheap literature sprang into vigorous life, and created quite an unprecedented demand for journeymen printers.

The Cowper printing machine called into existence multifarious forms of cheap literature, such as the 'Penny Magazine,' the 'Saturday Magazine,' 'Chambers' Journal,' and numerous low-priced editions of standard works that were previously too dear for extensive circulation. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, by adopting the same machines, were able to print and sell Bibles and Prayer-books at a third of the earlier prices.

CHAPTER VI.

History of the Social Life of the People. Manners and Customs. From A.D. 1789 to A.D. 1837.

NATIONAL manners, social usages, popular recreations, fashions in dress and household furniture, together with several others of the less striking aspects of English social life, underwent many marked changes in the years with which this chapter deals.

George III. and Queen Charlotte had reached middle age at the opening of this period. The royal pair were now more firmly seated in the affections of the nation than in the earlier years of the reign. Not that they were ever decidedly unpopular, except with the representatives of the gay and courtly circles of less rigid days; but it is undeniable that large sections of society disrelished, for many years, while both king and queen were yet young, the severe decorum of their court, and the humdrum homeliness of their personal tastes, occupations, and habits. Both were good and pious, plain and unostentatious, thrifty and economical; more so, many of their subjects thought, than was seemly in royal personages. Measured by the highest standard of character and conduct that could adorn a private station, they were confessedly exemplary and irreproachable; but as king and queen of a great empire they fell short of current traditional notions of the magnificence befitting royalty, and their court was deemed wanting in even a moderate measure of the splendid gaieties and gorgeousness that should encircle the throne of a great monarchy. As years rolled on, however, the course of events at home and abroad more than reconciled the nation both to the marked simplicity and rigid tone of the court in its public and formal relations to society, and to the habitual homeliness of family life as practised by the king and queen at Kew and Windsor. Even the higher aristocracy, who, at the outset, least liked so unusual a pattern of court and palace life, gradually fell in with the fashion favoured by royalty. External badges of rank were more and more laid aside, both in social gatherings and on public occasions; and the nobility relinquished much of the wonted stateliness of their order in their households and elsewhere. The growing force of democratic sentiment was doubtless the chief operating cause in bringing about the change; but the example set in the most exalted station first started the movement, and stamped with the impress of fashion that plain, citizen-like deportment, and citizen standard of social morals, which thenceforward became increasingly prevalent in the upper as well as in the middle ranks of English life.

George III. gained more and more on the affections of his subjects as he advanced in years. The many political disquietudes and national perils that were confronted and surmounted under his rule quickened the patriotic instincts of the people into a warmer glow than is witnessed in peaceful and uneventful times. The solid personal merits of the king afforded a firm foundation on which traditional English loyalty could repose without misgiving. With the timid, the quiet, the orderly of every rank, he was the embodiment of safe principles; they clung with increasing warmth of affection to him with each domestic or personal trouble that afflicted him, and with every momentous event that touched the national honour or concerned the national welfare. Fervent loyalty is a term that falls short of the almost idolatrous manifestations of love and reverence exhibited on frequent occasions and by all ranks of the people towards the aged king. His birthday, the 4th of June, became the greatest holiday in the year. The celebration was general throughout the empire. Every municipality had its banquet; the villages their subscription dinners and other festivities; the church bells rang merry peals; banners and flags waved from mast-heads, town-halls, towers, steeples, and innumerable housetops; fireworks, bonfires, and illuminations blazed in the streets; a general tone of hilarious joyousness pervaded the land. In 1809, when George III. entered on the fiftieth year of his reign, the demonstrations of affectionate regard on the part of the people expressed an unparalleled pitch of ardent loyalty and veneration for "the good old king." Even after his death, the *Fourth of June Club* in Edinburgh, and similar associations elsewhere, continued for many years to meet and drink toasts in commemoration of the public and private virtues of the beloved monarch. Thackeray makes some amends for the many hard raps he has bestowed on the Third George by passages such as that in which he states his conviction that "a knowledge of that good man's example, his moderation, his frugal simplicity, tended infinitely to improve the morals of the country and purify the whole nation." Again: "King George's household was a model of an English gentleman's household. It was early; it was kindly; it was charitable; it was frugal; it was orderly." Our fathers, he adds, "liked the old man who poked his nose into every cottage; who lived on plain, wholesome roast and boiled; . . . . who was a true, hearty, old English gentleman. . . . . He was a patron of the arts, after his fashion; kind and gracious to the artists whom he favoured, and respectful to their calling. . . . . Of church music the king was always very fond, showing skill in it both as a critic and a performer. . . . . The theatre was always his delight. His bishops and clergy used to attend it, thinking it no shame to appear where the good king was seen." Finally, "the heart of Britain still beats kindly for George III., not because he was wise and just, but because he was pure in life, honest in intent, and because, according to his lights, he worshipped Heaven."

Throughout the reign, however, a prominent section of the aristocratic and fashionable circle exhibited quite a different pattern of social life from that which took its colour from the court, and won for George III. the affectionate admiration of the bulk of the people. There was what would now be termed a fast set of fashionables, and the heir to the throne and his brothers were among its members. Carousing, gaming, with not a little of the dissipated and licentious practices of earlier days, were quite common within this circle. But even among its notabilities were some whose worst faults stopped short of actual vice; these were drawn within the motley throng of the votaries of pleasure by the attraction of its sprightliness, and rather mingled in its gaieties and follies than participated in its vices. A close fellowship sprang up between opposition politics and fashionable follies. This alliance grew out of the circumstance that both were under a cloud at court, while both were in favour with the heir apparent to the throne. Among those who lent most fascination to this gay circle was that veritable queen of fashion and model of womanly graces, the sprightly duchess of Devonshire—"always," as was said of her by Madame D'Arblay, "so gay, easy, and charming, that the last epithet might have been coined for her." Fox and Sheridan are representatives of the intellectual genius, wit, and brilliancy that lent their charm to the other attractions of this section of the world of fashion.

George IV. was manifestly superior to his father in finished, easy grace of manner, personal address, and genial deportment. So also in intellectual culture and artistic tastes, the disparity between father and son was marked, and the advantage rested with the latter. Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace owe many of their richest adornments and most tasteful embellishments to his judicious and open-handed outlay on works that employed some of the leading architects, sculptors, and painters of the day. The aristocratic and wealthy classes followed his lead in matters calling into play artistic discernment, and many a mansion dating from earlier periods bears evidence of tasteful additions and alterations made in the years of the regency and the succeeding reign. Grave misgivings were at one time rife for the homely virtues and decorous social morals that had acquired the stamp of fashion in the prolonged reign of George III., but were thought to be in danger of eclipse under the loose example of his successor. But that successor, both when regent and afterwards as king, was too discreet an observer of contemporary thought and feeling to venture on the experiment of a court and royal household like that of Charles II.—a consummation pointed to in the forebodings of the time. The proneness to loose living of which he had given too many examples while Prince of Wales was further tempered by age when he came to fill his father's place. Nevertheless, court and palace life throughout the regency and the two succeeding reigns presented blots and blemishes that grated upon, and offended the stricter social notions of the age. George IV., William IV., and other sons of George III. indulged freely in the habit of swearing; but swearing was in their time too common in high society to attract much notice. So also as regards broad stories and coarse jokes, in which these royal personages found congenial entertainment, both as talkers and listeners. Such practices were then quite usual in more select circles than those in which similar diversions are now tolerated. Several recent authors, whose strong desire to shine in sensational portraiture has been but slightly, if at all, tempered by a disposition to just or charitable judgments, have revelled in unsparing strictures on the foibles, failings, and weaknesses of the two immediate predecessors of Queen Victoria. The latest of these censors, Mr. Charles Greville, who through forty years of his life filled the high official position of clerk of the privy council, is less excusable than such professional satirists as Leigh Hunt, Jerrold, and Thackeray, not to mention the small retail scandalmongers. Greville's functions as a confidential servant of the crown brought him into constant and familiar intercourse with royalty and with the chief political and social celebrities of his time. Fidelity in a high official trust, and loyalty to the sovereigns he was sworn to serve faithfully, alike forbad such uses as he made of the opportunities of a privileged position. He chronicled in diaries, in order to lay before the world, all the hasty and unguarded utterances, the inadvertent blurtings and outbursts, that escaped the lips of elderly royal personages in the privacy of their domestic life. Besides what passed under his own observation, he added the scandals related to him by pages of the backstairs, the eaves-droppings and tittle-tattle of lacqueys, and he makes no secret of the sources of his information. He gets hold of one, Bachelor, who had been a retainer of the duke of York—his royal highness's racing-stud and racing transactions were managed by Mr. Greville—and who had been engaged as a body-servant, in sheer kindness of heart, by George IV. after his brother's death. Bachelor, the body-servant, tells Mr. Greville "some curious things about the interior of the palace;" and the clerk adds, "he is coming to call on me, and I will write down what he tells me then." By-and-by Bachelor comes along, and tells Mr. Greville that his majesty is a bad sleeper; that he rings his bell forty times in the course of a night, even if he wishes to look at the watch which hangs, or to drink the glass of water which stands, within reach of his royal hand. Bachelor adds that the king's attendants are quite worn out with being always about him and living in such hot rooms (which obliges them to drink), and seldom getting air and exercise. The king told Bachelor that one of his surgeons was "the damnedest liar in the world," and he is in the habit, says the page, of talking in this way to his *valets de chambre*. On the slender foundation of such incidents, the clerk of the council is confirmed in the opinion he had long held, "that a more contemptible, cowardly, selfish, unfeeling dog does not exist than this king, on whom such flattery is constantly lavished."

That George IV. was by no means an embodiment of the virtues befitting his station is sufficiently notorious, but that he was not so wholly bad as this cynical diarist paints him is fully as well established, He was a liberal patron of art and a generous friend. He was, moreover, uniformly benevolent to all his dependents, and won from them the testimony that he was the best of masters. In the midst of a press of agitating cares, just before his coronation, he visited twice each day the death-bed of a faithful servant, soothed and comforted the dying man by the most kind and considerate attentions, taking care that everything needful or desirable was supplied, and evincing the utmost sympathy in the sufferings of his old and attached valet ('Memoirs of Charles Mathews,' iii., 227). Even the trenchant Thackeray, who with less of absolute justice than of sparkling alliteration, has described this king's life as "all fiddling and flowers, and feasting, and flattery, and folly," and the king's bodily presentment of himself to his contemporaries as "nothing but a coat and a wig, and a mask below it—nothing but a *simulacrum*,"—is constrained to concede sundry not unimportant points tending to confute both his own main argument and to blunt the edge of Greville's ill-conditioned strictures. "I suppose," says the author of 'The Four Georges,' in depicting the last of them, "he must have been very graceful. There are so many testimonies to the charm of his manner, that we must allow him great elegance and powers of fascination. . . . . The bravery of the Brunswicks, that all the family must have it, that George possessed it, are points which all English writers have agreed to admit." [No! Greville calls him *cowardly*.] . . . . "As prince regent he was eager to hear all that could be said in behalf of prisoners condemned to death, and anxious, if possible, to remit the capital sentence." [Not *unfeeling* here, at any rate.] . . . . "He sent money, too, to Sheridan, on his death-bed, and would have sent more had not death ended the career of that man of genius." Side by side with these and other unqualified concessions to the same purpose are more admissions almost as downright, yet toned down by the suggestive phrase, "stock stories."

Of a piece with the distorted portrait of George IV., as drawn by the clerk of the council, is the companion picture of William IV. The kind-hearted old sailor-king, who was certainly very widely beloved, is credited with a string of shortcomings and eccentricities suggestive of the thought that he ought rather to have been placed under the care of keepers in a private asylum for imbeciles, than to be left at large to play absurd pranks under observation of the world. The shafts of detraction fly thick and fast through the three volumes of the 'Greville Memoirs,' and strike dozens of the great historical names of the period, but royalty is the chosen target on which is concentrated the heaviest fire. A placeman, in the worst sense of the term—for Greville was enriched at the public expense while yet in his cradle with a lucrative sinecure in Jamaica and the reversion of the official post at Whitehall in which he passed his life—the late clerk of the council is not entitled to rank among trusted and authoritative expounders of the political and social history of his period. The worth and weight of his moral teachings from historical texts are heavily discounted by the remembrance of his incurable addiction to gambling and the turf. Hardly less damaging to his reputation stands the recollection of his demand, in 1858, for a large increase in his salary as clerk of the council because the abolition of slavery twenty-four years earlier had carried in its train the abolition of his Jamaica sinecure.

Gambling, though discredited and scouted in those stricter sections of high society that took their tone from the court of "the good old king," retained a firm hold on the other portion of the fashionable world. Ladies of high rank kept faro tables long after serious efforts were made to bring the penalties of the law to bear upon them. About the years 1796-7, the gambling propensities of the upper classes attained such prominence as to provoke severe animadversion in the highest courts of judicature. Lord Kenyon, in summing up a case in 1796, said: "Gaming is prevalent among the highest ranks of society, who have set the example to their inferiors, and who, it seems, are too great for the law. If any prosecutions are fairly brought before me, and the parties are convicted, whatever may be their rank or station in the country, be they the highest ladies in the land, they shall certainly exhibit themselves in the pillory." This threat smacks fully as much of the courtier as of the judge, since every species of gambling was sternly discountenanced by the king and queen; and the ladies of rank pointed at in the austere comment belonged to a set who were under a cloud at court. Several of these great ladies actually figured soon afterwards in a London police-court, as culprits guilty of the reprehensible and illegal practices at which Lord Kenyon's rebukes were pointed in vain. The "Annual Register," under the date 11th March, 1797, makes the following statement:—

"At the police office in Marlborough Street, Lady Buckinghamshire, Lady E. Luttrell, and Mrs. Sturt were convicted before N. Conant and T. Robinson, Esqs., in the penalty of 50*l*. each for playing at the game of faro in Lady Buckinghamshire's house. There were informations against Mr. Carcannon and O'Byrne. Both defendants paid the penalty." The fine was a lenient penalty in comparison with the treatment these fair offenders suffered at the hands of Gilray, the scathing caricaturist of the foibles and manners of his time. One of his sketches represents Lady Buckinghamshire as undergoing the ignominious punishment of a public flogging at the cart's tail, and his "Exaltation of Faro's Daughters" shows other distinguished ladies in the pillory—the fate threatened by the judge. But gaming in private, though not usually for such high stakes as in the preceding period, continued to be extensively practised. The 'Greville Memoirs,' already quoted, tell of the duke of York's whist-parties at Oatlands, where the stake was usually 5*l*. a corner and 25*l*. on the rubber. On the 12th of June, 1819, the diarist, who was a frequent guest at the duke's convivial gatherings, made the following record of one of his visits, with edifying moral reflections on the demoralising effects of gaming, whether on the hazards of the turf or the card-table:—

"I have been at Oatlands for the Ascot party. On the course I did nothing. Ever since the Derby ill-fortune has pursued me, and I cannot win anywhere. Play is a detestable occupation; it absorbs all one's thought and renders one unfit for anything else in life. It is hurtful to the mind and destroys the better feelings; it incapacitates us for study and application of every sort; it makes us thoughtful and nervous, and our cheerfulness depends upon the uncertain event of our nightly occupation. How any one can play who is not in want of money I cannot comprehend. But why does a man play who is blessed with fortune, endowed with understanding, and adorned with accomplishments which might insure his success in any pursuit which taste or fancy might incite him to follow? It is contrary to reason, but we see such instances every day. The passion of play is not artificial; it must have existed in certain minds from the beginning; at least, some must have been so constituted that they yield at once to the attraction, and enter with avidity into a pursuit in which other men can never take the least interest." The writer did not renounce his play or his betting, but continued to the end of his life to follow up the demoralising pastime, occasionally venting vain regrets and moralisings in a similar strain with those quoted above. At the clubs, and notably at Almacks, White's, Arthur's, and Boodle's, play continued uninterruptedly in vogue until 1837, when a famous trial grew out of a long career of card-sharping, in which the culprit was a peer of the realm. He had been repeatedly warned by anonymous letters from friends that his cheating was matter of notoriety, but he still cheated on, until there was no possibility of screening him longer. The revelations brought out on that trial placed the gaming-table under a cloud from which it had not emerged in 1860, when Thackeray put on record, somewhat prematurely, however—"Play is a deposed goddess, her worshippers bankrupt, and her table in rags."

Drinking Habits.—Down to the close of the last century, and for many years afterwards, drinking to excess was too common to bring serious discredit on the defaulter, however exalted his social position. This habit prevailed so extensively, even in the higher ranks, that gentlemen rarely rose from the tables of a dinner-party in a condition to enter the society of ladies. Such personal debasement was accompanied with a style of conversation at convivial parties such as is hardly credible in more refined times. Distinguished members of the legislature deemed the drinking of two bottles of strong wine, port or sherry, a fitting preparation for the debate in which they were to bear part. Even Pitt, a very model of rigid virtue, and quite abstemious in comparison with many of his most eminent contemporaries, injured his health by excessive potations of port. The duke of York, the brother with whom George IV. had many a long carouse, was in his best days said to be such a powerful toper that six bottles of claret after dinner scarce made any perceptible change in his countenance. But before the close of the period, insobriety had happily grown to be so unfashionable, and so uncommon in the higher circles, that the expression "drunk as a lord" lost its old significance as an apt measure of the tipsy condition in its advanced stage. Manners descend from class to class. No class remained long unaffected by the altered tone of high society in respect to that vice which it rather smiled at than frowned down upon

"When George the Third was king."

Moderation in drinking usages carried with it other reforms. We get a glimpse at these in evidence given in 1835, before a committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the educational condition of the people of England and Wales. Speaking of the habits of the smaller London shopkeepers, tradesmen, employers, and workpeople, a witness, who for more than fifty years had been a close observer of the ranks he describes, tells of scenes and occurrences that had come under his notice. Putting into the shape of one continuous statement the answers given by this witness, his testimony runs thus:—

"The conduct of such persons was exceedingly gross as compared with the same class at the present time. Decency was a very different thing from what it is now; their manners were such as scarcely to be credited. I remember, when a boy of ten years of age, being at a party of twenty, entertained at a respectable tradesman's, who kept a good house in the Strand, where songs were sung that cannot now be more than generally described from their nastiness, such as no meeting of journeymen in London would allow to be sung in the presence of their families. There were then few rational employments at home; the men were seldom at home in the evening except there were card-playing and drinking; they spent their time in a very useless, and but too generally a mischievous, manner. . . . The places of public resort, the tea-gardens, were formerly as notorious as they were infamous. . . . The amusements of the people were all of a gross nature. We hear much talk of the desecration of the Sabbath, but it was much more desecrated formerly. . . . The amusements were duck-hunting and badger-baiting; they would throw a cat into the water and set dogs at her; great cruelty was constantly practised, and the most abominable scenes used to take place. It is almost impossible for any person to believe the atrocities of low life at that time, which were not, as now, confined to the worst paid and most ignorant of the populace. . . . There has been a decrease of vice in every respect and an increase of decency and respectability." The old suburban tea-gardens were not so wholly bad as might be inferred from the foregoing reference to the worst samples of them, in their worst days. Many of them were the perfectly harmless resorts of staid respectable citizens, who, with their wives and children, wended their way across grass and rustic paths, to enjoy the air and regale themselves with sixpenny teas in the arbours and on the lawns of these semi-rustic places of refreshment. Nearly all these old favourite hostels have left memorials of their whereabouts in the present names of glaring gin-palaces that occupy the same sites. But their shrubberies, and lawns, and arbours have long since been extinguished in the march of street extension. 'Merlin's Cave,' 'Rosaman's Well,' 'The Sir Hugh Middleton,' 'White Conduit House,' and 'The Yorkshire Stingo' are well-known examples of the old favourite tea-drinking resorts which formerly stood well in the outskirts of London, but are now embraced in the stir and roar of its most crowded quarters. Archenholz, a Prussian, in an account of England which was published towards the close of the last century, makes mention of these popular places of entertainment in the following genial remarks:—

"The English take a great delight in the public gardens near the metropolis, where they assemble and drink tea together in the open air. The number of these in the neighbourhood of the capital is amazing, and the order, regularity, neatness, and even elegance of them, are truly admirable. They are, however, very rarely frequented by people of fashion; but the middle and lower ranks go there often, and seem much delighted with the music of an organ, which is usually played in an adjoining building."

It is, however, undeniable that many of the tea-gardens degenerated into arenas for dog-fights, duck-hunts, pugilistic encounters, and other diversions of low blackguardism, and that intoxicating beverages usurped the place of the sober drinks from which such places of entertainment first took their name. Some of them, and the 'Dog and Duck' in St. George's Fields was among the number, were suppressed by the magistrates in the early years of the current century, on the ground that they harboured the vilest dregs of society.

Scotland was even worse than England in regard to excessive tippling. Whisky-toddy had a formidable rival in rum-punch as a favourite beverage among Scottish tipplers, but this was somewhat earlier than the years to which Mr. Alison refers in the foregoing passage. Punch, both in the heyday of its popularity, and in the years of its decline and fall as the ruling beverage, is thus appropriately noticed in 'Chambers' Book of Days:'—

"In Scotland, the jolly topers of its western metropolis, the city of Glasgow, long enjoyed an undisputed pre-eminence in the manufacture of punch. The leading ingredients, rum and lemons, were compounded with sugar and cold water, after a peculiarly artistic fashion, which was supposed to be only known to the initiated. The far-famed liquor came into disrepute on the occasion of the visitation of cholera to Scotland, about 1833. Being proscribed by the medical faculty, it lost its hold on public favour, a position which it has never since regained. Advanced ideas on the question of temperance have, doubtless, also had their influence in rendering obsolete, in a great measure, this beverage, regarding which some jovial spirits of the old school, everting sorrowfully to their youthful days, will inform you that gout has considerably increased in the west since the abandonment of punch for claret and champagne." A decided help to sobriety was supplied in the great number of houses opened for the sale of coffee and tea at low prices. They spread rapidly all over the country. The temptation to use such places of refreshment was not limited to the tea and coffee, chocolate and cocoa, with sundry meats and other solid food, at prices suited to the pockets of the multitude. The frequenters of the new temples of temperance were further accommodated with a wide range of reading. A growing taste for such literature as is supplied in reviews and magazines manifested itself in frequent suggestions on the part of customers at these places of entertainment. The proprietors found it paid them to act upon such suggestions. "When I first went into the business of a coffee-house keeper," said one of the witnesses examined in 1835, by the committee already mentioned, "many of my customers were content with the lower-priced periodicals; but I find, as time progresses, that the taste is improving, and they look out now for a better class of literature." Further testimony given on the same occasion showed that the improvement then coming about in the habits of the working classes, as respects sobriety, was accompanied by an abatement of coarseness in their general deportment, and by a weaning from some of the pursuits that had been favourite diversions not many years earlier, but had at length come to be looked upon as disgraceful evidences of a brutal temper and confirmed blackguardism. The practice of prize-fighting diminished in frequency and lost its hold on the patronage of the gentry before the close of the period, though it still lingered long into the next, under the ban, however, of all respectable circles. Wesley's preaching, Hannah More's writings, Mrs. Trimmer's Sunday schools, and many similar agencies that began their reformatory work in the latter portion of the eighteenth century, were yielding a solid harvest of religious and moral improvement in the masses through the first quarter of the nineteenth. The general diffusion of schools for the poor, brought about by the voluntary efforts of the various religious communions, was year after year working with marked effect in the same direction. When readers grew in numbers and intelligence, *mechanics' institutions* sprang into existence; lecture halls, science classes, circulating libraries, and periodicals both good and cheap, offered their help to the fresh ranks of students. Literature, art, and science accommodated themselves to the tastes and opportunities of the multitude. Debasing and demoralising pastimes lost ground every day in competition with counter attractions, which, if not always elevating, were at least harmless. The expectations of ardent pioneers in the work of social reform were never fully realised, but the fruit of their labours was nevertheless large and substantial. Brutality carried itself with less than its wonted assurance, and profligacy no longer stalked abroad unabashed in the face of day.

The social usages of the Scotch were fast assimilating to English standards in this period. In regard, however, to decorous domestic habits the Scottish aristocracy, in its younger members particularly, followed rather the discredited practices of that section of English fashionable life that was out of favour at court than the stricter pattern after which the bulk of good society in England was shaped. Remoteness from London weakened the influences of court and fashion, both as regarded social morals and the mere externals of personal habiliment and demeanour. Until the age of railways, only a small section of Scottish aristocracy indulged in the yearly round of amusements that make up the London season for the world of fashion. As for Ireland, her aristocracy were always too much away from home, and social progress was very slow in the absence of the class that should have set the fashion. For the United Kingdom as a whole, an easier style of social intercourse, a relaxation of formality and stiffness, and a keener relish for intellectual pursuits, are the main points of difference marking the close, as contrasted with the earlier and middle portions, of the period. This change was in part due to renewed social intercourse with the continent. During the twenty years of almost continuous war, foreign travel had well-nigh dropped out of the round of English recreations. But on the final overthrow of Napoleon the old avenues of travel were again opened, and English tourists flocked to the continent in greater numbers than ever, and with an eagerness heightened by long privation from that source of enjoyment. John Bull's deep-seated confidence in the superiority of everything appertaining to his own country over everything foreign, was a good deal modified by close and friendly contact with neighbouring nations. The languages, literature, art treasures, and social manners of these nations attracted more attention than ever on this side of the Channel; narrow insular notions were enlarged under such studies, some old-fashioned prejudices vanished, and a visible tincture of continental suavity of personal bearing mingled with advantage in the too-pronounced bluntness that used to mark the untravelled Englishman.

COSTUME.—Fashion, the capricious goddess whose throne is at Paris, never quitted her old home even in its most troubled years of revolutionary and anarchical excesses, and never altogether ceased to command the allegiance of neighbouring nations, even when these were most estranged from France and warring fiercely against her. The modern round hat had its birth at Paris in the dawn of the revolutionary period. This unsightly and inconvenient head-dress passed forthwith to England, where it displaced the old easy-fitting and picturesque cocked hat.

A few years later, more French male costume came into vogue in England. The most noteworthy items were—coats, single-breasted, long, with high collars, small cuffs, skirts wide and long; tight breeches, buttoned at the sides from the middle of the thigh to the ankle; low top-boots; shoes tied with strings, buckles being discarded; frilled shirts; and loose cravats of white cambric, tied in a large bow. The stand-up collar, hessian boots, and pantaloons came in at about the same date. Pig-tails fell out of use, except among elderly gentlemen, just before the dawn of the present century, but kept their hold on the army and navy until 1808.

Queen Charlotte and her daughters relinquished the use of hair-powder in 1793; but the practice lingered on a few years beyond that date, even in court circles, and then ceased except for liveried servants. In female dress, short waists became the fashion in 1794, and that section of the gown which a few years earlier extended down to the hips now stopped at the arm-pits. These short-waisted dresses retained the open front like their predecessors, but without hoops,and fell in straight loose folds to the feet. As to the hair, that was drawn up to the top of the head, and two or three curls worn in front, just above the eyebrows. Then came the Brutus crop, which began in Paris, in compliment to the imputed Roman heroism of the first consul, Bonaparte. Small leghorn hats, like men's hats, ousted the bonnet, but were soon in turn ousted by the high-crowned bonnet, with an inch or two of poke. Next followed the cottage bonnet, or *capite*. Turbans figured not unfrequently in court and ball costume. Silks fell out of fashion at the close of the century, and the finest white muslins and tinted calicoes were all the vogue. Stays dwindled down to the merest make-believe in comparison with the stiff and ample corsages previously used. Scarlet leather shoes, immense earrings, ostrich feathers, half a yard high, and worn in threes, twos, or singly, were among the other novelties of the same date. Hoops fell out of fashion in private life, but still held sway at court until the time of George IV. in all their full-blown enormity, sustaining long swathes of coloured silk, wreaths of flowers, cords, tassels, and immense bows of ribbon. Leaving out of account the smaller changes in fashion, such as are ceaselessly operating every year and every month, the general style of dress remained as indicated above until the years of the regency. Then came frock coats and loose trousers, such as, with infinite minor variations in regard to colour, material, texture, and cut, remain the ordinary wear of the present time. Black cravats and black cloth trousers for evening dress date from the beginning of the reign of George IV.; wellington and blucher boots were of slightly earlier origin.

Military costume underwent but slight transformation in the period. In 1800, the cocked hat ceased to be used by the rank and file, the peaked cap superseding it. Pantaloons took the place of knee breeches in many regiments. In 1823, blue-grey cloth trousers became the wear of all infantry regiments, and short boots superseded shoes.

FURNITURE.—Except for the later years of the period, there is little to call for remark in the catalogue of novelties that sprang up in cabinet work and upholstery, and still less to challenge admiration. In the opening years of the current century, rosewood came into favour for every article of drawing-room furniture, and mahogany grew unfashionable, except for the dining-room and bed-chamber. To the same and somewhat later years belongs the introduction of the slender-legged, scroll-backed chair, with cane bottom and thin cushion; the stuffed horse-hair sofa, with its hard cylindrical bolster, scroll ends, and chairs to match, bound with brass fillets; also pembroke tables, what-nots, canterburies, venetian and spring blinds, muslin curtains, argand lamps, and register stoves. At the opening of the period, carpets were not commonly seen so low down in the social scale as in the ranks of even prosperous shopkeepers, who were then content, for the most part, with a well-scoured floor, strewn with fine sand, for their ordinary sitting-rooms. The furniture of their rooms was in keeping with this primitive ideal of neatness. But growing refinement made its mark to such an extent, that in the same rank of homes towards the close of the period were to be seen, not only carpets, but many articles of furniture which were previously only to be found among the gentry and nobility, the walls covered with engravings or pictures, and the apartments generally offering indications that accomplishments of an elevating and refining tendency were spreading downwards among the people at large.

AMUSEMENTS, SPORTS, &c.—Vauxhall Gardens continued throughout this period to be the chief of metropolitan resorts for musical entertainments, masquerades, balls, picnics, and pyrotechnic displays. George IV., in his younger days, frequently spent his evenings with a set of gay friends in this place, and his constant patronage gave it a hold on the fashionable world that sustained its prosperity even beyond his time. The dissipation and the loose character of the amusements that found their home in these gardens are effectively sketched by the dramatists and novelists of the period. The theatre, with Siddons, Kean, and Kemble for its stars of the first magnitude, and a body of stage associates worthy of service side by side with these renowned players, was in the very heyday of its prosperity through most of this period. The plays of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and the other old masters of the drama were in the ascendant, but contemporary life was fully reflected in the comedy and farce then popular on the boards.

Field sports and the sundry forms of athletic diversions assumed great prominence in this period. The sittings of parliament, even in the years of hottest war and impending invasion, were rarely allowed to trench on the sporting season. The "Joe Manton" gun, the pointer, the setter, the spaniel, the retriever, and the terrier afforded resources without which country life in these islands would have lost more than half its charms in days of scant means of locomotion at home, and Europe closed against pleasure-seekers from these shores. Nowhere else were such dogs to be found as the trusty and highly-trained creatures reared for British field sports. The love of shooting for the sake of sport has been said to be ingrained in English nature. The British Islands have certainly furnished more numerous instances than any other land of men whose sporting instincts impel them to go wherever wild animals are to be found.

Throughout the period, hunting was a favourite diversion, and ranked among its supporters men of every rank that could keep or hire animals fit to put in an appearance at the covert side. Good fellowship was promoted then, as in later times, in the assembling of every rank to enjoy the exhilarating and invigorating sport. Few counties in England were without at least one pack of hounds, and many counties had several packs. The single-handed liberality of a principal landowner commonly defrayed the expenses of the kennel, which were about 2,000*l.* per annum, including huntsman's salary. Wellington used to say, that among his best Peninsular officers were men who had most distinguished themselves in the hunting-field; courage and decision—the essentials in an efficient officer—being also the essential qualities for insuring success in the chase. Hence he argued that England would rue the day when her field sports were discarded. The risk that such diversions, particularly hunting, would fall out of favour, was hardly to be inferred from the circumstances of the time with which this section is concerned, nor from events of later date.

Hare-coursing, one of the sports of remote times, had almost ceased to be practised anywhere until 1776, when Lord Orford established coursing meetings in Norfolk. The diversion grew rapidly in favour, and by the close of the century was followed with ardour in all parts of the British Islands. Unlike hunting, however, it was an amusement for the few rather than for all-comers. The greyhound's speed and powers were improved by the exertions of numerous devotees to this branch of the chase until the animal was brought to the utmost perfection for his work. The pedigrees of celebrated greyhounds were recorded with the same precision and care as were bestowed on the most famed horses on the turf. "The small ear, the rat tail, and the skin almost without a hair, together with that innate courage which the high-bred greyhound should have, and retaining which, instinctively, he would rather die than relinquish the chase, were the qualities developed by careful experimental crossings of sundry canine strains." (Lord Wilton's 'Sports and Pursuits of the English.')

HORSE-RACING.—George III. owed the beginning of his popularity to the fact that, unlike the two earlier Georges, Germans in their pastimes as in their speech, he was an Englishman to the inner core in personal habits generally, but especially in his fondness for field sports.

He showed a keener relish both for the race and the chase than any of his predecessors since Charles II., and his patronage brought the racecourse into higher repute than ever as a resort of fashion. George IV., from early life onwards, was a thorough turfite, and owned many first-rate horses. In the Georgian period, some of the localities that have since achieved a racing fame were unknown to the sporting world; but Newmarket, Epsom, and Doncaster enjoyed a renown which has never been eclipsed in after years. The celebrity of Newmarket ranges back to times before the Commonwealth. The Jockey Club became owners of the Heath at Newmarket in 1753. Soon after that date it became the centre of the training world, its yearly gatherings increased from two to six separate occasions, and the performances on its Round and Beacon courses more or less ruled elsewhere the events of the racing year.

The Newmarket two thousand guineas stake then, as since, generally brought out the horses which at a maturer age were to compete for the other great prizes at Epsom and Doncaster. The thousand guineas stake, for fillies only, had the same influence on the "Oaks" that the two thousand guineas had on the "Derby"—names of established significance far back in the last century. The Epsom races gave to myriads of Londoners one of their chief yearly outings long before railroads were dreamt of. The principal stakes run for on the Epsom Downs date from the middle of the reign of George III. The "Derby" takes its title from the twelfth earl of that name, a great patron of the turf, and the "Oaks" from the name of his residence in Surrey. The St. Leger race, at Doncaster, dates from 1776; but it was not until the close of last century, or even later on in the period, that the St. Leger gained so firm a hold on the pleasure-seeking world as to draw spectators from remote parts of the kingdom. The following passage tells the state of the case as regards Doncaster's turfy renown from the period of the regency onward :—

"At one season of the year, namely, in the autumn, Doncaster is visited by nearly all the families of rank in the north of England. About a mile from the town, on the road to London, is its famous race-ground, on which is a stand erected by the corporation, which may well deserve to be styled magnificent, and which, when crowded with company, as it rarely fails to be at the annual meeting, presents a sight truly splendid." (Allen's 'History of the County of York,' iii. 193.)

Of the other well-known turf localities of the period, only one more claims special mention. Ascot, closely contiguous to the royal demesne of Windsor Forest, enjoyed the especial favour of the court and basked in the smiles of royalty all through the reigns of the Georges, and onward to the close of the period, nor has it since fallen from its high estate. No other racecourse in the world ever draws so many magnificent equipages, nor so numerous an assemblage of the highest social grades as clusters round the grand stand on Ascot Heath, to participate, in company with royalty itself, in the exhilaration of this absorbing branch of national sport.

Flying Childers, *Child of the Islands*, *Bay Malton*, and many other racehorses of the last century enjoyed a celebrity which still insures them a front-rank place in the annals of the turf. Most of the famous racers of that period owed their size, strength, and endurance to a cross of the carthorse with a pure Arab dam. Such horses were in advance of the Arab in speed, and superior in endurance. In those days, royal plates of 100*l.* each were given for competition among four-year-old horses, carrying 10 st. 4 lbs., and decided in four mile heats. These conditions encouraged breeders to rear animals of size and substance, equal to carrying heavy weights over long distances. But lighter weights and shorter distances came into favour, because the horse is at his best for speed when two years old, and it is cheaper to bring a young horse up to the mark for a mile and a half than to keep him until his powers of endurance are better, but his speed less. Hence all the great prizes of the turf came to be won by horses of immature age and undeveloped powers; but many animals were irreparably injured in the ordeal. Those who cared more for the rearing of serviceable horses for hunting, and good roadsters, than for the single quality of surpassing fleetness, often advocated a return to the old fashion of longer heats and fully-grown horses. But this notion had to be abandoned in face of the extra heavy outlay reckoned at 100,000*l.* a year, that would be occasioned in order to give it effect. A heavy drawback to the merits of horse-racing as a branch of national sport was long ago seen, in the fact that gambling is more mixed up with the events of the turf than with all other popular sports and amusements put together. While it was manifest, however, that the allurements of the racecourse exerted a baneful influence over great numbers, it was equally manifest that gambling propensities were not to be cured by the suppression of racing, and that the national sport of horse-racing, when honourably conducted, was not more objectionable than most others.

Aquatic sports grew steadily in popularity, from small beginnings in the opening years of the period, to a high pitch of favour before its close. Before the period of steamboat traffic, the professional Thames watermen were foremost among expert rowers; nor have they lost their old distinction, though the palmy days of their craft are merged in the distant past. The watermen's annual boat-race, rowed on the 1st of August, was one of the greatest events in the sporting year in the reigns of the Georges. Dogget, an eminent actor of the time of Queen Anne and George I., bequeathed the fund out of which come the prizes given for this race. The competitors, under the conditions of the legacy, are six young watermen in the last year of their apprenticeship. Each man rows singly in his boat, against the tide, from London Bridge to Chelsea. The one who first lands at the goal obtains the prize of honour, which is a waterman's coat of scarlet cloth, decorated with a large silver badge; hence the race is known as "rowing for the coat and badge." This leading aquatic event of former times furnished Dibbin with the theme for his ballad opera, 'The Waterman, or the First of August,' in which occurs the favourite old popular song, 'Tom Tug.'

Among the most famous amateur rowing events chronicled in sporting records, the match that took place on the 12th of May 1824, to row between Oxford and London, deserves special mention, as probably an unexampled instance of enduring muscular effort. The conditions of the wager, which was for 200*l.*, were, that six officers of the Third Guards should row in a six-oared wherry from Oxford to London in sixteen consecutive hours. By preconcerted arrangement with the river authorities, the locks were kept clear, with plenty of water to facilitate the passage of the boat. The military rowers, attired in aquatic costume—blue striped shirts, crimson neckcloths, and white hats—at three o'clock in the morning bore away towards their destination at a pace exceeding eight miles an hour, amidst the cheers of a large assemblage, even at that early hour. Maidenhead Lock was passed at half-past eleven, and Windsor by one o'clock. The next eight miles, to Staines, were accomplished in fifty minutes. At Teddington, where a brief halt was made at half-past five for refreshments, the rowers were cheered by a gathering of friendly spectators in skiffs and wherries and on the shore. At Putney, where they arrived at six o'clock, the Thames presented an unusual scene of gaiety, members of the numerous aquatic clubs, in their uniforms, having mustered in force, and countless boats, thronged with eager spectators, covering the water. Thence onwards to Westminster Bridge the river was thronged with craft, and every convenient place along the banks was crowded with spectators, whose vociferous cheers raised afresh the spirits of the jaded crew, and gave renewed zest to their exertions. From Teddington to Westminster, eight-oared guard-boats cleared the way, and a force of the Bow Street patrol performed similar duty at Whitehall

Stairs, the landing-place. At a quarter to seven o'clock they reached the goal, where they were hailed with the deafening acclamations of assembled multitudes. The current bets were four to one against the rowers, and it was reckoned that 15,000*l.* changed hands by the event. The distance rowed was one hundred and eighteen miles, and the time, including all stoppages, fifteen hours and three quarters. Had the wind been in their favour, the rowers averred they would have finished their task in an hour less than the time taken. ('Sporting Magazine,' lxiv. 118.) Rowing engrossed more and more attention at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge from the time of George IV. But the local races on the Cam and Isis were at length quite eclipsed in interest by the greater event of an annual match between picked oarsmen from the two universities. The first of these matches, in 1829, marks a new era in boat-racing. The 'Annual Register' for 1829 gives the following account of this first of the long series of aquatic contests which at length created a world-wide interest, nowise inferior to that felt in the leading events of the turf:—

"The match between the gentlemen of the university of Oxford and the gentlemen of the university of Cambridge, to row from Westminster Bridge to Putney in eight-oared cutters, which has for some time past excited great interest among sporting circles and on the river, came off, according to the articles of agreement, yesterday. For some time before the start took place, the western side of Westminster Bridge was crowded with spectators, who climbed upon the balustrades, and formed a living mass closely jammed together. Along Millbank there was a perfect mob, and on the opposite side of the water every place that could afford a view of the race was occupied. In short, excitement and curiosity were so great that it would be difficult to point out any spot from one terminus of the race to the other, on the banks, that had not an occupant. The Oxonians had the lead, and at Vauxhall Bridge were a boat's length in advance of the Cantabs. The betting was now even, and it was plain the Oxford boat was becoming the favourite. This state of things, however, did not continue long. The Cambridge boat drew quickly upon her adversary as the boat approached the Red House, Battersea. At this point the Oxford boat appeared to get too close to the south bank of the river, and very shortly the Cambridge boat was ahead. At Battersea Bridge the Cambridge boat was half a length before the Oxford boat, and it became apparent that, barring accidents, she would be the winner. The Oxonians, however, made every effort to get ahead, but in vain. The Cambridge boat reached the goal of victory by a length, or very nearly so, before her opponent, and was greeted with the cheers of the assembled multitude. The match was rowed within half an hour, or very nearly so. . . . . A better contest has, perhaps, never been witnessed; and it is not a little refreshing to the real lovers of old English sports and manly exercises to find this sort of amusement beginning to supersede the dangerous and absurd practice of steeple-chasing—sports merely got up by publicans and horse-dealers to pillage the unwary and enrich themselves."

From 1829 onward, the match has been repeated annually, at or near Easter, the scene of the contest being shifted, however, to the more suitable portion of the Thames between Putney and Mortlake.

STEEPLE-CHASING.—The sport deprecated in the foregoing extract established its hold on a large section of the sporting world in the later years of this period, and attracted crowds of spectators. But fox-hunters, particularly masters of hounds, regarded it with disfavour, because it begot ill-feeling in those whose land was torn up and fences destroyed in the headlong rush of scores of horses, racing under heavy weights, over a four-mile course, chosen for its intersection by watercourses and desperate leaps. The falls at fences and wide ditches were frequent, and often fatal, to both horses and riders. The speed and hardihood of horses, and the daring and excellent horsemanship of riders, were certainly exemplified, but at the cost of detestable cruelty to the animals and jeopardy to the lives or limbs of the horsemen. In the face of all such objections, however, the sport has never declined from the favour which it won from its earliest patrons.

Among other athletic sports of the period wrestling matches continued to find patrons and admirers, especially in Cumberland, Cornwall and Devon. But this rough pastime was falling out of favour, and dwindling year by year into a mere remnant of a bygone fashion, like prize-fighting, with which it was intimately allied, and with which it eventually fell under the ban of general reprobation.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA.

CHAPTER I.

The Civil and Military History of Great Britain, from the Accession of Victoria, A.D. 1837.

SECTION I.

WHEN the king's death was announced to those in the castle, the archbishop of Canterbury and the lord chamberlain left Windsor and proceeded in all haste to Kensington, where they arrived in three hours. The inmates of the palace slept, and the archbishop and marquis of Conyngham knocked and rang long and loudly before the doors were opened, and even then could not have immediate audience of the unconscious sovereign. "The princess is in a sweet, sound sleep," said her attendant,." and I cannot venture to disturb her." But the reply banished all scruples. "We have come to see the queen on affairs of state;" and, roused from her slumbers, her majesty presently appeared "in a loose white nightgown and shawl, her nightcap thrown off, and her hair falling over her shoulders, her feet in slippers, and tears in her eyes, but perfectly dignified and collected." Messengers were despatched without delay to the ministers, and Lord Melbourne was at once sent for.

The quiet of the palace of Kensington was broken by the gathering of a great privy council within its walls at noon on the 20th of June. Summoned in haste on the news of the king's death, thither came the royal dukes, the great peers and commoners, the ministers, the privy councillors, the officers of state, the lord mayor of London, to hail their new sovereign, and to sign the act of allegiance to the young princess, who was ordered to be proclaimed as Queen Alexandrina Victoria. The queen was little more than eighteen years of age; and although from the time that it became probable she would be called upon to wear the crown, no marked change had been made in her position, the watchful care of her mother had no doubt been directed to develop in her the extraordinary fitness she exhibited for the discharge of her duties, at the very outset of her royal career on a most trying occasion. With a modest dignity which commanded the admiration of her auditors, the queen, as soon as the act of allegiance had been signed, made a declaration, which was delivered with singular force and touching simplicity. After a reference to the death of "her beloved uncle," the young queen turned to its consequences, and said: "This awful responsibility is imposed on me so suddenly, and at so early a period of my life, that I should feel myself utterly oppressed by the burden, were I not sustained by the hope that Divine Providence, which has called me to this work, will give me strength for the performance of it, and that I shall find, in the purity of my intentions, and in my zeal for the public welfare, that support and those resources which usually belong to a more mature age and to long experience. I place my firm reliance upon the wisdom of parliament, and upon the loyalty and affection of my people. I esteem it also a peculiar advantage that I succeed to a sovereign whose constant regard for the rights and liberties of his subjects, and whose desire to promote the amelioration of the laws and institutions of the country, have rendered his name the object of general attachment and veneration. Educated in England, under the tender and enlightened care of a most affectionate mother, I have learned from infancy to respect and love the constitution of my native country. It will be my increasing study to maintain the reformed religion, as by law established, securing at the same time to all the full enjoyment of religious liberty. And I shall steadily protect the rights, and promote, to the utmost of my power, the happiness and welfare of all classes of my subjects." The terms of this declaration excited the wrath of the great journal which then threw all its force and energy into the scale against the reform ministry. In the number which was published the day after the king's death, the "Times" attacked Lord Melbourne in a style which would now be condemned for indecent vehemence, and stigmatized the declaration as a tissue of statements notoriously false. It denounced the ministers who had "dared to involve their young sovereign in the very first hour of her reign in a pledge to lend her name to the revolutionary changes which these designing men had marked under the plausible term of ameliorations," declared it was notorious that the king, instead of approving of them, had been forced to give his assent, and asked the country if they believed "this Whig Radical Ethiopian could change his spots—this leper of popery cast off his skin."

Both Houses met on the same day, but no business was transacted, except the administration of the oaths to the members; nor was any official notice then taken in parliament of the king's demise, the intelligence of which was received with deep regret throughout the kingdom.

On Wednesday, the 21st of June, her majesty, attended by the duchess of Kent, proceeded in state, but dressed in deep mourning, from Kensington Palace to St. James's, where the ministers and great officers were assembled, and appeared to a vast concourse at one of the windows of the Palace. The proclamation was made in the court below by the heralds, in due form, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the people, and was repeated in the city with the usual ceremonial. The sight of the royal lady moved her subjects deeply, and the cheers which arose caused in her emotions too strong to be subdued. Floods of tears streamed down her cheeks as she gazed on the sea of upturned and admiring faces, and bowed her acknowledgments; and at her first court the young queen gave proof of a sensibility and tenderness which enhanced the value of her good sense.

On the following day the queen sent a message to both Houses, in which she referred, feelingly, to the death of her "beloved uncle," and announced that, as it would be necessary to summon a new parliament, no further measures would be recommended for their consideration. Both Houses returned an address of condolence without debate, but on the following night Lord Lyndhurst delivered one of those merciless reviews of the session, which the exactness of his memory and the severity of his language made terrible to a slovenly administration, and attacked the government for their misconduct of public affairs, and for an imbecility which left the country without any reliance. "The nation had but one ray of comfort. It was in the conduct of their sovereign in the first act of her life, on her accession; and he trusted that soon they would see that no countenance would be given to the alarm which existed for the church establishment and for the Protestant faith." In the Commons, Lord John Russell took occasion to make an apologetical review of the state of public business, and was encountered by Mr. Hume, who complained that parliament was about to separate, after a four months' sitting, without agreeing to any measure of what he called importance. Debates ensued, which were chiefly remarkable for the advocacy of the Canadian malcontents by Mr. Roebuck, and by a division on the Maynooth grant, in which Mr. Gladstone voted against its continuance. Shortly afterwards a bill was introduced to provide for the carrying on of the government, in event of the demise of the crown, and of the absence of the next heir from the country at the time of it.

Before the close of the session (June 30), the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his budget, which gave small comfort to any side of the House, although the economical tendencies of the government were manifested in estimates for the Navy, for the Army, and for miscellaneous expenditure of 14,585,000*l.*, the total revenue of the year 1836-37, being 48,453,000*l.* Bills for the improvement of the criminal law, and for the abolition of the punishment of death in certain cases, and for amendment of the law in respect to wills, were passed in pursuance of the general declarations made by the ministers as to measures which had been matured in previous sittings.

On the 17th of July the queen went in state to parliament to close the session, and was an object of great interest to her people, who were struck by the easy dignity of her carriage, and the graces of her person. The Speaker appeared at the bar of the Lords, and delivered an address of the Commons, assuring the queen of the strong feeling of attachment which the free and loyal people they represented felt for her, and which they trusted would be strengthened by a long course of beneficent government; and after the royal assent had been given to several bills, her majesty read with an exactness of pronunciation, and propriety of emphasis that attracted every hearer, the speech which closed the session. Her youth was fortified by her sense of her duties. The voice of faction was hushed in her presence, and the criticism which was eager to detect faults in the literary composition of an obnoxious ministry, was forced to admit itself baffled by the impression produced by the manner in which it was pronounced. The queen thanked parliament for their condolence on the death of the king, and said she was "very desirous of renewing the assurance of her determination to maintain the Protestant religion, as established by law;" and having expressed her pleasure at finding the country in amity with all foreign powers, and made the usual acknowledgments to the Commons of their liberality in the grant of supplies, said, "I ascend the throne with a deep sense of the responsibility which is imposed on me, but I am supported by the consciousness of my own right intentions, and by my dependence upon the protection of Almighty God." Seldom has a royal speech been listened to with greater interest, and never, perhaps, were the hearers so gratified by the manner in which a set composition of the kind was delivered. The writs were at once issued, and the elections, which created great excitement, afforded occasion to the government candidates to make a use of the queen's name, which gave offence to their opponents. It was a matter of necessity that the queen should accept the services of the ministry whom she found in place; but by many different channels, the country was informed that her majesty had a strong attachment to the political principles they represented, and a great regard for some of the principal members of the cabinet.

Immediately after the dissolution, the ministerial candidates went about the country, representing that the queen had espoused their political creed without reservation, and inviting the electors to prove their loyalty by supporting her ministers. This occasioned an amusing epigram, which was inscribed on the pane of an inn window at Huddersfield:—

"The Queen is with us, Whigs insulting say,
For when she found us in she let us stay;
It may be so: but give me leave to doubt
How long she'll keep you when she finds you out."

Lord John Russell, in the exercise of his discretion as a minister, wrote to Lord Mulgrave in Ireland, informing him of "Her Majesty's entire approval" of his past conduct, and her desire that he should be guided by similar principles for the future, adding that "her majesty was desirous her Irish subjects should fully enjoy that civil and political equality to which they had become entitled by recent statutes, and felt convinced that when invidious distinctions were altogether obliterated, her throne would be more secure and the people more truly united."

A great novelist and a brilliant statesman has represented one of the wire-pullers on the political stage at this period, who is in distress for "a cry" with which to go to the people. "Our young queen and our old constitution!" strikes him as effective; but the ministry of 1837, who were represented as assailants of all that was venerable and sacred in our institutions, could scarcely adopt the latter part of the Shibboleth, and therefore relied all the more on the first part, and shouted it with vigour; although the result was less than they expected. Another mode by which the Liberals sought for political capital, was harping on the misdeeds of the king of Hanover, on his accession to the throne of that kingdom. Each of the two great parties in the state were anxious for the favour of the queen, and caught eagerly at every fancied indication of her political leanings; but there was every reason to believe that her majesty was more inclined to place confidence in those councillors whom she found in office, than in the chiefs of the opposition, and free use was made of the supposition. A Scotch Conservative, Major Cumming Bruce, told his hearers indeed that Lord Melbourne had actually ventured to sound the depths of the queen's heart by direct questions, and had boldly asked "who was the man in whom she reposed most confidence, and for whom she entertained the greatest regard;" and that the queen, to his great discomfiture, had replied, "The duke of Wellington."

All the elections in England were over at the end of July. Although the relative strength of the great political parties may not have been changed, public opinion was much less demonstrative than it had been in favour of the Liberals. The victories gained by the Conservatives in Bath, Liverpool, and Hull, where Messrs. Roebuck, Ewart, Colonel Thompson, and Hutt were defeated, pointed significantly to the waning popularity of extreme opinions. It is true that the defeat of Sir George Murray, in Westminster, by Mr. Leader, was accepted as a signal triumph; but on the other hand, the narrow majority of six, whereby Mr. Grote defeated the Conservative candidate, Mr. Horsley Palmer, in London, coupled with serious losses in the county elections, spoke eloquently of the declining influence of the ministerialists. Not only did they suffer an actual loss of twenty-three seats, but they failed in fifteen counties out of the sixteen, in which they endeavoured to substitute members of their party for Conservatives. The rejection of Sir James Graham by East Cumberland; the unseating of Mr. Hume in Middlesex, which obliged him to seek refuge in Kilkenny; the election of Sir Francis Burdett as a Conservative for North Wilts; the transposition of Sir William Molesworth from Cornwall to Leeds; the election in Sheffield of Mr. Ward, known in connection with the "appropriation clause;" the return of Mr. Disraeli for Maidstone; were among the most remarkable incidents of the contest in which the opposition generally called themselves Conservatives, and were therefore attacked by Lord John Russell, who said that "Leo X., the Inquisitors, and Nero, were Conservatives." The influence of Mr. O'Connell in Ireland was almost irresistible, but the exhibition of its results in the return of a number of gentlemen generally without either position or ability, to follow his bidding in the House of Commons, and keep a ministry in office, was resented by the English people who were irritated by an alliance with one whom they regarded as an agitator bent on his own selfish ends, and engaged in the work of destroying a church he hated, and a rule he assailed.

When Queen Alexandrina Victoria I. ascended the throne, there was no grave cause for apprehension that internal tranquillity would be seriously endangered, or our friendly relations with any power, great or small, placed in jeopardy. The new Poor Law was unpopular, but every day's experience showed that the harshness of its operations was due to the friction of new machinery, and not to any radical defect of principle. There was much distress and consequent discontent in Ireland, but parliament had promised early remedial measures; and to silence some of the cries from across the water, a large measure of municipal reform, which involved a heavy blow and great discouragement to the old Tory freemen of the boroughs, was guaranteed to the Roman Catholics, and a further adjustment of the tithe grievance was announced to the clergy of the established church, and to the landlords on whose shoulders it rested. The embarrassments caused by the financial crisis of 1836 had of course reached the colonies, and had led in Canada to consequences described in the history of the preceding reign. In Halifax, cash payments were suspended. There was a mutiny of a negro regiment in Trinidad, and the revelations of hideous depravity and crime, which made our New South Wales settlement a veritable Inferno, struck dumb any pretentious boasting of the goodness of our nature or the excellence of our race; but except in Canada, there was no sign of disaffected relations to the crown anywhere to be seen. In France, the king was engaged in efforts to secure the attachment of his people without much success, but ere the year closed the marriage of the duke of Orleans with the Princess Helena, promised to secure the dynasty chosen by the chiefs of the revolution of 1830, and the result of the expedition against the bey of Constantine, in which the duke of Orleans took a part calculated to make the royal family popular with a nation in which military excellence is the first of virtues, reflected some glory on the arms of the citizen king. But press prosecutions were necessary, or were resorted to, and the Strasburg incident of the previous year was an indication that the name of the great emperor had not lost its influence. In Spain, the civil war was still going on, between the Carlists and the troops of

Queen Christina, to whose cause we lent what is called a moral support, represented by a detachment of British marines, and the surveillance of a fleet, as well as the suspension of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The contest was varied by mutinies, desertions, executions, and massacres, in which the names of Cabrera, Espartero, O'Donnell, Sarsfield, figured as actors or victims; but the British Legion, after displaying considerable valour, and encountering some reverses, fell to pieces in the hands of General O'Connell, to whom Sir de Lacy Evans resigned his disagreeable command before the year closed. The only trouble in Prussia appeared to be caused by the resistance of the Roman Catholic archbishop of Cologne to state control, which, however, was overcome by the determined exercise of physical force by the government at Berlin. Religious differences were agitating Switzerland, and led to an insurrection in Berne. Russia was steadily pursuing her work in the Caucasus, and the capture of a British schooner, the Vixen, on the coast of Circassia by a Russian frigate, on the charge of supplying "the insurgents" with ammunition, caused some excitement in England, which waned away before the evidence that the character of the vessel was not quite above just suspicion; but the aggressive spirit manifested by the cabinet of St. Petersburg, its violation of treaty rights in reference to Cracow, its insolent oppression of the Poles, and its attempts on the liberties of the Circassians, excited strong feelings of disapproval and an irritation, which sometimes found vent in a speech from Lord Dudley Stuart, or some other zealous, but useless, unarmed champion of freedom. In the United States trade was reviving, and speculation raising its head above the ruin of the past year, and the military and aggressive tendencies which republics and despotisms display towards weak neighbours, were gratified in an invasion of Texas by the troops of the United States.

The personal popularity of the youthful monarch was very great, but there were credulous people who believed ridiculous tales concerning political, religious, and even physical foibles, which had not the smallest foundation; and the leaning she evinced towards the Whigs, and more particularly towards Lord Melbourne, was regarded with suspicion by those who thought he was an enemy to the Protestant faith and to the British constitution. The passions excited by the conflicts which marked the progress of the Catholic Emancipation Act had not yet subsided; and whilst there were some who regretted the supersession of the duke of Cumberland by his niece, because of his attachment to the church and Protestant constitution, others shuddered at the contemplation of the chances which might place him on the throne of these kingdoms. On the last day of the session, Colonel Thompson gave notice that he—and he spoke as if he had vested interest in his seat—would bring in a bill to vest the succession in the Prince George of Cambridge and his heirs, and to exclude the king of Hanover, who was next in succession. The ire of the Liberals, who were always illiberal in their hatred to the duke of Cumberland, was lashed into fury by his first act as king of Hanover in abrogating the constitutional ordinances of George IV. and William IV., an act which led to protests from the Chambers of Bavaria, Baden, and Saxony.

During the period which elapsed between the dissolution of the old and the meeting of the new parliament, the intelligence from Canada clouded the prospects of universal peace; and those who were interested in the politics of the East, and concerned for the safety of the Indian possessions of the crown, were disturbed by rumours of Russian intrigues in Persia and Cabul. The Canadian disquietudes were but aggravations of old troubles, but the activity of Russia in kingdoms so close to our north-western frontier in the East, indicated a new development of her ambition calculated to inspire anxiety. The National Association was dissolved by Mr. O'Connell as a proof of his confidence in the government; but meetings in support of very strong Liberal measures, triennial parliaments, vote by ballot, extension of the suffrage and the like, were numerous and largely attended in England. The queen, who took up her residence in Buckingham Palace, in the middle of July, gave proof that her grief for the loss of her uncle, the king, was unfeigned, and evinced the greatest respect for his memory and sympathy for the sorrows of his consort; and it was not till October she left London and paid a visit to Brighton, where she was received with much rejoicing and every testimony of attachment and loyalty, returning to London on the 4th of November.

On the 9th of November the queen went in state to a great banquet at Guildhall, and was received with enthusiastic loyalty by immense crowds, who, in spite of the weather which may be expected in our climate about the time of lord mayor's day, filled the streets to see their youthful sovereign, and were delighted at her appearance in a magnificence which could not diminish the effect of her candid gaze and girlish grace.

On the 20th of November her first parliament was opened by the queen in person. The pageant attracted enormous multitudes. Those who heard the royal speech were loud in their expressions of admiration for the excellence of its delivery. The composition in itself was not so well received. After the usual reference to the friendly relations with foreign powers, parliament was reminded that provision must be made for the civil list. "I place," said her majesty, "unreservedly at your disposal those hereditary revenues which were transferred to the public by my immediate predecessor. Desirous that expenditure in this, as in every other department of government, should be kept within the limits, I feel confident that you will gladly make adequate provision for the support of the honour and the dignity of the crown." The condition of the poor in Ireland was commended to consideration, as well as the amendment of the law relating to municipal government, and the collection of tithe composition, and the speech concluded with an expression of confidence in the loyalty and wisdom of the first parliament of the queen's reign. "The early age at which I am called to the sovereignty of this kingdom renders it a more imperative duty, that, under Divine Providence, I should place my reliance upon your cordial co-operation, and upon the love and affection of all my people." In the Lords, the address, which was moved by the duke of Sussex, was voted after some criticism of no great harshness, but the extreme Radicals in the Commons were indignant at the absence of any allusion to the necessity of unrest, and were angry at the early stage at which the chariot of progress was halted by its Liberal drivers. Mr. Wakley moved three amendments on the address, in favour of the extension of reform, and was seconded by Sir W. Molesworth; but the ministers took no notice of these attacks till provoked by recriminations from Mr. Hume, and a strong appeal from Mr. Grote, Lord John Russell rose, and at once flung down the gage to the advanced "followers" whom he could no longer hope to lead. He declared finally, that "he considered vote by ballot, an extension of the suffrage, and triennial parliaments as a repeal of the Reform Act, for which he was not prepared." He even ventured to invite the personal hostility of the coroner for Middlesex, by an allusion to his profession, and raised a laugh by saying the honourable member's three amendments were all parts of the same medicine, but made up in separate papers. The vote on Mr. Wakley's first amendment showed that Lord John Russell had at least numbers at his back, for, reinforced by the Conservatives, the ministry were followed by five hundred and nine members, and Mr. Wakley could only get twenty. They were fast losing ground, however, and only maintained their scanty vantage by the aid of the Conservatives, who whilst careful not to let them count for permanent aid, or friendly alliance, from time to time gave them a helping hand to resent the impetuous attacks of their own Radical allies, and who denounced their conduct, their policy, and their measures before they marched into the same lobby with them. The tactics of Sir R. Peel at this time were masterly: he let no weak point—and there were many—escape him, and he exacted a heavy price for the services he rendered with unconcealed contempt. One great advantage he certainly possessed in the homogeneity of his party, and the knowledge that he was backed by nearly three hundred gentlemen, representing the landed interest, the territorial wealth, and the county families of Great Britain, and he turned to the best account the disadvantage at which the ministry stood in the composition of their forces. The Conservatives joyed much in the skirmishes which took place on the wings of the ministerial army, when an auxiliary or mercenary force rose in revolt; though they were watchful to study the plan of all general actions, and lent a helping hand to the government whenever the revolters seemed to be on the point of a dangerous victory But what they wanted in numbers the advanced Liberals endeavoured to supplement by pertinacity. Mr. Harvey, Mr. Leader, and Mr. C. Buller, in turn inveighed against the perfidy and treachery of their allies on the government benches, and taking note of Lord John Russell's denunciation of their pet programme as an absolute desertion on the field of battle, reproached him with a desire for office. This Lord John Russell repudiated, and resented the charge that he had abandoned his party after using them for his own purposes, as base and dishonourable. He expressed a strong conviction that any preponderance in representation given to the large towns "would tend to introduce the elements of general disorder." On the 11th of December a message from the queen was sent to parliament asking for an increase of the grant to the duchess of Kent, and 30,000*l.* was voted for her annual maintenance. But the great contest was over the civil list; and when Mr. Spring Rice, on the 23rd of November, in an exhaustive and exhausting speech explained the views of government, it was evident that a vigorous effort would be made to subject the new civil list to Liberal management. Mr. Harvey, afterwards a police commissioner, proposed that the revenues of the crown, and the property in Cornwall and Lancaster, should be placed under the control of parliament. Our readers do not need to be reminded that when the list was first introduced, George III. surrendered the hereditary revenues of the crown, in lieu of a fixed sum; and William IV. added the "doits and revenues" from Gibraltar to the concession. Mr. Rice, to propitiate the ultra reformers, proposed, on the part of government, to hand over the pensioners on the civil list to a select committee. Sir R. Peel made an energetic speech against the proposal, which, however was carried on a division by two hundred and ninety-five to two hundred and thirty-three. Finally, after much debate, the civil list was fixed at 385,000*l.*, not without an attempt on the part of Mr. Hume to reduce it by 50,000*l.* a year, which was negatived, and on the part of Mr. Grote, who desired in vain that the pensioners should be removed from the civil list. It may be remarked that the new list exhibited considerable reductions in the amount as compared with former years.

Before the end of the year, the malcontents in Lower Canada had brought matters to such a pass that, on the prorogation of parliament, three days before Christmas, the ministry announced it would reassemble on the 16th of January, to consider the state of affairs in that province.

The case stood briefly thus:—In 1774, the British government, alarmed at the revolt of the colonies, and anxious to secure the fidelity of the French Canadians, restored the old civil law, and guaranteed the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, with due security for the rights and dues of the clergy in Lower Canada. This measure, wise or just, or perhaps both, had certainly the effect of rendering the Lower Province an uncongenial resting-place for British emigrants. They went further inland and up country, and gradually settled Upper Canada with a Protestant population, many of them hostile, with all the fervour of Scotch presbyterianism, to any other form of Christianity.

Owing to the absence of fixed ideas, legislation concerning property in land was especially unsatisfactory. The French preferred their own law, with all its immense complications and diversity of process, such as it exerted in France before the Code Napoleon, to what we are pleased to consider our own simpler legal system; and they complained of the various acts of parliament which modified the tenures and processes as breaches of covenant, whilst the British settlers complained they were under subjection to the French civil law when they happened to be within the *habitans'* quarters.

In 1791, the dependency was rather rudely divided into Upper and Lower Canada, and constitutions were given to the provinces, by which a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly was established in each, and a considerable share in their own government transferred to the people. But the line between the functions of the Council and of the Assembly, between the governor who represented the crown through the colonial office, and the members of the House of Assembly elected by the people, was not accurately drawn, and careless legislation helped to render it still less definite. The governors of Lower Canada, anxious to strengthen the British interest, generally crammed safe men, who held places under the crown, into the Legislative Council, and turned it into a chamber of nominees. The Legislative Assembly, on the other hand, assumed the aspect of a committee of grievances, representing solely the wishes and complaints of the *habitans.* They had, moreover, in their hands an immensely powerful lever, for by the constitution they had the right of appropriating the revenues of the province. But not all. By an Act passed 18 George III., it was provided that the British parliament should not levy any duty or tax in the provinces, "except such as might be expedient for the regulation of commerce," that such taxes and duties should be applied to the use of the colony, in the same way as the other taxes and duties collected by the authority of the Assembly. With laws passed "for the regulation of commerce," the Assembly therefore, could nt inoterfere, and it was also held by the home government, that the Canadian Lower House had no control over the appropriation of such duties as it was usual to raise in the colony for government purposes before the passing of the Act of 18 Geo. III. The Canadians, however, were of opinion that as soon as the House of Assembly was constituted and vested with the power of levying taxes, and raising duties to be appropriated to the service of the colony, it had the right of controlling the appropriation of all public money whatever, and that the power hitherto possessed by the imperial parliament had been transferred to it. The Legislative Assembly claimed the right of examining the manner in which the money raised by the exercise of the governor's power of taxing was employed, before it would vote the supplies; but it would seem as if the law officers of the crown were justified in their technical objection to the Assembly exercising supervision over this prerogative taxation. The House of Assembly stood to its own construction of its powers. The governors, acting under the colonial office, persisted in their own course, with the usual result of estrangement and growing dislike. "Cherchez la femme," may be a good direction in all personal complications, but between the governed and the governing, it is nearly always a money question which causes dispute. The Assembly sent up bills of supply, which were rejected by the governor. But to carry on government it is necessary to have money. And to raise money, the governor had to resort to means which were obviously irregular, and to appropriate sums to which he had no right; and from the year 1828, when the Canadians made their first formal plaint to parliament, and obtained a committee on their grievances, the evil went on growing, and the irritation increasing, all the more deep and wide, because the report of the committee, which justified many of their complaints, produced no large and substantial act of redress and remedy.

The committee of 1828 not only reported that many complaints of grievances were well-founded, but recommended that, although the legal right of appropriating the sums raised under the Act of 1774 might be in the crown, the revenues should be placed under the control of the House of Assembly, with the proviso that the salaries of the governor-general, executive council, judges, &c., should not be made dependent on a vote; censured those general appropriations which had been made without the consent of the Assembly, and advised that the Legislative Council should no longer consist of officeholders of the crown. In 1831, these recommendations were carried into effect with the omission of one important qualifying measure. The government introduced a bill, placing the revenues raised under the Act of 1774 under the control of the Assembly, but without any stipulation for the payment of the salaries of the governor, council, and judges, and passed a measure enabling the colonial legislation to alter the laws relating to property, "any repugnancy to the law of England notwithstanding." But this concession did not satisfy the Assembly of Lower Canada. It insisted on the total repeal of the Tenures Act, the surrender of all the crown revenues; and the introduction of the principle of election by the people into the Legislative Council. On the occasion of Lord Gosford's appointment as governor, it refused the supplies unless these demands were satisfied. The resolutions moved by Lord John Russell on the 6th of March, 1837, and adopted by parliament, brought matters to a crisis.

The Assembly flatly refused to grant a civil list to provide for the salaries of the judges and civil officers, to surrender the revenues, or to admit the title of the American Land Company. It demanded the repeal of the Tenures Act, and passed a series of resolutions of a very menacing character, which plainly indicated revolt if the home government did not abandon the policy embodied in Lord John Russell's resolutions. On the 23rd of October a great meeting of the "six counties" was called at St. Charles to protest against the acts of the imperial parliament. The agitation among the *habitans* became alarming. They assembled in masses, and indulged in angry words and protests which they declared they would support by deeds. The breach between the British Protestant loyalists and the French Catholics grew wider every day. Foremost among the leaders of the malcontents, was a **M.** Papineau, Speaker of the Lower House, who, as often is the case with popular orators, seems to have been possessed of greater moral boldness than physical courage. Warrants were issued for the arrest on the charge of treason of Papineau and others, who immediately sought the assistance of their political friends, and resolved to resist the law. The *habitans* in Lower Canada turned out in arms, and took post on the river Richelieu, where they fortified two villages, St. Denis and St. Charles. To assist the mounted police to execute the warrants, two small detachments of troops were assembled, one under Colonel Gore to march on St. Denis, the other under Colonel Wetherall to disperse the body at St. Charles. It was on the 23rd of November, in the midst of a Canadian winter, that Colonel Gore, after a long and harassing night march, appeared before St. Denis, which he found occupied by fifteen hundred men, who had fortified the village, and resolved to defend it resolutely. Colonel Gore made an attack with infantry fire and his one field piece, but could make no impression on the defences. He continued his fire as long as his men had cartridges, and then fell back with the loss of six men killed and ten wounded, and his gun, which was left on the ground. Colonel Wetherall attacked St. Charles with better fortune on the 25th of November, and with a loss of three killed and eighteen wounded, routed the insurgents completely. St. Denis was abandoned as soon as the rebels heard of the occupation of St. Charles. At the same time considerable numbers of the disaffected assembled at St. Eustache near the mouth of the Ottawa. On the 13th of December, Sir J. Colborne left Montreal with thirteen hundred men, and next day attacked St. Eustache. The main body of the rebels melted away under a little fire, but about four hundred of the braver, under the leadership of a Dr. Chenier, offered a stubborn resistance, and were not driven out till the village was in flames. In this action, the rebels lost one hundred killed and wounded, and one hundred and twenty prisoners; the British, one killed and three wounded. Next day as Colborne was marching against St. Benoit, he was met by a deputation on the part of the rebels, who sued for pardon, and offered to lay down their arms, and after an action, in which a band of Canadians, under Wolfred Nelson and Brown, was broken up, open insurrection was suppressed in Lower Canada. In the Upper Province, a Mr. Mackenzie took the lead in the opposition to the British government. He called a convention to meet at Toronto, on the 21st of December, but on the 19th an armed band occupied part of the city. Sir F. Head had not a soldier at his disposal, but Colonel McNab, on hearing of Mackenzie's rising, marched with the militia and volunteers against the rebel position at Montgomerie's tavern, outside Toronto, and broke them up without resistance. Mackenzie flew to Buffalo in the United States, where there was no lack of sympathy for any enemy to Great Britain, and he soon found congenial spirits to join him in what was neither more nor less than a levy of war against the queen. The state arsenals were plundered without any show of opposition, and American arms and ammunition were employed in equipping bands for an invasion of Canada. The state authorities, indeed, issued proclamations, but they did not prevent the occupation of Navy Island, in the Niagara, a couple of miles above the Falls, by banditti under one Van Rensellaer, who opened fire on the British side of the river, where the Canadian levies, under Colonel McNab, were posted to prevent their debarkation. The supplies to Navy Island were conveyed by a schooner called the Caroline, which was moored to the American shore every night. On the 28th of December, a party of Canadian militia were despatched by McNab across the river in boats. They boarded the Caroline, after a stout resistance, set her on fire, and let her go over the Falls. The Americans, at first, complained of insult to their territory, and outrage on their flag; but in their cooler moments they began to perceive that though two wrongs do not make a right, the acts of American citizens had given justification for the conduct which had aroused their anger. Armed resistance was terminated by the attack of Colonel Maitland's columns on a force of insurgents at Point Pelé Island, but the provinces were still in such a state that Sir F. Head had to suspend the Habeas Corpus, and to pass an Act for the trial of prisoners by courts martial. Soon afterwards this somewhat eccentric, but able and original man resigned, to the great regret of the Canadians, and was succeeded by Sir George Arthur. Several bands of armed men, principally Americans, still molested the frontiers. The insurrection in Canada was suppressed, but the people were agitated and discontented. The loyalists, called from their homes in mid-winter to suppress a rebellion of French Catholics and Republicans, were guilty of excesses which, perpetrated under the pretext of devotion to the government, were not as promptly suppressed and as severely punished as a just impartiality would have prescribed. Viewed by the light cast upon their conduct by subsequent events, it may well be doubted now if the party in Canada, which complained of the home government, had not the best of the argument, although they were wrong in their mode of enforcing it; and whatever legal rights the government may have possessed, it would seem as though it would have been far better for them to have abandoned an unsympathetic position, fortified by the strict letter of the law, perhaps, but incompatible with the maintenance of cordial relations between the Canadians and the crown.

So soon was it that the prospects of a halcyon reign were clouded after the queen's accession, and civil war disturbed her councils.

Parliament re-assembled on the 16th of January, 1838, and the events which have been thus summarised were at once made the subject of anxious consideration. In the House of Commons, Lord John Russell rose on the first night of the session to move an address to the crown, pledging the House to give every assistance to her majesty in her efforts to restore tranquillity to Canada, expressing their deep concern that violence and rebellion had been resorted to, and assuring her of their readiness to redress real grievances. He announced the intention of government to deal with the provinces by special legislation, and introduced a bill to suspend the constitution of Lower Canada, and to enable the governor-general in council to pass any law which might be necessary during the suspension of the legislature, to grant an amnesty to offenders, and to summon a convention of the estates of the two provinces. To justify this measure Lord John Russell made a lengthy and able statement, much to the distaste of the extreme supporters of the government. It was in effect an elaborate exposition of the excesses of the democratic party in Canada.

But the position of affairs was so grave that it was necessary for the imperial government to act with energy. The Act the ministry proposed could not lead to beneficial results unless it were carried out by a special administrator; and Lord John Russell announced that the earl of Durham had accepted the task. Lord Durham's appointment gave as much satisfaction to the Liberals as they were likely to derive from anything short of successful revolt and "amicable separation." He was a nobleman of strong democratic opinions, an aristocrat in social life, and an advanced Liberal in political action. But the words which he addressed to the House on this occasion, conveyed the idea that he had not much confidence in his powers to accomplish the task, to which, indeed, he expressed his reluctance.

In the Lords, the colonial secretary moved the address to the crown, in a speech of unusual ability, in which he treated the difficulties which had arisen as largely attributable to differences of race, exposed the ignorance of the French population, and declared that their leaders were fighting for obsolete notions with the weapons of popular institutions. The duke of Wellington uttered the often quoted maxim, "that a great country like this could have no such thing as a little war;" and Lord Brougham, who had become a leader of an opposition on his own account, delivered a philippic of extraordinary vehemence against the ministry, and especially against Lord Glenelg. Lord Brougham defended the Canadians, threw all the blame on government, expressed his desire to see "an amicable separation," and roused Lord Melbourne to something like anger by what the premier styled "a most laboured and extreme concentration of bitterness."

On the 22nd of February the motion for the second reading of the Suppression Bill was met by Mr. Hume, with an amendment that it be read that day six months. The debates which followed were acrimonious, but the greatest bitterness was evinced in the attacks of the ultra reformers on their late leaders; for the Tory party, although not averse to the enjoyment of the fray, could not lend their aid to the advocates of separation and armed resistance, and contented themselves with speeches to demonstrate the incapacity of the administration, the vacillation of its colonial policy, and the negligence which had prompted rebellion to raise its head. Mr. Hume laid at the door of government everything that had occurred in Canada, and Mr. Grote made a vigorous onslaught on Lord Ripon. Some interest was added to the debate by the appearance of Mr. Roebuck at the bar of the House to vindicate the Assembly of Lower Canada as "agent" for the province. His speech, which was a violent party oration, was not calculated to produce a good effect. Lord Glenelg was again attacked. Lord F. Egerton singled out a passage from one of his despatches, in which he expressed regret that "almost the first measure of the present queen's reign should carry with it an appearance of harshness towards any of her majesty's subjects" for especial animadversion. It was a scene of recrimination, in which the Radicals thought they did everything that was necessary by repeating that the troubles in Canada were due to Tory mismanagement, which the Whigs had not been able to set right, and in which the Conservatives now and then appeared to embroil the fray, and to throw all the blame on the ministry and their allies. Sir W. Molesworth fired off one of the spoken pamphlets which were so creditable to his industry, and eventually gained him so high a reputation as a "colonial statesman," in which he defended the House of Assembly very ably and forcibly, assailing the measures of repression proposed by the government, but approving of Lord Durham's mission. He was followed by Mr. E. L. Bulwer, who, as a "literary Whig," stigmatised the ignorance of the Canadians, and the darkness of a country "where a printing-press was not permitted seventy years ago," apparently implying that they did not deserve any participation in popular institutions, and strongly supported the government in opposition to "the philosophical Radical," Mr. Grote. Mr. Gladstone took the same side, but, to prevent any mistake as to his motives, exposed Lord Gosford's inconsistencies, and Lord Glenelg's vacillation and feebleness, in quotations from their despatches and letters. The same line was pursued by his chief, Sir R. Peel, who said that the government had not been "consistently vigorous, or consistently conciliatory," and objected to the lengthy and confused preamble of the bill, in which the government endeavoured to obtain power to do certain acts by a side wind; but he threw the force of his party into the division against the Radicals, and the second reading was carried by two hundred and sixty-two to sixteen. It was evident, however, that the Conservatives might at any moment expose the government to defeat on some detail. The remarks on the preamble alarmed the friends of the government; so Mr. Ellice, to the amusement of the House, proposed an amendment of their own words. On the 26th, Lord John Russell announced that the ministry were prepared to make alterations in the bill, and abandon clauses which had been objected to—notably that which gave power to the queen in council to repeal the Act. Sir R. Peel, scarcely acknowledging his victory, and accepting these concessions as the right of a conqueror, turned his attention to the "instructions" given to Lord Durham, which he declared to be "the most absurd of all the public documents he had ever seen," and predicted that they would meet the fate of "the abominable preamble." The spectacle of the occupants of the treasury benches cowering under the wing of their enemy did not move the pity of Mr. Harvey. That able debater and unsuccessful politician, who was valuable as a clever vedette of the ultra army, ridiculed the government unsparingly for their abject humility, and begged Sir R. Peel at once to assume the post of guide and councillor to the ministry of "small men" who took his advice so gratefully. "He gave his advice gratis, and allowed the little people to take the fees." But the bill went into committee, where it was subjected to modifications of an important character, and was read a third time on the 29th of January. On the 2nd of February the measure was introduced in the Lords, and Lord Brougham encountered it with a tempest of passionate words and arguments, in which he "fulmined over" the government benches, and heated Lord Melbourne to whiteness by his "long expected outburst," so that the placid premier, after vain attempts to be bitter and sarcastic, was led to insinuate that the ex-chancellor had allowed his opinions to be controlled by his private feelings. "I hurl my defiance at his head," shouted Lord Brougham, when he had a chance of reply. "I hurl my defiance at the head of the noble lord, and I defy him to point out a single instance in which my political conduct has ever been affected by private or personal feelings."

On the 29th of May, 1838, Lord Durham landed in Quebec and took possession of the government without the usual formalities. He expressed himself highly gratified with the cordiality of his reception, and at once issued a proclamation assuring the people that he appeared among them "as a friend and arbitrator, ready at all times to listen to their complaints, wishes, and grievances, without distinction of party, races, or politics." Among the earliest measures of the new governor was the mission of Colonel Grey to Washington, with instructions to expostulate with the government on the state of things which it permitted to exist on its own borders. The President, in reply, tendered the fullest assurances of the anxiety of the American government to preserve a good understanding with England, and offering the fullest co-operation in any measures Lord Durham thought necessary to adopt in restoring the peace of the frontier. He also repudiated, in the strongest terms, any ulterior designs upon Canada. The disposal of the prisoners who had been arrested for their share in the rebellion was a matter of importance which at once occupied Lord Durham's attention. Lord Glenelg's despatch of the 21st of April had impressed upon the governor, in the strongest manner, the necessity for a lenient and conciliatory course of action as regarded the insurgents, and urged that although the powers of granting an amnesty or pardon should, with some exceptions, be exercised largely, any flagrant and prominent cases of delinquency among the prisoners were not to be comprehended in the general lenity, but were to be selected in order that they might be brought to trial. The trial of the murderers of the French Canadian, Chartrand, which took place in September, strongly illustrated the impolicy of the restrictions imposed by Lord Glenelg. A murder of singular atrocity had been perpetrated by the insurgents, the guilty parties were tried, and scarcely denied their guilt, the evidence against them was overwhelming, and yet as almost every one expected, they were acquitted by the jury, who were subsequently fêted, in order that they might be thanked for their verdict. At length Lord Glenelg became aware of the danger of his policy, and wrote a despatch to Lord Durham directing that an ordinance should be passed by the special council of Lower Canada, constituting a tribunal for the trial of treason and murder; but suggesting that the judges alone might constitute a court, or courts more closely resembling courts-martial, might be formed, or a combination of both. There was one important feature in the proposed ordinance. Only *future* rebels and murderers were to be subject to these special courts. Men previously guilty were not to be tried before tribunals "constituted after the commission of the offences." With such restrictions imposed upon him, Lord Durham commenced his course of policy. The extraordinary legislative power created by the Canada Act was not vested in the governor alone, but required to be exercised with the concurrence of a special council of five appointed by the governor under special authority from the queen. On the 28th of June, this special council—Vice-Admiral Sir James Paget, Major-General Sir James Macdonnell, Colonel Cowper, Colonel Grey, and Mr. Charles Buller, was appointed. This council, which was designated by Sir William Follett as little better than a mockery of the Act of parliament," on the first day of meeting signed the memorable ordinance, which dealt in the most lenient manner with Papineau, Wolfred Nelson, and sixteen others. The ordinance was accompanied by a general amnesty, except to the twenty-one political prisoners, who were deported to Bermuda. But here a serious difficulty arose. Sir Stephen Chapman, the governor of the Bermudas, was sensible of his own want of authority; the law officers of the crown informed him that he had no power to impose any restrictions upon the prisoners. Under these circumstances, he intended at first not to permit them to be landed on the island; this, however, he subsequently did, placing them on their parole, and forwarding a despatch to the governor-general, requesting their removal, and that no other prisoners should be sent to a colony where there existed such difficulties in securing them, and such objections to their being allowed to reside.

It was not to be supposed these proceedings would escape the attention of parliament. Early in April, the parliamentary campaign against Lord Durham was opened by the marquis of Chandos, who proposed a resolution that the establishment of the governor-general of the Canadas should be conducted with every degree of economy consistent with the due remuneration of the persons employed, and proposing the expenditure of Lord Gosford, amounting to 12,000*l.* a year, as a proper precedent. In moving this resolution, the marquis of Chandos described the establishment which the earl of Durham had formed, consisting of high salaried secretaries, law advisers, and aides-de-camp, which, notwithstanding the fact that the governor-general served gratuitously, would swell the total amount of the mission to absurd dimensions. Lord John Russell opposed the motion in a speech of considerable power, characterising it as merely an attempt at attack on minor points, when all the assaults on the greater parts of the measure had failed, but the ministry only escaped a defeat by a majority of one hundred and sixty to one hundred and fifty-one. On the 27th of April, the earl of Winchelsea asked Lord Melbourne whether Mr. Turton, who had some years before figured in a shameful case of adultery, had not been nominated legal adviser to the mission. Lord Melbourne stated in reply, that no legal adviser would be appointed. Three days after, the noble earl again asked whether Turton had not gone out to Canada with Lord Durham, and had he not been promised an appointment? To this Lord Melbourne replied, "that no situation had been offered by government to Mr. Turton; that if he had gone out to Canada, he had gone without any appointment, or any prospect of one, either from the government or from Lord Durham." On the 2nd of July, Lord Wharncliffe stated that it appeared from the Quebec Gazette that Mr. Turton did go out with Lord Durham, and had been appointed second secretary to the government—a state of facts hardly reconcilable with Lord Melbourne's answer to Lord Winchelsea. Lord Melbourne admitted the truth of the statement, which came on him with concern and surprise. The special council consisted of five members, and Sir Edward Sugden contended that, though not actually expressed in the Act, the inference was irresistible, that five being required to form a quorum, the body itself, to which it was to furnish such quorum, should consist of a larger number. In his opinion, therefore, the acts of the council were void on the ground of want of regularity in the formation of that body. These attacks were, however, merely preliminary to the main one which was opened in the House of Lords, on the 30th of July, by Lord Brougham. The ordinance, he contended, contravened the provisions of the Act, seventh of William III., for the trial of "treasonable offences." If Lord Durham had the power of dispensing with that Act, he might condemn in every case, as traitors, men against whom no witness had been examined, and into whose alleged offences no inquiry had been made. Lord Glenelg and Lord Melbourne urged the extreme difficulty of the situation in which Lord Durham was placed, and the extraordinary circumstances of the country which he was called upon to govern. The ordinance itself was perfectly legal, with the exception of that part of it which related to Bermuda, and in which the government and council had fallen into an obvious error. Lord Ellenborough contended that all the penal provisions of the ordinance were illegal, and that the smallest deviation from constitutional principles on the part of a constitutional government was fraught with danger. The duke of Wellington, though disapproving of the nightly attacks on Lord Durham, said he really thought that steps should be taken to set the government of Canada right on proceedings which appeared to be totally illegal. "Lord Durham," he observed, "did not appear to know what he was about." On the following day, Lord Brougham introduced a bill declaring the true intent and meaning of, and "indemnifying those who have issued or acted under a certain ordinance made under the colour of Suspension Act." This bill was read a first time without remark. It came on for the second reading on the 9th of August, when Lord Brougham denounced the acts of the Canadian council and of the government, as not being based upon the sound and moderate principles of common justice, or on a system of prudence, temper, and moderation, whereby the people might have been conciliated, and a character of stability and firmness conferred upon the colonial connection. No evidence of such a course was afforded by the conduct that had been pursued. It was manifest that a bill of indemnity was required, though he could not undertake in the bill he had drawn up to indemnify for everything. Lord Glenelg argued that it was not usual to pass bills of indemnity for a current transaction, but this bill contained an unexampled proposition; it provided indemnity for the continued exercise of an illegal act, guaranteeing the parties not from the penalties that might have occurred, but against those to which they might hereafter become liable. The bill was read a second time, by a majority of fifty-four to thirty-six. On the following day Lord Melbourne came down to the House, with the announcement that the ministers had advised the queen to disallow the whole ordinance. "I cannot but say" (were his words) "that it is with the deepest regret and alarm that I have taken this course. Nor is it without very great apprehensions of the consequences, that I have come to this determination." Very lengthened discussions took place, the result being that the bill, stripped of its declaratory character, became a mere act of indemnity to the parties concerned in the transportation of the Bermuda prisoners. Lord Brougham moved the third reading of the bill, on the 13th of August, in its mutilated condition. On the day following, Lord John Russell introduced the bill, asking the House to assent to it without any amendment. On the 15th of August the bill was read a third time, and the Melbourne ministry acceded to the disgrace of their special commissioner, disallowed his ordinance, and accepted Lord Brougham's Indemnity Bill, which was especially distasteful owing to the hands of him who offered, nay, forced it upon them. On the 22nd of September Lord Durham, who was a man of haughty temper, announced to the Canadian delegates, who presented him with an address, that he had resolved to resign an authority which the sudden interference of one branch of the legislature had so weakened as to render totally inadequate for the discharge of its functions, and issued a proclamation (9th October) announcing the disallowance of the ordinances, in a manifesto against the government that had sacrificed him, and contained charges against them of perfidy, and of disappointing his just hopes. This proclamation brought him into direct collision with his friends, and on the 15th of November Lord Glenelg wrote to say that the government regarded it not only as a deviation from the course pursued by British governors, but as a dangerous departure from constitutional principles. He signified the queen's disapprobation, and directed him to hand over the government of Lower Canada to Sir John Colborne. Lord Durham landed in England at the end of December, and announced that with singleness of purpose, and without any considerations of party, he would devote himself, as he had done hitherto, to the interests of the colonies and of British North America. His report on the affairs of British North America, which was laid on the table of the House, with all the correspondence early in the following year, was considered to be a work of remarkable ability; and the foresight of the commissioner was proved in his suggestion, as a remedial measure, of the early restoration of the union—one province with one legislation—a measure which the government went so far with as to incorporate in a recommendation contained in a royal message.

These troubles in Canada induced the public to pay increased attention to the functions of the colonial office. Lord Glenelg was prized by his friends, who praised his extensive knowledge and natural abilities; but he had acquired in the outside world the reputation of being a very idle, indolent, and slovenly administrator, and the popular idea was that he spent most of his time in sleep, in the enjoyment of which he was not disturbed by the conflict of debate raging around him. On the 6th of March, Sir W. Molesworth drew and flourished a two-handed sword over the head of the minister; and in a speech of great length and remarkable ability, which ranged over all the topics of colonial administration, moved "that the colonial minister should be a person in whose activity and firmness the House and the country should feel reliance, and that Lord Glenelg (not possessing these qualities) did not enjoy the confidence of the House or of the country." He especially insisted on the duty of parliament to attend to the colonies, because the colonial office governed interests which were not represented in any assembly to which that office was in any way responsible, and he asserted that everything in the office was mismanaged by a minister of whom Lord Aberdeen declared that he had "reduced doing nothing to a system." Lord Palmerston made a warm defence of his colleague, intimating that if the motion were carried, ministers would regard it as a vote of want of confidence, and resign, and challenged Sir W. Molesworth to direct his motion against the government. It was quite evident that, on any motion which would not hamper their future policy, the leaders of the Conservative party would show no pity for the government, and would not step in to save Actæon from his hounds. Sir R. Peel's tone was unusually haughty and contemptuous, but he condescended to banter the chancellor of the exchequer, who, discounting the results of impending ruin, enumerated defeats which had not led to the overthrow of other administrations; and Lord John Russell, never felicitous in metaphor, and in much tribulation at the aspect of the House, caused roars of laughter by an unlucky phrase, in which he said that parties were "like serpents, which were moved by their tails;" the latter word being caught up as an allusion to the following of Mr. O'Connell. An amendment to transfer the expression of want of confidence from an individual to the whole administration, moved by Lord Sandon, who defended Lord Clenelg personally, and attacked the ministers, was but in lieu of Sir W. Molesworth's, but on a division the ministry had a majority of twenty-seven in a House of six hundred and three members. The welcome result gave the government breathing-time, and diminished the hopes of the Conservatives of a dissolution from intestine troubles of the Melbourne ministry.

Simultaneously with the war waged against the colonial administration there was renewed a contest of a nobler nature, in which this country led the van of battle, of which she might be proud, were it not that the existence of the evil was a disgrace to our race, to humanity, and to the Christian faith. Lord Brougham, whose efforts to strike down the monster iniquity of the slave trade will cause posterity to look kindly on many of the defects which impaired his usefulness, in presenting a petition for the abolition of negro slavery to the Lords on the 29th of January, delivered a speech, in which clearness of statement, power of description, closeness of reasoning, and eloquent denunciation, contend with precision of detail and minute illustration for our admiration. He showed how our treaties and interference stimulated the slave trade and deepened its atrocity, and called on the government to insist on Brazil, Spain, and Portugal abandoning their nefarious traffic. In the debates on a motion for the abolition of the apprenticeship system, which the planters were accused of abusing, Mr. Gladstone defended the system, as part of the compensation given to the planter, but the attitude of the House alarmed the planters, and led to the redress of some of the evils complained of.

Although there was an uncompromising hostility to the slave trade, there was not any disposition to admit the equality of black and white, or, rather, to submit the white to an equality with any race of a different colour; and during the session a discussion took place in the House of Commons, on "The Black Act," which was passed by the council in India in 1836, and which achieved an amount of unpopularity among Europeans, greater perhaps than any other legislative enactment. By its provisions all persons in the company's territory were made amenable in civil proceedings to the jurisdiction of the company's courts; and the natives of India were placed on the same footing as the British in judicial proceedings, while the latter were deprived of the exclusive advantage they hitherto had enjoyed, of appealing to the Supreme Court. On the 22nd of March Mr. Ward brought the subject before the House, as the advocate of those who thought themselves aggrieved by the Black Act. At the close of a long debate, he, however, consented to withdraw his motion for a committee, Sir John Hobhouse undertaking to lay on the table the minutes of council, on which the legislative act was founded, and the act was not substantially affected, although it was many years before the Europeans in India were reconciled to the theoretical change, which was not carried out till recent days in general practice.

The controversies respecting the "Irish question" in all its ramifications of "state of the country," agrarian outrages, danger to the established church, land tenure, and the relations of Roman Catholic subjects to the state, which had distracted the close of the last parliamentary year, were renewed by the bishop of Exeter, who, on the 1st of March, brought under the consideration of the Lords the solemn oath taken by Roman Catholic members, that they would not exercise their privileges to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or government in this kingdom, which, in the presence of God, they declared they took in the ordinary sense of the words. He argued that the acts of Mr. O'Connell and others, who avowed they voted to injure the church establishment, were in direct violation of the oath; but Lord Melbourne contended that oaths were of no avail, and that because certain persons in the time of Henry VII. swore that they would unite to exterminate the Lollards, Roman Catholics might be excused for acting as they had done. The bishop of Malta had refused, by order of the pope, to take the oath of allegiance, which was proof that Roman Catholic priests did consider that oaths at variance with the interests of their church were binding. The assumption of the title of bishop of Tuam by Dr. McHale was brought forward as a clear violation of the Relief Bill, but the government refused to institute a prosecution, and these debates, which excited religious animosity, produced no practical result. The Irish Poor Law Relief Bill was one of the most important measures of the session. It stood for committee on the 9th of February. Mr. O'Connell, when announcing his opposition to any poor laws for the able-bodied in Ireland, made a very elaborate speech, in which he sought to alarm English members by the prospect of an Irish pauper immigration; but he could only induce twenty-five members to support him against two hundred and seventy-seven. In spite of his opposition, renewed with the apparent adherence of the Irish people at every stage of the bill, it passed the House, on the 30th of April, by a vote of two hundred and thirty-four to fifty-nine, and became law in July following. Next came the question of the Irish Church revenues. On the 14th of May, Lord John Russell, on Sir T. Acland's motion, that the two appropriation resolutions of 1835 be rescinded, made the positive declaration that, anomalous as the state of the church was, he had come to the conclusion that any measure involving its destruction would be "a breach in the act of Union, endangering the integrity of the empire, and to the great prejudice of the Church of England." He proposed to convert the tithe composition into a rent-charge at the rate of 70*l.* per 100*l.*, to be redeemed by government at sixteen years' purchase of the full 100*l.*, the money received in redemption of the rent-charge to be invested by the ecclesiastical commissioners, and the rent-charges to be applied to a general fund, from which police charges, criminal informations, and educational grants should be defrayed. There was a long and a warm debate in which all the speakers of any weight took part, and in which Mr. O'Connell provoked an outburst of party spirit to which he offered resistance at least as violent, and language more outrageous. Sir T. Acland's motion was finally rejected by three hundred and seventeen to two hundred and ninety-eight. When, on the 2nd of July, Mr. Ward re-introduced his famous resolutions for appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Irish Church to the moral and religious education of all classes, Mr. O'Connell called for the entire abolition of tithe. Three years ago appropriation might have conciliated Ireland; it was now too late. Mr. Ward's resolutions were again rejected, and the ministerial Tithe Bill passed; but the government, to save the treasury benches from a Conservative invasion, had to throw overboard the appropriation clause to the disgust of their ultra-radical adherents, who were now in open rebellion against them.

Early in the session, the House of Commons directed its attention to the system under which, to the great discredit of the honour and morality of parliament, inquiries into the validity of elections had become party contests, the result of which could be determined beforehand by knowing the politics of the judges. Conflicting decisions of election committees respecting the opening of Irish registries caused much irritation. Bills were introduced simultaneously by Mr. C. Buller and Mr. O'Connell, but the House was not then in the mood to abandon its control, and the proposal of the great agitator to transfer petitions to the Court of Queen's Bench before the lord chief justice, a special jury, and a committee of five members named by the Speaker, was not favourably received. Mr. Buller's plan was disposed of by Sir R. Peel's bill, instituting the general committee of elections, which formed the basis of the system under which petitions were tried for many years. Before this the House of Commons was involved in a struggle with one of its members, from which it derived more excitement than profit, and which afforded Mr. O'Connell an opportunity of bidding defiance to "all England." Lord Maidstone gave notice that he would call the attention of the House to a speech of Mr. O'Connell in Ireland, in which he charged "Tory committees of the House with foul perjury." Lord J. Russell, who was then somewhat impetuous, and easily led by his strong party feelings to occupy untenable positions, gave notice that he would, when the noble lord did so, also call attention to the bishop of Exeter's allegations of perjury against the House of Commons, in order, as he explained afterwards when he was challenged to keep his promise, to "show the danger of such courses." A vote of censure on Mr. O'Connell was carried by two hundred and sixty-three to two hundred and fifty-four, ministers generally voting in the minority; and the House passed a resolution accordingly, that the speech of Mr. O'Connell was "a false and scandalous imputation on its honour." The next resolution, that Mr. O'Connell had been guilty of a breach of privilege, was carried by two hundred and ninety-three to eighty-five, the ministers, except Lord J. Russell, voting with the majority. Lord Maidstone, flushed with victory, then moved that Mr. O'Connell be reprimanded by the Speaker, a course which Lord John Russell called "the extreme of folly;" but the motion was carried in an adjourned debate by two hundred and twenty-nine to one hundred and ninety-seven, the ministers voting with the minority. On the 28th of May, the Speaker administered a measured and dignified rebuke to the peccant member, who received it with studied indifference. He rose immediately afterwards to give notice that he would move for a committee on the subject; and to show his contempt for the authority of the House, said, "I repent of nothing I have said. I am not convinced of anything by a vote." There was great indignation in England, and much satisfaction in Ireland, at Mr. O'Connell's conduct, but his committee never came to anything.

In connection with the changes sought to be introduced into the franchise, mention must be made of Mr. Grote's annual motion for taking the vote by ballot, which he introduced on the 15th of February. The Radicals were much angered by Lord Russell's pronouncements against any further extension of the suffrage, and Mr. Ward warned the government that the country would watch their course on the occasion with very great interest. Mr. E. L. Bulwer supported the motion, which was rejected by three hundred and fifteen to one hundred and ninety-eight, but the division lists showed how distracted were the Liberal leaders. Lords Howick and Palmerston, Sir J. C. Hobhouse, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, followed Lord John Russell into the lobby against Mr. Grote. Mr. P. Thomson, the two Attorney-Generals, the Lord Advocate, Sir G. Grey, Sir H. Parnell, and Mr. E. J. Stanley, abstained from voting. Sir H. Vivian, and two members of the government in small places, voted for the motion. In the Upper House Lord Melbourne, in a speech against the ballot, took occasion to say that the influence of wealth and station had been unscrupulously exercised at the last election; to which the duke of Wellington replied that he was only aware of one undue influence, and of that they saw a great deal—priestly intimidation in Ireland. He disclaimed the exercise of any coercive influences, and had the disclaimer allowed by Lord Brougham, who seemed inclined to think the ballot would be of use in towns, but of no avail to protect country voters. The Freemen and Parliamentary Electors Bill, which diminished the amount of the qualification of voters, passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords.

Legislation on matters relating to the representation was concluded for the session by Mr. Warburton's Act to enlarge the qualification of members to estates for life, or for the life of another, or to an interest with thirteen years to run, and the possession of personal estate and effects yielding the required sum; but the subject of Municipal Reform in Ireland, which was destined to produce so great a change in the local government of the boroughs, and to place such large powers in the hands of the Roman Catholics, was still pressed with energy on Parliament by the ministry, who felt bound to aid the Liberal party in Ireland, which lent them such constant and powerful, if not indispensable support.

Long debates retarded the passing of this measure, and on the 27th of July it was sent back to the Commons with a 10*l.* substituted for a 5*l.* qualification, and several other amendments by the Lords; the consideration of which led to conferences which had no result, and the bill was finally deferred till the next session; but in effect the principle was carried, and the old borough freemen were almost deprived of the power as they had so long monopolised.

In the course of the session, the condition of the hand-loom weavers was brought before the House by Mr. Fielden, the member for Oldham, but a motion for inquiry, with a view to their relief, was rejected by a large majority. The distress of the weavers was admitted; but as their labour had been superseded by the use of machinery, it was difficult to see what relief could be offered to them by the legislature. The leaders of the Trades' Unions took advantage of the great distress to press their system on the working classes, and their efforts attracted the attention of parliament. On the 13th of February, Mr. Wakley moved for a select committee to inquire into the objects and constitution of the association of Operative Cotton Spinners of Glasgow. Mr. O'Connell moved, by way of amendment, for a select committee to inquire into trades unions and combinations generally in the United Kingdom, and in doing so gave some alarming details of the effects of their practices in Ireland, and particularly denounced the tyranny of the trade unionists of Dublin. The Chancellor of the Exchequer subsequently proposed a select committee to inquire into the operation of the 6th George IV., and the general constitution of trades unions, and the combinations of workmen and masters in the United Kingdom. This was agreed to by Mr. Wakley, but no result of importance followed immediately from their labours. The agitation against employing children in factories, which engrossed so much attention in 1833, was renewed by Lord Ashley, who, on the 22nd of June, moved the second reading of a bill for the more efficient regulation of factories, and the prevention of the abuses complained of. This bill, which was opposed by Lord John Russell, Mr. Poulett Thompson, and Sir Robert Peel, was defeated by a majority of eight. On the 20th of July, Lord Ashley again brought the matter before the House in the following resolution:—"That this House deeply regrets that the law affecting the regulation of labour in factories having been found imperfect and ineffectual for the purpose for which it was passed, has been suffered to continue so long without any amendment." A lengthened discussion took place, and the motion was lost by a majority of one hundred and twenty-one to one hundred and six; but Lord Ashley persevered in his beneficent legislation, and although he was then opposed by the mill owners, the political economists, Mr. Bright, and others, he eventually carried his point, and achieved a triumph which effected a moral and physical revolution in the factory classes, as testified by unimpeachable witnesses. Legislation in respect to the sale of liquor and fermented beer has had much to answer for. It was felt to be bad, but the government would not venture to attack such a source of revenue. Early in July, Lord Brougham laid on the table a bill regulating the sale of beer. In the House of Commons the subject was brought forward by Lord Francis Egerton, and considerable diversity of opinion was manifested—not indeed upon the existence of immense mischief to health and morals—but as to the effect of the liquor laws in aggravating them. Several members of the Conservative party were especially hostile to the continuance of the system which was defended by Liberals such as the Chancellor of the

Exchequer, Mr. Hume, Mr. Warburton, Mr. Hawes, and Mr. Wallace; but no reform was proposed or at least carried out, and the evil was allowed to grow till out of it sprung scarcely less mischievous combinations to enforce sobriety by statute, and exercise a tyranny over social life, for which political liberty could scarcely be an equivalent.

Early in the session a measure which was soon destined to undergo a terrible ordeal was finally amended. Towards the latter end of the previous reign several unsuccessful attempts had been made to introduce into Ireland a system of Poor relief. These efforts met with opposition, caused in a great degree by the unpopularity of the new Poor Law in England—an unpopularity which greatly increased the ministerial difficulties at the elections of 1837.

The necessity that existed for some remedial measure of this kind in Ireland was, however, universally admitted, and the destitution and degraded position of an enormous proportion of the inhabitants greatly deplored; but it was at the same time felt that grave difficulties existed as to the mode of dealing with evils of such magnitude. The administration of the system, in its earlier years, had been singularly abused in England, but the introduction of some salutary amendments had been attended with so much good effect, as to justify the presumption that, with certain modifications, the experiment might be successfully tried in Ireland. A board of commissioners was organised in Dublin to consider and report upon the question. They did so; but the scheme prepared by them was rejected by government as inadequate in some respects, and injurious in others, its main defects being that no provision was made for able-bodied poor when thrown out of subsistence by unavoidable circumstances; and that the method suggested for promoting emigration was inadequate in its details. Under these circumstances the government, in 1836, deputed Mr. Nicholls, one of the English commissioners, to proceed to Ireland, and prosecute the matter by personal investigation. A period of little more than six weeks proved sufficient for the purpose, and Mr. Nicholls furnished a report which subsequently became the basis of the Irish Poor Law Act. Its leading features afforded evidence of the increasing prosperity of the country, as well as of the increasing population and consequent destitution. One great cause of this destitution was distinctly pointed out to be the extreme subdivision of land. Mr. Nicholls seems not to have been aware that one of the great causes, perhaps the greatest, of the extreme subdivision of land in Ireland, was political, the creation of forty-shilling freeholders. The Irish cotter must either hold sufficient land on which to plant potatoes, or starve. There was no alternative; and hence every acre became exhausted by subdivision, and three-fifths of the population were depending for existence on a single esculent. The great objection to the system of Poor Law relief was the cost. The answer to such objection was to make actual destitution the sole ground of relief, and at the same time to provide an undoubted test. The principles which the report of the commissioner recommended, were to give no relief out of the workhouse, and to admit into it no individual member of a family. What was then supposed, and what has since proved to be the truest test of destitution, the workhouse, was selected. At the same time the pernicious course of granting relief in aid of wages was strictly prohibited. It was apprehended that the people might take naturally to the poor-house, and the value of these institutions, as tests, become worthless. Experience, as sad as it is conclusive, has since then proved the utter fallacy of this theory. The blue books of the period teem with evidence of the struggle against starvation that was daily maintained by thousands of the peasantry during these terrible years when famine swept the land. The legal alternative was offered vainly, or only accepted, when nature had been completely exhausted. No fact connected with the Irish peasantry has been more abundantly proved than their rooted antipathy to the poor-house. Its very name became to them an abomination, and any suffering was preferred to that of entering its portals.

The ministerial bill which was based upon Mr. Nicholls' report had reached an advanced stage in the committee, and many of its most important clauses had been discussed and determined when the demise of the crown put a stop to its further progress. On the 1st of December, 1837, Lord John Russell again brought the subject before the House of Commons. He observed, that the bill was founded strictly on the "workhouse principle," and did not propose to give out-door relief; and that there was abundant evidence to show that the repugnance to entering the workhouse was much stronger in the Irish poor than in the English. The bill was read a first time. On the 9th of February, next year, on the motion for the second reading, Mr. O'Connell moved as an amendment, that the bill should be read that day six months. He opposed it on the ground that it was calculated to induce the able-bodied to abandon their habits of industry and labour, and to diminish their self-reliance. Mr. Nicholls had made a strange distinction when he declared that there was more poverty and less destitution in Ireland than in England. The mode of carrying the measure into effect was ridiculous. One hundred workhouses were to be built, each capable of accommodating eight hundred persons, and costing 7,000*l.*; the cost of the staff would bring it to 10,000*l.* each, and require a fund of a million. Lord John Russell replied to these objections, pointing out the real differences that were perceptible between poverty and destitution. On a division the ayes were two hundred and seventy-seven, and the noes twenty-five; a great majority of two hundred and fifty-two against the amendment. On the 30th of April, the bill came on for the third reading, and Mr. O'Connell made a last effort to arrest its progress. It was carried by a majority of one hundred and seventy-five—two hundred and thirty-four to fifty-nine. It was a subject of general remark at the time, that this bill was bitterly opposed by all the Irish members. On this isolated occasion they combined in their hostility to the ministerial measure, regardless of faction or religion, no doubt justifying Mr. O'Connell, in his inquiry whether "English gentlemen would force upon the country a measure that its people had rejected." On the 21st of May, 1838, the second reading of the bill was moved by Lord Melbourne, who was supported by the duke of Wellington, and the second reading was carried by one hundred and twenty; and the bill, one of the most important of the session, was passed on the 9th of July. Mr. Nicholls was appointed commissioner to carry out the Act in Ireland, with four English and four Irish assistant commissioners. On the 11th of September these officers commenced their duties; and on the 25th of March, 1839, twenty-two unions were declared open, in eighteen of which guardians had been elected. The measure had already commenced to find favour with the people, it was supported by the clergy, and the most sanguine expectations of favourable results were entertained by those entrusted with the carrying out of its provisions.

The variety of subjects discussed and agitated in parliament was a proof of the active spirit evoked by the Reform Act, which forced on the government to deal with existing institutions, and brought into public life an inquiring intelligence which acted for itself, and was not content to follow the beaten path of party traditions. In addition to debates on the measures connected with the Irish Church there were several contests over the English Establishment, and on the 3rd of May, Lord John Russell moved the reappointment of a committee to ascertain the probable increase of value which might be obtained by an improved management of church property. This was opposed by Mr. Liddell, who moved a direct negative to the motion. After some discussion, in which Mr. Goulburn and Sir R. Peel took part, the House divided on the original motion, which was carried by a majority of two hundred and seventy-seven to two hundred and forty-one. An Act for "abridging pluralities," and making better provision for the residence of the clergy, was passed. The Act, which rendered it unlawful for a clergyman to be a member of a joint-stock company, was amended. Although the affairs of the Church of Scotland were only discussed in parliament on a question of church accommodation raised by Lord Aberdeen, in which he expressed the dislike of the people to the ministerial proposals to deal with the clergy teinds, there was much agitation in the North on the question of church government, and the established relations of church and state; the legal proceedings in the famous Auchterarder case excited the utmost attention, and were eagerly followed through their ramifications. The case originated in the application of an "interim" Act of Assembly in 1834, enacting "That if, at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be judged sufficient ground for the Presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly." The earl of Kinnoul presented Mr. Young to the parish of Auchterarder; but the majority of the male communicants rejected him by exercising the veto. As this veto act proceeded exclusively from the General Assembly, and was not ratified by parliament, the earl and Mr. Young brought an action in the Court of Session against the Presbytery, in which on the 6th of March the court decided that the veto act had no force in law, that Mr. Young had right to the parish, and the earl to the emoluments, until the Presbytery should induct him in due form. The General Assembly, on the 31st of May, passed a resolution, by one hundred and eighty-three to one hundred and forty-two, declaring virtually that the church, as established by the state, is independent of the state. The Assembly resolved that it would regard any application to a civil court by its members, for the purpose of setting aside its self-made laws, as a breach of ecclesiastical discipline, and would proceed to censure and deprive of his office the individual who should thus dare to call in question the power of the church, and to claim the protection of the civil court against its authority. Mr. Young intimated to the Presbytery of Auchterarder, that if they refused to take him on trial, in the terms of the decision of the Court of Session, and to admit him to the church of that parish, he would hold them personally and individually liable in damages. The Assembly resolved to call him before them to answer for this offence. Then litigation began, and thus a wedge was driven far into the body of the church this year.

Meanwhile, as the day drew near, the young queen was looking forward to the great occasion on which she was to appear in state before her people, and receive her crown, in due observance of ancient custom. The royal birthday anniversary had already been celebrated by a drawing-room of unusual splendour, and all the great powers sent special ambassadors to offer their congratulations and renew the assurances of their friendly sentiments.

From all quarters of Europe, foreigners of rank flocked into London. The most intense excitement prevailed in the metropolis. Equipages thronged the streets, and the din of preparation resounded on every side. All was not, however, *couleur de rose.* The ceremony was to be shorn of its attractions. The great banquet at Westminster Hall, in conformity with the usage of ancient times, was not to be given. Such an innovation was regarded with dismay, and a strong agitation against it was commenced by the tradesmen of London. The marquis of Londonderry became their champion; and when public meetings bore no result, the noble lord presented a petition numerously signed by the merchants and traders of the metropolis, praying that the coronation might be deferred till August, when it might be celebrated with becoming splendour. In the discussion which took place in the House of Lords, on the presenting of the petition, Earl Fitzwilliam denounced the ceremony of the coronation as an idle and ridiculous pageant, asking whether the loyalty of noble lords was to be augmented by the childish ceremony of putting coronets on their heads, and compelling them to walk in an absurd procession. The marquis of Londonderry, in intense astonishment, demanded whether Earl Fitzwilliam was of opinion that there should be no coronation at all, to which the noble earl without hesitation, replied in the affirmative. "Then," retorted the noble marquis, "I suppose that the noble earl is prepared to follow up that proposition by another, that there ought to be no longer an Earl Fitzwilliam." The marquis of Salisbury "regarded the substitution of a procession for a banquet as a public acknowledgment made to all the world that this great country could not give a dinner to its sovereign. He, however, thanked God that her majesty's ministers had not relinquished the sacred part of the ceremony, and that his sovereign would do her duty."

The coronation was solemnized on the 28th of June. At early dawn a salvo of artillery proclaimed that the eventful day had arrived, and, before seven o'clock, all the roads and streets leading westward were thronged with vehicles and pedestrians. In order to compensate in some degree for the omission of the walking procession of the estates of the realm, and the banquet in Westminster Hall, with the feudal services attendant thereon, the exterior cavalcade was increased in splendour and numbers, and a much more extended line adopted, so that the procession might more closely resemble that which was formerly considered a necessary part of the solemnities of a coronation, as last seen when King Charles II. was crowned. Every house and every nook from Hyde Park Corner to the Abbey were utilised for the occasion; a forest of scaffolding, relieved by artistically designed galleries and balconies, covered the line along which the procession was to pass.

"The earth," says a sensational writer of the period, "was alive with men, the habitations on the line of march cast forth their occupants to the balconies or house-tops, the windows were lifted out of their frames, and the asylum of private life, that sanctuary which our countrymen guard with such traditional jealousy, was on this occasion made accessible to the gaze of the entire world." The sky was dark and gloomy, and a chilling shower, which fell about eight o'clock, gave rise to sad forebodings. The sun, however, burst through the clouds shortly after, and, save at intervals, shone genially throughout the day. At ten o'clock, as the queen stepped into her carriage, a salute was fired from the guns ranged in the inclosure of the palace, and the bands struck up the national anthem. The procession moved up Constitution Hill, along Piccadilly, St. James's Street, Pall Mall, Cockspur Street, Whitehall, and Parliament Street, to the west door of Westminster Abbey.

The splendour of the foreign ambassadors, more especially of Prince Esterhazy, whose dress was studded with diamonds, even to his boot heels, the elegance of their carriages, and the gorgeous uniform of their jägers, much pleased the multitude. The most striking equipage was that of Marshal Soult; he brought to England the frame of the carriage used on state occasions by the last prince of the great House of Condé, the father of the duke de Bourbon, ornamented in the richest manner. The applause which greeted the veteran, as he passed along the line, was tumultuous. In France his reception was regarded as an event of high political moment. It afforded evidence, they said there, of a sympathy on the part of the lower orders of the English people with the minister of the "left centre," and Marshal Soult's political influence became considerably increased.

At half-past eleven, the queen reached the western entrance of the Abbey, where she was received by the great officers of state, the noblemen bearing the regalia, and the bishops carrying the Patina, the Chalice, and the Bible. The decorations of the interior of the Abbey were very splendid. Numerous galleries had been erected, covered with crimson cloth, and fringed with gold, affording accommodation to a thousand persons. Underneath the galleries were ranged lines of the foot-guards. Immediately under the central tower of the Abbey, in the interior of the choir, a platform was raised five steps from the ground, on a carpet of gold and purple. The platform was covered with cloth of gold, and on it the chair of homage was placed facing the altar. Further on, within the chancel, and near the altar, was St. Edward's chair. The altar was covered with massive gold plate. Immediately above it, was the gallery appointed for the members of the House of Commons. Two galleries ran on either side of the eastern extremity of the choir, one of which was allotted to the foreign ambassadors, the other to the friends of the earl marshal, and persons of distinction. Both were covered with crimson cloth, and hung with green and gold tapestry. On either side of this end of the choir were two galleries filled with the judges, masters in chancery, knights of the Bath, and members of the corporation of London.

The entire scene within the choir, at the moment of the queen's entrance, was so gorgeous as to bewilder the Turkish ambassador, and cause him to stop and gaze in mute surprise. As the queen advanced slowly towards the centre of the choir, the anthem, "I was glad," was sung, followed by the chant, "Vivat Victoria Regina." The queen moved towards a chair placed midway between the chair of homage and the altar, and having knelt down and prayed, rose and took her seat. The archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by the lord chancellor, the lord chamberlain, the lord high constable, and the earl marshal, and preceded by the deputy garter, repeated these words: "Sirs, I here present unto you Queen Victoria, the undoubted queen of this realm, wherefore all you who are come this day to do your homage. Are you willing to do the same?" Then burst forth the universal cry, "God save Queen Victoria;" and the archbishop turned with the queen to the north, south, and west sides of the Abbey, repeating "the Recognition." Next the bishops placed the Patina, Bible, and Chalice on the altar; the archbishop of Canterbury and bishops prepared to read the litany. In the meantime the queen, attended by the bishops of Durham, and of Bath and Wells, and the dean of Westminster, with the great officers of state bearing the regalia, advanced to the altar, and kneeling upon a crimson velvet cushion, made her first offering, —a pall or altar-cloth of gold. The treasurer of the household then delivered an ingot of gold, of one pound weight, to the lord great chamberlain, who presented it to the queen. Her majesty delivered it to the archbishop, by whom it was put into the oblation basket. A prayer was then read by the archbishop.

The litany was read by the bishops of Worcester and St. David's, and a sermon preached by the bishop of London. At the conclusion of the sermon, the oath was administered to the queen, who then advanced to the altar, the sword of state being carried before her, and laying her right hand upon the gospels of the Bible carried in the procession, said, kneeling, "The things which I have here before promised, I will perform and keep, so help me God." She then kissed the book, and signed a transcript of the oath. The "Anointing" was the next part of the ceremony. The queen sat in King Edward's chair. Four knights of the garter, the dukes of Buccleuch and Rutland, and the marquises of Anglesey and Exeter held a rich cloth of gold over her head. The dean of Westminster took the ampulla from the altar, and poured some of the oil it contained upon the anointing spoon. Then the archbishop anointed the head and hands of the queen, marking them in the form of a cross, and pronounced a prayer and blessing over her. Then followed the "coronation." The archbishop of Canterbury besought God to bless her majesty, and crown her with all princely virtues. He then received the crown from the dean of Westminster, and reverently placed it on the queen's head. At this moment an enthusiastic burst of feeling arose from every part of the edifice. The peers and peeresses put on their coronets; the bishops their caps; the kings-at-arms their crowns; the drums and trumpets sounded, and the Park and Tower guns thundered. The "Benediction" was pronounced by the archbishop, and homage was rendered to the queen by the dukes of Sussex and Cambridge, in the words, "I do become your liege man of life and limb, and of earthly worship, and faith and truth I will bear unto you to live and die against all manner of folk, so help me God." They then touched the crown on the queen's head, kissed her left cheek, and retired. At the conclusion of the homage, the choir sang the anthem, "This is the day which the Lord hath made," and the queen received the two sceptres from the dukes of Norfolk and Richmond. Her majesty then made further offerings, received the sacrament, and putting on her crown, with the sceptres in her hand, took her seat upon the throne. The archbishop proceeded with the communion service, and pronounced the final blessing, and the queen returned in state amidst the congratulatory shouts of her subjects to her palace.

In the evening her majesty entertained a party of one hundred at dinner, and the duke of Wellington gave a ball at Apsley House, for which two thousand cards of invitation were issued. The popular festivities which took place immediately after the coronation were numerous. The provinces were all *en fête*. In Liverpool, St. George's Hall was founded. In Cambridge thirteen thousand persons were feasted on one spot, called Parker's Piece. In Paris, the English residents had a public dinner, presided over by Sir Sidney Smith; and in Leghorn the first stone of an English Protestant chapel was laid. At the request of Mr. Hawes, member for Lambeth, permission was granted to hold a fair in Hyde Park, which lasted for four days. One third of the park, extending from the Serpentine river to Grosvenor Gate, was set apart for the occasion. The interior, which was approached by eight entrances, was occupied by theatres, taverns, and exhibitions; the centre being appropriated to lines of stalls for the sale of fancy goods, &c. All the public offices and shops in the principal streets were brilliantly illuminated; grand shows of fireworks took place in the parks; and the theatres and other places of amusement were opened gratuitously for the evening. Notwithstanding the confusion, the police arrangements were so effective, and the conduct of the people so praiseworthy, that no accident of moment occurred. According to the returns laid before the House of Commons of the accidents and offences on the day of the coronation, it appears that only twenty persons were brought to the stations. A vast number of children were lost, but they were all subsequently restored to their rightful owners. A series of reviews, civic banquets, and entertainments to the distinguished foreigners who visited England followed, and it was some time before the country recovered its usual aspect.

It appears from the statement made by the chancellor of the exchequer, that the public paid 200,000*l.* for seats to view the procession, and that four hundred thousand persons were added to the ordinary metropolitan population of one million and a half.

The cost of the coronation was about 70,000*l.*, being 20,000*l.* in excess of that of King William IV., which was occasioned by providing additional entertainments for the masses of the people. The cost of the coronation of George IV. amounted to more than 240,000*l.*

SECTION II.

On the 16th of August, the queen prorogued parliament in person, in a speech which referred hopefully to the measures adopted to settle several of the great questions discussed during the session. "The disturbances and insurrections which had unfortunately broken out in Upper and Lower Canada have been promptly suppressed; and I entertain a confident hope that firm and judicious measures will empower you to restore a constitutional form of government, which unhappy events have compelled you for a time to suspend. I rejoice at the progress which has been made in my colonial possessions towards the entire abolition of negro apprenticeship. I have observed with much satisfaction the attention which you have bestowed upon the amendment of the domestic institutions of the country. I trust that the mitigation of the law of imprisonment for debt will prove at once favourable to the liberty of my subjects, and safe for commercial credit; and that the established church will derive increased strength and efficiency from the restriction of granting benefices in plurality. I have felt great pleasure in giving my assent to the Bill for the Relief of the Destitute Poor in Ireland. I cherish the expectation that its provisions have been so cautiously framed, and will be so prudently executed, that whilst they contribute to relieve distress, they will tend to preserve order and to encourage habits of industry and exertion. I trust, likewise, that the Act which you have passed relating to the Compositions of Tithe in Ireland will increase the security of that property, and promote internal peace." Parliament had no sooner adjourned, than Mr. O'Connell in Ireland, and the chartists in England, renewed their agitation. The former founded the Precursor Society. The latter, who were divided into physical and moral free chartists, held immense meetings of "the working classes" in the manufacturing counties, and highly inflammatory language was addressed to those present by the demagogues who organised them. The principles of the People's Charter, as stated in one of the Rev. Mr. Stephens's harangues, was "the right of every man that breathed God's free air, or trod God's free earth, to have his home and his hearth; and to have happiness to himself, his wife and his children as securely guaranteed to him as they are to every other man whom the Almighty has created. The question of universal suffrage was a *knife and fork* question; it meant that every working man in the land had a right to have a good coat and hat, a good roof over his head, a good dinner upon his table, no more work than would keep him in health, as much wages as would keep him in plenty, and the enjoyment of those pleasures of life which a reasonable man could desire." Such was Stephens's enunciation of the principles on which the movement was based, and it was followed up by language of the most violent character, in which he urged the people, if any want of confidence in their loyalty was shown by government, to flock to his standard fully armed, and under it to fight the battle of the constitution. This led to his arrest. Had a Tory government been in office at the time, no doubt immediate and decisive measures would have been taken to curb this agitation; but the Whigs acted with their customary supineness, and the agitation made rapid progress.

At Kersal Moor, near Manchester, there was a meeting of two hundred thousand persons, presided over by Mr. Fielden, the member for Oldham. Torch-light meetings became common, and the people demanded nothing short of the transfer of political power to the many, who were certainly at that time utterly unfit to become its depository. The unpopularity of the new Poor Law, which was much increased by the severity of the season and the high price of food, led, especially in the northern part of the kingdom, to acts of violence. The opinions of the educated classes were favourable to the Poor Law; but it met with persistent opposition in both Houses of Parliament. The most singular circumstance connected with that opposition was that it came from the classes which would be most benefited by a Poor Law, and that the tests were especially obnoxious to those whose property would have been most heavily taxed by outdoor relief. The temper of the times was such that men were easily alarmed, and the peculiar mechanism set to work by the leaders of the agitation was of the very kind to strike the moderate with terror, by presenting an appearance of irresistible force, which might be at any time diverted to unlawful ends. The appeal to the masses, which were made by the Liberals in England and by O'Connell in Ireland, were essentially dangerous, because of the ignorance of the majority of the lower orders in both countries. Hence the extreme violence with which the Conservatives resisted change, and the corresponding vehemence with which the Liberal leaders applied themselves to use their favourite lever of numbers.

In the course of the summer the proceedings of John Thom, alias Sir William Courtenay, a lunatic gifted with extraordinary eloquence and exceptional advantages of person, had caused great excitement, and afforded melancholy proof of the ignorance of the peasantry. He claimed the possession of celestial gifts, immortality, invulnerability, and the power to save and destroy. In a short time he obtained great influence over the people of Kent, and actually offered himself, in the Conservative interest, for Canterbury, and succeeded in polling nine hundred and fifty votes. He was shortly after confined, and remained in the County Lunatic Asylum for four years, at the end of which period he was liberated by Lord John Russell. He subsequently escaped from his friends, and reappeared in Kent, claiming a divine mission, and divine attributes. He was followed by devoted rustics who believed in his supernatural origin. The civil power which was set in motion to arrest the mad impostor was happily supported by a military detachment. Thom resisted his capture, shot one of the constables, and the officer who led the soldiery, but fell dead at the first discharge of the troops, and his followers at once dispersed.

Those who were foremost in their advocacy of disaffection abroad were equally strenuous in their support of the most advanced Liberal opinions at home, and in some degree discountenanced them by their association. Attempts were made by the Tories to raise a counter-agitation. Sir Francis Burdett's "Conservative progress," through the northern provinces, in which he was attended by Lord Maidstone and Sir George Sinclair, was a curious demonstration. His exertions for his adopted party were fully appreciated, and he met his reward in a series of political banquets, and in an enthusiastic recognition of his elocutionary power.

The Anti-Corn Law League may be held to date from the 20th of December in this year, when a meeting was held in King Street, Manchester, and the chamber of commerce adopted a petition against the Corn Laws. The League had, however, no special organisation for some time after, and had no relations with the Chartists. The Leaguers only sought to repeal the laws which placed a protective duty on foreign corn till the price of wheat had reached 73*s.* per quarter, when foreign produce was admitted free, and in September, this year, large quantities were imported under that condition.

The disturbances in Canada were renewed, and a raid from the United States was directed against Prescott, but Colonel Dundas attacked the rebels, and reduced them to prompt submission. The state of Newfoundland was by no means satisfactory; religious dissensions were added to the disputes between the colonial legislature and their rulers. In the course of the autumn a deputation of three members of the House of Assembly proceeded to England to discuss these matters with government, and a memorial was addressed to the colonial office by the merchants on the island soliciting additional troops. Its condition altogether seemed somewhat analogous to that of Ireland, so much so, that the colony had been already declared by a Newfoundland journalist to be a "transatlantic Tipperary." But fortunately no overt act of disloyalty was committed, and the colony indeed has had very much its own way, and has caused no serious inconvenience to the home government, whatever it may have done to its local rulers and the non-catholic residents.

It was, however, in the East that the most serious events occurred. The intrigues of Russia had revived the attempts of the Shah of Persia to make good his claims to the suzerainty of the city and small state of Herat, and early in this year he prepared a force against the rebellious khan, Prince Khamram. It may be that the shah, in the first instance, acted in this of his own accord, but the influence and inspirations of the Russian emissaries, whom Count Nesselrode subsequently disowned, were distinctly established and authenticated. On the last day of the year 1837 Sir A. Burnes wrote from Cabul: "The present position of the British government at this capital appears to me a most gratifying proof of the estimation in which it is held by the Affghan nation. Russia has come forward with offers which are certainly substantial. Persia has been lavish in her promises, and Bokhara and other states have not been backward. Yet in all that has passed, or is daily transpiring, the chief of Cabul declares that he prefers the sympathy and friendly offices of the British to all these offers, however alluring they may seem, from Persia or from the emperor; which certainly places his good sense in a light more prominent, and, in my humble judgment, proves that by an earlier attention to these countries we might have escaped the whole of these intrigues, and held long since a stable influence in Cabul." Sir A. Burnes was sent there as the head of a "commercial mission," and fancied he had established a potential control over Dost Mahomed, the rival of Runjeet, who had recently wrested Peshawur from the ruler of Cabul. Before the eyes of all the Eastern world, however, Herat was now besieged by the shah, who had Russian officers in his camp, and all the while Russian agency was at work in Cabul also. Burnes was directed to repair from Cabul to Herat, and, acting on general instructions to "do good" wherever he could, despatched a messenger to Candahar to forbid the chiefs holding communication with Persia and Russia on pain of the displeasure of the British government; for Burnes, with all his ability, was one of the mistaken politicians who have persistently tried to throw Persia into the arms of Russia, and to precipitate her natural tendency to creep under Russian protection. He was much deceived as to the extent of his influence, and was the dupe of the Dost, who saw he really could not get much out of the British government. It was on the 23rd of November, 1837, that the shah renewed the siege of Herat; but it was not till April in the following year that the British envoy, M'Neill, was directed to remonstrate with the shah against the siege, as a violation of the treaty with Great Britain, and to try to effect a reconciliation between his majesty and his rebellious vassal. He failed utterly. Mahomed Shah said: "Either the whole people of Herat shall make their submission, and acknowledge themselves my subjects, or I will take possession of the fortress by force of arms, and make them obedient and submissive." Our government had entered on an evil way of intrigue and menace. If the British had a right to insist on the independence of Herat, they should not have waited. On the 19th of June a British expedition entered the Persian Gulf, and took undisputed possession of Karrack. The expedition was despatched by Lord Auckland to hold itself in readiness for any service upon which Mr. M'Neill might deem it expedient to employ it upon "with a view to the maintenance of our interests in Persia." The state of our relations with Persia could have only ended in war with any other state; but the shah, baffled before Herat, where he sustained a severe check in a general assault on the 24th of June, could not quite rely on Russian assurances, as they were then not ready to be carried into effect, and he felt that the czar was far and India was near. The defence, much inspirited by Eldred Pottinger, a young Indian officer, was bravely and resolutely maintained by Prince Kamram; and in August, when the Indian government made up their minds to make a sterner remonstrance to the shah, the latter was almost ready to abandon the siege. Colonel Stoddart now arrived in his camp, and informed him that he must retire, or incur the hostility of the Indian government. The shah broke up his camp, and retreated towards Teheran, and Stoddart proceeded on the mission to Bokhara, whence he never returned. But the shah was deeply hurt, and the treatment of Mr. M'Neill and the members of the mission in Teheran savoured so much of studied disrespect, that the former broke up his establishment, and informed the shah that the Persian ambassador, then on his way to London, would not be received till satisfaction had been made. On the 26th of June, Lord Auckland signed a treaty of alliance and friendship with Maharajah Runjeet Sing of Lahore, and Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk,the exiled ruler of Affghanistan, "with the approbation of, and in concert with, the British government." The main objects of the treaty were the destruction of the power of the Barukzye Sirdars, as represented by Dost Mahomed, who was supposed to be plotting against us, and the restoration of Shah Soojah to the throne. It was provided that Shah Soojah's rights over Sindh and Shikarpoor should be established and adjusted by the British government, and that we should enter on a course which involved nothing less, generally, than our complete entanglement in the politics of Affghanistan, and in the burning questions which related to them. But whatever were the motives which determined the governor-general of India to thwart and alienate Dost Mahomed, no one can now question the impolicy of the selection he made of his instruments. The British government might have then obtained Peshawur without any trouble, or, what would have been better, have held it by the hands of a faithful lieutenant, and our arms would have been saved a great discredit and disaster.

The governor-general had been involved in such a mesh of intrigue and trouble by the middle of the year, that the only way he could contrive for escape was by the use of the sword, and in the last days of September a force was concentrated in the north-west to take the bold step of moving across the Indus. In a proclamation from his retreat at Simla, dated the 1st of October, Lord Auckland set forth the reasons which induced him to take that course. "After much time spent in fruitless negotiation by Captain Burnes at Cabul, it appears that Dost Mahomed, chiefly in consequence of his reliance upon Persian encouragement and assistance, persisted, as respects his misunderstanding with the Sikhs, in urging the most unreasonable pretensions, such as the governor-general could not consistently with justice, and his regard for the friendship of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, consent to be the channel of submitting to the consideration of his highness; that he avowed schemes of aggrandisement and ambition injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India; and that he openly threatened, in furtherance of these schemes, to call in every foreign aid which he could command." Reference was then made in the manifesto to the unjustifiable aggression of Persia upon Herat, and the countenance which had been given to the expedition by Dost Mahomed, and his brother sirdars of Candahar. "After various and mature deliberation the governor-general is satisfied that a pressing necessity, as well as every consideration of policy and justice, warrant him in espousing the cause of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, whose popularity throughout Affghanistan has been proved to his lordship by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities. A guaranteed independence will upon favourable conditions be tendered to the ameers of Sindh, and the integrity of Herat in the possession of its present ruler will be fully respected; while, by the measures completed or in progress, it may reasonably be hoped that the general freedom and security of commerce will be promoted; that the known and just influence of the British government will gain its proper footing among the nations of Central Asia; that tranquillity will be established upon the most important frontier of India; and that a lasting barrier will be raised against hostile intrigue and encroachment. His majesty Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk will enter Affghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference and factious opposition by a British army. The governor-general confidently hopes that the shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents; and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Affghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn. The governor-general has been led to these measures by the duty which is imposed upon him of providing for the security of the possessions of the British crown; but he rejoices that in the discharge of his duty he will be enabled to assist in restoring the union and prosperity of the Affghan people. Throughout the approaching operations British influence will be sedulously employed to further every measure of general benefit, to reconcile differences, to secure oblivion of injuries, and to put an end to the distractions by which for so many years the welfare and happiness of the Affghans have been impaired." It was of this proclamation Sir J. C. Hobhouse said afterwards, speaking officially: "Lord Auckland must not be permitted to bear the blame of the Simla manifesto against Dost Mahomed. It was the policy of the government; and he might mention that the despatch which he wrote, stating his opinion of the course that ought to be taken in order to meet expected emergencies, and that written by Lord Auckland informing him that the expedition had already been undertaken, crossed each other on the way."

The governor-general visited Runjeet Sing at Ferozepore on the 29th of November, and was received in great state by the Lion of Lahore, to whose den he repaired amid much rejoicing. A series of feasts and durbars celebrated the novel alliance. The arrangements of the allied advance were well concerted. Runjeet's troops were to march from Peshawur on Cabul through the Khyber Pass. About nine thousand five hundred men of the Bengal army were assembled at Ferozepore under the command of Sir John Keane. These sailed from Bombay, and reached the mouth of the Indus about the time Lord Auckland reached Lahore. As it was designed to deal a blow at the ameers of Scinde in passing, the company's troops were to proceed in a south-westerly direction through the territories of Bahwulpore, crossing near Subzulkote the frontier of Scinde, striking down to the banks of the Indus, and crossing the river at Bukkur. They then took a north-westerly course, passing through Shikarpoor, Bhag, and Dadur to the mouth of the Bolan Pass; thence through the pass to Quettah, and from Quettah through the Kojuck to Candahar. There were many delays and impediments to these operations, and it was not till the early months of the year following that the force could advance effectively. The crossing of the army at Bukkur was ineffectually opposed by Meer Roostum; and the Sikhs, together with the six thousand men raised for Shah Soojah's immediate service, and the British, swept through the passes, fighting always successfully with the tribes which tried to bar their way. There were considerable obstructions to the columns before they penetrated the Bolan, the Khyber, and Koord Cabul Passes. The want of transport was as great as the want of concord between the civil and military leaders of the expedition. On the 23rd of July the forces of Sir John Keane arrived before the famous frontier fortress of Ghuznee, where they performed a brilliant feat of arms by storming the place, for which their general received a peerage. The army resumed its march on Cabul, which Dost Mahomed, deserted by his followers, could not defend. He fled beyond the frontiers before a vigorous but abortive pursuit led by Outram. On the 7th of July Shah Soojah was installed in Cabul, but it was soon discovered that it would be necessary to keep a garrison there to prevent his chiefs and subjects driving him out again. Old Runjeet Sing died before the news could have reached him of the success, as it appeared to be of his plans, and his contingent, after fighting their way through the Khyber Pass, arrived at Cabul, in September only. Leaving a strong force in Cabul, Sir John Keane led the bulk of the British forces out of Affghanistan, and a column was detached under Sir T. Willshire to punish the Khan of Khelat for his alleged hostility whilst the troops were on their march. The fortress was stormed, and Khelat was severely punished. A garrison was put in Jellalabad, and the conquest of Affghanistan by the British for Shah Soojah seemed to be an accomplished feat, and was regarded with immense satisfaction as a fine stroke of vigorous policy.

We shall see hereafter what fruits these measures bore. For a time the apparent results were good. The Russian agents were disavowed at Petersburg, Simonovich was recalled from Persia, and our predominance in the North-west beyond the Indus seemed established for the time beyond reach of rivalry and danger.

The first day of the new year (1839) was marked by a crime which caused the utmost horror and indignation. The Earl of Norbury was shot dead close to his own house, in the county of Meath, and although the man who fired was seen running from the shrubbery where the earl lay dead, he was never arrested; and the murderer remains unknown to this day. Mr. O'Connell suggested that he was not a vulgar assassin; and pointed the finger of suspicion at a near relative. A frequent, but not always successful device to meet the necessity for immediately punishing the many violations of law and order which had taken place during the winter in Ireland was resorted to, and a Special Commission was opened to try a long list of prisoners at Clonmel. The contest between the landlords in Ireland and the Liberal government was embittered by the outspoken language of Mr. Secretary Drummond, who lost no opportunity of expressing his opinion that much of the discontent which existed was due to the neglectful or oppressive conduct of the owners of the soil.

Before parliament met, a very unhappy incident, which excited feelings the later generation, accustomed to hear the queen's name mentioned with deserved respect, can scarcely understand, was made public at a time when many sinister and baseless rumours were circulated concerning the court. Attached to the household of the queen's mother was a lady, Flora Hastings, belonging to one of the best families in the kingdom, whose reputation had never been questioned till the moment when unjust suspicions were aroused by appearances due to the existence of a disease that subsequently proved fatal. Lady Tavistock, who was "in waiting," made herself the mouth-piece of these suspicions; and although she declared that it had been her intention to speak to Lady Flora Hastings, and ask if the appearances which were the subject of comment in the royal household were to be accounted for by a private marriage, it so happened that she first informed Lord Melbourne "of the opinion unfortunately entertained." The premier communicated with Sir James Clark, a court physician, who acquainted Lady Flora Hastings with the "suspicions," any ground for which she indignantly repudiated. The duchess of Kent expressed her entire disbelief in these imputations, but Sir James Clark, after his interview with Lady Flora, when asked his opinion by the duchess, declared that he could not say "the suspicions he previously entertained were removed." The lady who was the object of these injuries behaved with the utmost propriety. She wrote to Sir James Clark, that she would be governed entirely by the duchess of Kent's wishes and orders; and in apparent compliance with these, requested Sir Charles Clark, another court physician, to come to her. She was examined by him, and subsequently by Sir James Clark, in consequence of an urgent request to that effect, although the former expressed his decided opinion that there could be no pregnancy. Then they signed a certificate that there were and had been no grounds for these "suspicions." It may be imagined with what emotion the marchioness of Hastings, mother of the lady, heard of these proceedings. She wrote to the queen to demand reparation, and urged her "not to suffer the criminal inventor of such falsehoods to remain without discovery." Lord Melbourne, in reply, said that "the allowance which her majesty was anxious to make for the natural feelings of a mother on such an occasion, tended to diminish that surprise which could not but be otherwise excited by the tone and substance of the letter. The queen had hastened to testify to Lady Flora her conviction of the error, and was most anxious to do everything to soothe her feelings." The marchioness then demanded the removal of Sir James Clark, which Lord Melbourne met with a curt reply, in which he characterised the demand as "unprecedented and objectionable." Lady Flora Hastings admitted that "the queen endeavoured to show her regret by her civility, and expressed it handsomely, with tears in her eyes. A mother could not have been kinder than the duchess of Kent." These events occurred in February, and in June Lady Flora Hastings died. An unjustifiable tendency was evinced in some quarters to impute blame to the queen for a matter with which she had nothing to do, and in which she could only be compromised by those about her; but the part taken in it by Lord Melbourne was not creditable to his tact or delicacy.

On the 5th of February, parliament was opened by the queen in person, the attendance of peers and peeresses being unusually numerous. The royal speech referred to the assurances of the desire of foreign powers to maintain friendly relations, and announced the conclusion of treaties of commerce with the emperor of Austria, and with the sultan. Negotiations had been undertaken with a view to the final settlement of the differences between Holland and Belgium, in concert with Austria, France, and Prussia. The Dutch government had consented to accept a definitive treaty of peace which had been prepared, and a similar course was expected from Belgium. The continuance of the civil war in Spain, the differences which occasioned the retirement of the minister from the court of Teheran, and events in Affghanistan which had induced the government of India to enter into engagements which might render military operations necessary were mentioned. The reform and amendment of the municipal corporations of Ireland were considered essential, as also the completion of measures which had been recommended by the ecclesiastical commissioners in England, for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the established church. Her majesty stated, that throughout the whole of her possessions in West India the period named for the emancipation of the negroes had been anticipated by the acts of the colonial legislatures; that serious insurrections had taken place in the province of Lower Canada, which, however, had been promptly suppressed, and that persevering efforts that had been made to excite her subjects throughout the country to disobedience and resistance to authority, to counteract which she relied upon the efficacy of the law, and upon the good sense and right disposition of her people.

The motion for an address led to a debate in the Lords, in which the policy of the government was attacked by the duke of Wellington, Lord Colchester, and Lord Roden, in reference to Canada, the navy, and Ireland, and in which Lord Brougham animadverted in the severest language on Mr. O'Connell, for his insinuations that Lord Norbury had been murdered by his own son. In such a contest, however, the noble lord found his equal in the learned agitator, who designated him "as the sycophant of one monarch and the slanderer of another," alluding to a pamphlet on the relations between the queen and Lord Melbourne, popularly attributed to Lord Brougham, and he declared that whether Lord Brougham called himself "the Friend of the People," or "the Enemy of the Throne," he "despised charges coming from so foul and polluted a source." In the Commons an amendment to the address, calling for an enlarged suffrage, which was moved by Mr. Duncombe, was negatived by four hundred and twenty-six to eighty-six. Almost as soon as parliament met the ministry tried to lighten the vessel by throwing overboard the colonial secretary; or rather, supposing him to be asleep or indifferent, his colleagues arranged certain offices without any reference to him, and Lord Glenelg resigned the seals. He was succeeded by Lord Normanby.

We now come to a remarkable event in the history of the education question, which has been occupying so large a portion of public thought in our own day—the creation of the Board of Privy Council. From the year 1833 the sum of 20,000*l.*, divided equally between the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society, had been granted annually in aid of national education. On the 12th of February, Lord John Russell proposed the formation of a board, consisting of the president of the privy council, and other councillors, not exceeding five, to consider the mode of distribution of all educational grants. The first object of that board should be the establishment of a good normal school, and to make that as perfect as possible, their attention should be directed to religious instruction, general education, and moral training. A minute of the board of privy council, issued on the 1st of April, recommended that the sum of 10,000*l.*, granted in 1835 for the erection of schools, should be given in equal proportions to the National and the British and Foreign School Societies; that the remainder of all grants that were unappropriated, or any that might be voted during the year 1839, should be applied in aid of subscriptions for buildings, and for the support of schools connected with these societies; that grants might be made in particular cases which required the aid of government, although the application did not come from these societies; and that normal schools should be established under the direction of the state, and not under the management of voluntary societies. They required further time, to mature a plan to secure the due training of children and teachers in the principles of the Christian religion; and finally recommended that no further grant should be made in support of normal schools, or of any others, unless the right of inspection was retained. This scheme excited great opposition. But the crisis which we have just mentioned caused a delay in the action of government; and when later in the session Lord John Russell moved that the House should go into a committee of supply for the purpose of carrying out the scheme, Lord Stanley protested against giving a direct control over the moral and religious education of the people to a committee exclusively political in character; having no fixed principles of action, and excluding those persons who were best entitled to superintend the education of the people, and moved an amendment, that an address be presented to her majesty to rescind the order in council for constituting the proposed board of privy council. On that there was a long and vigorous debate. Lord Morpeth argued that Lord Stanley went to the extent of requiring a vote of the House for the purpose of ensuring the separation of the executive government of the country from all superintendence and control over the education of the people. Lord Ashley considered the scheme to be hostile to the church and to revealed religion, although he did not mean to assert it was unconstitutional. Mr. Hawes supported it as embodying a great principle which had been recognised by the Toleration Act, enforced in the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and again more recently by the Catholic Relief Bill. Mr. Charles Buller maintained that consigning education to the established church was only an uncandid way of throwing it aside altogether; as in the absence of machinery for the purpose in the church, the dispensing of education would be left to the voluntary action of its members. Mr. Disraeli insisted that, by the system of centralisation, all minds would be thrown into the same mint, all would come out with the same impress and superscription. This was not the same sort of education which had been nobly supported by our forefathers. Who had erected schools and endowed colleges? By whom had their universities been built? They had not sprung from a system of central organisation. Other principles had actuated the men of former times. Let them look abroad and witness the result. Mr. Gibson, who entered parliament as a Conservative, was of opinion that the schoolmaster should, in all matters relating to the secular education of the children, be quite independent of all church influence, even though the children should be those of churchmen.

Mr. O' Connell gave a new turn to the debate by accusing parliament of narrowness and bigotry in matters of education. They had tried the efficacy of the exclusive principle to prevent the advance of catholicity; nevertheless, Catholics multiplied in Ireland, and increased even in England. By the minute of the 1st of April, it appeared to be the determination of government to establish normal schools, and to appoint chaplains, who were to be paid at the expense of the nation at large, for instructing children, born in the established church, in the principles of their religion. By all means, said Mr. O'Connell, let the children of the established church receive religious instruction, but let the expenses be paid out of the ample possessions of the established church, and not out of the funds of the nation; the proposed arrangement was far more favourable to the established church than it had any reason to expect. It was too much to exact of the Roman Catholics and dissenters to pay for the religious instruction of a church so richly endowed—it would be giving it a decided advantage, and one wholly inconsistent with fair play. But he had acceded even to that, so highly important did he consider it that the people should be educated. Honourable gentlemen opposite had fallen much in love with the Wesleyan Methodists; they might be excellent people in private life, but he denied that they had distinguished themselves in any career of political utility. The first great movement of John Wesley, was the address of the Protestant Association in 1780, which ended in a riot. Why, then, exclaim so loudly in their favour? Because they had joined the "No Popery" cry? They said, "We most decidedly object to the proposed scheme on the strong grounds of conscience, and of our right to full religious liberty"—a most excellent principle—but what they would have others do they should themselves exemplify. They objected to the educational scheme because versions of the Scripture would be used which they regarded as "notoriously corrupt." But they were bad Biblical scholars. Dr. Chalmers, a man of great talent, burning with as ardent a dislike to popery as any Methodist, said, "I beg leave to say that the difference between the authorized version and the Douay version is not so great as to make it a thing of practical importance which of them should be used." This speech called up Mr. Gladstone, who had recently written an able work on the connection between church and state. He said he would not flinch from a word he had written or uttered on religious topics. Mr. O'Connell had done injustice to the Wesleyan Methodists, taunting them as enemies to civil and religious liberty, and ignoring altogether their long years of exertion to bring about the abolition of negro slavery. Mr. Gladstone read a passage from a petition lately presented from the Protestant dissenters, "That your petitioners feel the deepest gratitude for the expression of her majesty's most gracious wish that the youth of this country should be religiously brought up, and the rights of conscience respected; while they earnestly hope that the education of the people, Jewish and Christian, will be sedulously connected with a due regard to the Holy Scriptures." How was the education of the Jewish people, who considered the New Testament an imposture, to be sedulously connected with a due regard to the Holy Scriptures which consisted of the Old and New Testaments? He protested against paying, from the money of the state, a set of men whose business would be to inculcate erroneous doctrines.

The chancellor of the exchequer considered Mr. Gladstone's principles to be inconsistent with the true theory of the constitution of England, and opposed to civil and religious liberty. Sir James Graham said it was declared to be the duty of the state to uphold true religion. What was true religion? No one sect had the right to assume knowledge of the truth in a manner offensive to the other portions of the community. Man was not responsible for his religious opinions to his fellow man, but to his Creator. The principles of the established church were adverse to the plan of government, which admitted an equality of right for state endowments to all religious creeds. If that doctrine was admitted, a paramount state religion was at an end. In this country the state had chosen the established church, but permitted each individual to be guided in matters of belief entirely by the dictates of his own conscience. Lord John Russell asked why they did not state openly that the government plan was opposed on the ground that no system of education was to be supported by the state, unless it was conducted under the exclusive control of the clergy.

Sir Robert Peel deprecated the course of calling on the House to decide so important a question, and asking them to lay the foundation of a system of national education by a single vote. The committee proposed would be, in fact, a committee of the executive government, not of the privy council; the board, too, was to be constituted exclusively of members of the government. These were grave objections, to which was to be added that petitions had been presented against the scheme unequalled in number, and in the disinterestedness of those who presented them; and that if the scheme were carried by a small and scanty majority, a temporary success, so far from advancing the cause of sound religious instruction, and allaying discord and animosities, would be but the commencement of a new religious struggle of the worst nature, and in the very worst arena in which, in this country, such a struggle can be carried on.

The House divided on the original question that the order of the day for a committee of supply be read—Ayes, two hundred and eighty; noes, two hundred and seventy-five; majority, five; and on the 24th of June Lord John Russell moved that the House resolve itself into a committee of supply, in which the question was put that 30,000*l.* be granted by her majesty for public education in Great Britain for the year 1839. This was warmly opposed in a long debate, of which the most remarkable feature was the address of Mr. Sheil. A Catholic priest had applied to the chancellor of the exchequer for a grant of money for a school in Scotland, and the money had been refused. The refusal proved that the government did not mean that any part of the fund should be applied to a school attached exclusively to one church, and at the same time it completely repelled the charge of the honourable gentlemen opposite, grounded on their own misconception of the intention of the ministers. Mr. Sheil taunted them with being for ever in an ague of apprehension in reference to popery and the danger to their church. It was, indeed, difficult to believe that such a church, incorporated as it was with the state, supported by the interests of the higher orders and the faith of the humbler—a church possessed of vast revenues—ruling the two most famous universities in the world, presiding over the great patrician seminaries of the land, distinguished by a prelacy eminent for learning, and still more important, distinguished by the activity, the energy and spirit of organised confederacy amongst the parochial clergy, should be in danger. It was a fabric based on the national belief, and towering above aristocratic sustainment, and could it be prostrated on the rock of truth on which it was believed to be raised—not by foreign invasion, not by intestine commotion, not by a great moral concussion—but by a discharge of Douay testaments and popish missals from the hands of a set of shoeless, shirtless, popish paupers, gathered, under the command of the privy council, from the lanes of Liverpool, the alleys of Manchester and of Salford, or the receptacles of St. Giles's? Such fantastic fears were idle, and would be ridiculous, were it not for the fatal results they produce, and the constant injustice which they work. After a few words from Mr. Goulburn, and a brief reply from Lord John Russell, the committee divided: for the grant, two hundred and seventy-five; against it, two hundred and seventy three; reducing the majority of ministers from five to two. It was expected, in consequence, that the Conservative party would have divided again on the bringing up of the report of the committee of supply, out Sir R. Peel stated that the question having been exhausted in point of debate, and every member, except twenty-four, having voted on it, he thought it unnecessary to put the House to the trouble of a second division, and so the foundation of the new system was laid. Lord John Russell, however, before the debate came on, intimated (June 4th) that the government abandoned the scheme, but the principle of the measure was established. The privy council issued on the previous day a minute, recommending that the 10,000*l.* voted by parliament in 1835, towards the erection of normal or model schools, should be divided by the National Society, and the British and Foreign School Society, but that no further grant be made unless they had the right of inspecting the schools.

On the 5th of July, the subject was introduced to the House of Lords by the archbishop of Canterbury in a series of resolutions against the government measure, the first of which was carried by a majority of one hundred and eleven in favour. Backed by this majority the Lords went in a body to her majesty to offer a remonstrance against the proposed alteration in the manner of distributing the educational grant, to which her majesty replied as follows:—

"I duly appreciate your zeal for the interests of religion, and your care for the established church. I am ever ready to receive the advice and assistance of the House of Lords, and to give to their recommendations the attention which their authority justly deserves. At the same time I cannot help expressing my regret that you should have thought it necessary to take such a step on the present occasion. You may be assured that, deeply sensible of the duties imposed upon me, and more especially of that which binds me to the support of the established church, I shall always use the powers vested in me by the constitution for the fulfilment of that sacred obligation. It is with a deep sense of that duty that I have thought it right to appoint a committee of my privy council to superintend the distribution of the grants voted by the House of Commons for public education; of the proceedings of the committee annual reports will be laid before parliament, so that the House of Lords will be able to exercise its judgment upon them, and I trust that the sums placed at my disposal will be found to have been strictly applied to the objects for which they were granted, with due respect to the rights of conscience, and with a faithful attention to the security of the established church."

The clergy declined any participation in the proposed grant. A great meeting of the National Society was held, and efforts were made to extend it, and to make its objects known more fully.

The principles at issue between the two great parties in the state, whose views are widely different on the nature and control of national education, were then pretty clearly defined, but the contest between them is still continued, and it would seem as if we are now about to witness another great struggle in the same field, which will probably prove decisive.

But long before matters reached this stage there was strong proof that the country was dissatisfied with the Melbourne ministry, and that the reins of power were slipping from their grasp. The anger of the ultras was much aroused by the resolute attitude of Lord Russell and the Whigs on the question of "Reform," and their sharpest arrows, whetted first on the opposition, whose leaders were becoming the masters of the situation, were launched at the treasury benches. Mr. Leader sarcastically declared that Sir R. Peel and his followers were content with power, unaccompanied by patronage or place; whilst the Whigs were content with place, without patronage or power. Their Irish policy, which was directed by Lord Normanby and Lord Morpeth, was fiercely assailed. The alliance of members of the government with such men as Frost, one of Lord John Russell's magistrates, the failure of the Durham mission, chartist discontent and political agitation, tended to make them unpopular. The condition of Ireland was discussed in debates, which showed that it was a party cry and a party question. The landed proprietors, denounced by priests from the altars, menaced by a powerful and implacable agitation, and exposed to occasional fusillades, were driven beside themselves by the appearance of a letter from the secretary at Dublin Castle, in which he reminded them that property had "its duties as well as its rights." This "Drummond letter" was a bone of fierce contention. The Conservatives were urgent for inquiry. Lord Roden brought forward a motion for a select committee to inquire into the state of Ireland since 1835, which was carried by a majority of five. This alarmed the administration, and led Lord John Russell to give notice that he would move a resolution, after the recess, that the House thought it expedient to pursue the course of policy they had hitherto followed in Ireland. On the 15th of April, when parliament reassembled, Lord John Russell moved the resolution, which led to impassioned debates, adjourned through five nights, in which all the principal speakers in the House took part. On a division, however, three hundred and eighteen members went into the lobby with the government, and two hundred and ninety-six voted the other way. The vote, however, gave them but a short respite.

The quarrels of the House of Assembly of Jamaica and the Colonial Office had reached such a pitch during the recess and the spring of this year, that, on the refusal of the former to adopt the Prisons Act passed by the imperial parliament, the government introduced a measure to suspend the constitution of the island for five years—the second suspension of a constitution by a Liberal government within a few months. On the 6th of May Mr. Labouchere obtained leave to bring in a bill to make temporary provision for the government of Jamaica, the House of Assembly having refused to proceed to business until their right to legislate on the internal affairs of the colony was admitted by the British government. It was proposed to set aside the House of Assembly, and to empower the government and council, aided by three salaried commissioners, to administer the affairs of the island for five years. This step gave rise to much resistance on the part of Jamaica proprietors in this country. A strong party was formed in parliament, and after a debate on an amendment of Sir R. Peel, in which the government made but a poor defence to a host of assailants, there appeared on a division two hundred and ninety-four for, and two hundred and eighty-nine against them, leaving a majority of five in favour of the ministry. Up to this stage they had generally rallied their followers so as to secure a respectable majority on most great party divisions; but with a majority of only five members in a House of five hundred and eighty-three, on a question which the government considered of cardinal importance, it was plain they must take some decided course, and they resolved to renew their own strength by showing the weakness of their opponents.

On the 7th of May, accordingly, the ministry resigned. Lord Melbourne made the announcement in the Lords, and stated that he had advised her majesty to send for the duke of Wellington. Lord John Russell made a similar statement in the Commons; but it was already known, in consequence of the duke of Wellington's advice, that Sir R. Peel had been sent for and had undertaken to form a ministry, though there was a general belief that he was not personally acceptable to her majesty. Parliament was adjourned to allow time for the formation of the new government. What occurred in the interval will best be understood from a brief account of what ensued on the resumption of business. It will be seen that in what was called the "Ladies of the Bedchamber intrigue," the queen displayed strong affection for her friends, great firmness of purpose, and a resolution which would be astonishing in one of her years, were she not supported by those secret influences to which the duke of Wellington subsequently referred. The House of Commons was crowded, and the attitude of members evinced a keen interest, when Lord John Russell rose, on the 13th of May, as soon as the Speaker took the chair, and announced in measured sentences that Sir Robert Peel had failed to form a government. The House was not taken by surprise. Many rumours had been circulated in reference to the impediments which had led to the abandonment by the Conservative leader of his endeavours to form an administration. When Sir Robert Peel got up there was breathless attention: he seemed to speak under great restraint, and his calmness was evidently studied, as with that masterhood of clear narrative in which he excelled, he gave an account of what had passed. On the resignation of Lord Melbourne, the duke of Wellington, he said, had been asked to assist in the formation of a government. He had advised the queen to send for him (Sir Robert Peel), and he accordingly repaired to Buckingham Palace, and had audience of her majesty. She candidly avowed that she had parted from her late ministers with great regret, as they had given her entire satisfaction. Nothing could be more proper than her majesty's conduct. She received from Sir R. Peel the names of the duke of Wellington, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, Sir H. Hardinge, and Mr. Goulburn, as members of the cabinet. This was on the evening of the 8th of May. It was not till the Thursday following any difficulties arose, and they related exclusively to the "ladies of the household." Sir Robert Peel knew so little about these ladies that, in talking over these appointments to his colleagues, he was, he said, obliged to refer to the Red-book. He did not propose to make any change below the Ladies of the Bedchamber; and as to those in higher place, he supposed they would relieve him from any difficulty by resigning. On expressing these views to her majesty, verbal communications were exchanged, and, in reply to the statement of Sir R. Peel that it would be of great importance to him, as a mark of her confidence, if certain offices of the household, if not voluntarily relinquished by the ladies holding them, might be subject to change, the queen replied that she must reserve the whole of these appointments to herself. Finally the queen wrote a letter from Buckingham Palace, dated the 10th of May, in which she said that having considered the proposals made to her to remove the Ladies of her Bedchamber, she could not consent to adopt a course which she conceived to be contrary to usage, and repugnant to her feelings. It may be here observed, that a ministerial paper had announced the intention of the queen not to change her Ladies before it was known that Sir Robert Peel had expressed any wish on the subject, or that any communications had passed respecting it between him and her majesty. Lord Melbourne, in his subsequent explanations, very naïvely declared, that in giving the queen advice when he resigned office, he had not referred to the Ladies at all, being under the impression that no change would be necessary. The reference to usage in her majesty's letter certainly suggests the idea that the subject had been under consideration before the interview with Sir Robert Peel. In two or three hours Sir Robert Peel replied in a lengthy, and argumentative letter, couched in the most respectful language, submitting to her majesty's pleasure, and humbly returning into her hands the trust which she had been pleased to commit to him. He recapitulated in this all the impressions which the circumstances had left upon his mind. In order that he might have the advantage of a public demonstration of her majesty's full support and confidence, he had mentioned his wish to be enabled to constitute a household, the appointments to be, as far as possible, acceptable to her majesty. On Lord Liverpool's name being mentioned by the queen, he at once acceded to it; but when he alluded to the other appointments, the queen replied, "that she must reserve the whole of them, and that they should continue without change." The duke of Wellington pointed out the inconveniences of that course, and Sir R. Peel felt obliged to adhere to his demands. The only persons he had named were Lords Sydney, Liverpool, and Ashley, and he certainly never mentioned the name of Baroness Lehzen, whom he had been accused of desiring to take from her majesty. Sir Robert Peel declined to form an administration without a full demonstration of the queen's confidence. Under circumstances of a most embarrassing character, with a minority in the House, for he had resolved not to dissolve parliament, he had been called upon to begin his government. The main difficulty of any government, and especially of his, lay in Irish questions. On one of these, a majority of twenty-two had voted in favour of the administration of Lord Normanby and Lord Morpeth. The sister of Lord Morpeth, the wife of Lord Normanby, filled the chief offices in the household of the queen. "Could I," asked Sir R. Peel, "be a minister in such arduous times, with the wife of my most formidable political opponent holding office in immediate attendance on the sovereign? The public interests may not suffer from my perpetual exclusion from high trust; but I should abandon my duty to myself, my country, and my queen, if I consented to hold power on conditions incompatible with the authority and duty of a prime minister." Lord John Russell's answer to the statement was not calculated to diminish its effect; he declared it had been inferred that Sir Robert Peel claimed the privilege of recommending to the chief offices in the household persons attached to his party, and would not press any appointment not personally acceptable; but the queen thought he wished to subject the entire household to change which, total or partial, was repugnant to her feelings, and destructive of her comfort. He argued that the power sought for was greater than had ever been demanded before, and cited precedents which, however, had no reference to the cases of queens regnant; and, amidst some derision, admitted that the queen, in return for the favour which she had given to his administration, had asked him to support her refusal. A cabinet council had accordingly assembled, and had prepared a minute supporting the queen's refusal, for which they had thus become constitutionally responsible. Meantime Lord Melbourne was speaking in the Lords on the same subject and in the same sense. The duke of Wellington pointed out the difference between queens consort and regnant in the cases cited by the premier, and declared it was impossible political influence should not be exercised by ladies of the household; his personal experience had convinced him of the inconvenience which they caused, and the country was now suffering from secret influence of the same description. So the object of the Melbourne Government in resigning was gained by a side wind. The opposition leaders resumed their position, and the former ministry returned to office, and Sir Robert Peel was no doubt in earnest when he declared that Lord John Russell had relieved him from the greatest anxiety he had ever suffered. The subject continued to occupy the attention of the country and of parliament for some time, and was brought before the House of Lords by Lord Winchelsea; when Lord Brougham found occasion to deliver a wonderful flood of vituperative eloquence and sarcasm against his old friends, in which he said, "It would be remembered that Sir Robert Peel's attempt to form a government had been defeated by two Ladies of the Bedchamber." Numerous meetings were held to express approval of her majesty's conduct, but there was also strong dissatisfaction in some quarters; and on her appearance in state at Ascot, such sounds were heard from fashionable seats, that certain ladies of rank had to write to the papers to disavow that they had named others who had "hissed" the queen.

A fresh trial of strength between the ministry and the opposition occurred on the 27th of May, on the election of a Speaker, in succession to Mr. Abercrombie, when Mr. Goulburn was proposed by the Conservatives in opposition to Mr. Shaw Lefevre, but the latter was elected by three hundred and seventeen to two hundred and ninety-nine.

The budget, which was introduced on the 5th of July, an unusually late period of the year, showed an income of 48,128,000*l.*, and an expenditure of 47,988,000*l.* The chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Spring Rice, took a decidedly cheerful view of affairs, pointing out the increase of exports and of deposits in the savings bank, as symptoms of returning prosperity, and to carry out the recommendations of the committee which had considered the proposals of Mr. Rowland Hill moved: "That it is expedient to reduce the postage charged on letters to one uniform rate of one penny, parliamentary privileges of franking being abolished, and official franking strictly regulated; this House pledging itself, at the same time, to make good any deficiency of revenue which may be occasioned by such an alteration in the rates of the existing duties." After some strictures on the part of Mr. Goulburn and Sir R. Peel, the resolution was agreed to without a division, and thus was introduced one of the most potent reforms in social life the world has ever seen established without any great strife or strong pressure of opinion. It was indeed a bold measure to propose at a time when our finances were not flourishing, and when the Bank of England had received a loan of two millions from the Bank of France. Mr. Spring Rice further proposed the funding of 400,000*l.* of exchequer bills in three per cent. consolidated annuities, but the mode in which the operation was conducted created considerable dissatisfaction, and it was eventually done at 3*l.* 6*s.* per cent. On the 12th of July, the opposition to the measure assumed a more decided form. Mr. Goulburn moved, that considering the great deficiencies of revenue during the three preceding years, it was not expedient to pledge the House at such an advanced period of the year, to a measure which incurred the risk of a great additional loss. Sir Robert Peel followed, going more closely into details, and naming the risk they were about to incur at one million. On division, the original question was carried by a majority of one hundred and two; the ayes being two hundred and fifteen, the noes one hundred and thirteen. On the 18th of July Mr. Rice brought in his bill, which was read a second time on the 22nd, without a division, and was passed on the 29th. Lord Melbourne moved the second reading of the bill in the House of Lords on the 5th of August. The duke of Wellington severely criticised the circumstances under which the measure was brought forward. Although he felt little confidence in it, and never would cease to lament its adoption; still, as it was anxiously expected by the country, he would vote for it, and hoped that their lordships would do so likewise. The bill became law without further opposition.

The chartist agitation, which had been going on briskly throughout the year, worked up by the old leaven of the reform league, made way. On the 14th of June, Mr. Attwood, member for Birmingham, moved for a committee of the whole House to consider the prayer of a monster petition. A warm debate ensued, and finally the motion was rejected by two hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and eighty-nine. On the 18th of June, Mr. Grote made his annual motion for vote by ballot. The government made it an open question. The resolution was opposed by Lord Macaulay and other Liberals, and the House, on a division, rejected it by three hundred and thirty-five, to two hundred and seventeen. These reverses were ill received by the "leaders of the people." On the 4th of July the mob in Birmingham began a riot, in which some houses were burnt, and others sacked. Another riot followed on the 15th. Several of the rioters were tried and sentenced, but no capital sentence was carried out—numerous arrests were made, but no examples. Lord John Russell, who some years before had been arranging a march of the northern reformers on London, moved on the 2nd of August for an increase of five thousand soldiers, to be used, as it was inferred, against the misguided men who were engaged in agitation, and a vote of 75,000*l.* for the purpose was carried after considerable opposition.

The atrocities which characterised the war in Spain, were made the subject of discussion by the marquis of Londonderry, and the duke of Wellington blamed the government, because they had not exercised their influence to put an end to a system of warfare which shocked mankind. The activity manifested by France on the coast of South America attracted attention, and Lord Sandon accused M. de Chateaubriand of intriguing with the view of establishing the Bourbon dynasty and French rule in Buenos Ayres. The disputes with the government of Mexico, in regard to the claims of French citizens, ended in a declaration of blockade, which excited great indignation among the Liverpool merchants; but the right of the French government to take such measures as they thought necessary in defence of their interests could not be contested. A few days before the session closed, Lord Brougham carried a resolution condemning the Irish policy of the government by a majority of thirty-four.

On the 27th of August, parliament was prorogued by the queen in person. In the speech, her majesty announced the conclusion of a treaty between Holland and Belgium, and the determination of the five powers, by whose mediation this has been negotiated, to uphold the independence of the Ottoman empire. Having referred to the reduction of the postage, to the further efforts that were being made to effect an entire extinction of the slave trade, she announced that the governor-general of India had moved an army across the Indus, and had done so without opposition, and informed parliament she had assisted in effecting a reconciliation between France and Mexico, and had concluded a convention with the king of the French calculated to put an end to the differences that existed between the fishermen of Great Britain and France. Her majesty concluded by expressing her deep pain at having been compelled to enforce the law against those who strove to subvert the constitutions of the country, and her reliance upon her people for the maintenance of law and order.

Before the peers rose, Lord Lyndhurst treated the government to his annual review of the session; and rarely did the orator, lawyer, and partisan deliver a more tremendous invective. He was particularly severe on the ministers for their conduct in tendering their advice on appointments to the queen, and their recommending her to reinstate them in office, whilst Sir R. Peel was engaged in trying to form a government. They were responsible for the disturbances; it was they who had given the watch-word, "Agitate! agitate! agitate!" and when the flood had placed them in office, they expected that then the proud waves would be stayed.

Parliament thus broke up after an excited and angry session, in which great questions had been agitated without any satisfactory adjustment, and the popular movements in the kingdom and in Ireland were once more exposed to the impetus of party leaders and their passions.

The supposed animosity of the Conservatives to the queen was seized upon by Mr. O'Connell, as an occasion for noisy declarations of excessive loyalty and devotion. "He could get in a moment five hundred thousand men to defend our young and lovely queen." At Bandon, he called on his hearers to hold up their hands for the queen: "There are hearts in those hands," quoth he: "if needs were there would be swords in them." Late in the year Mr. Bradshaw, M.P. for Canterbury, made a speech at a Conservative meeting, in which he assailed the queen and the ministry in language which he disavowed or modified, although he admitted he had alluded to the growing unpopularity of the sovereign; and Lord Hill had to administer a severe censure to Colonel Thomas and officers of the 20th regiment, who were present at a banquet, at which it was alleged most disrespectful language was used towards the queen.

It cannot be denied that the case of Lady Flora Hastings, which excited commiseration for an ill-used lady, created an unfavourable impression, which only fuller experience of the virtues of the sovereign altogether dissipated, and there was an uneasy feeling in the country, which was not without its influence on the popularity of the government.

It was high time, indeed, that her majesty should have by her side one on whose affectionate sympathy she could lean for support, and on whose wisdom and judgment she could rely. The sagacious and affectionate uncle to whom the queen owed so many years of happiness, Leopold, king of the Belgians, had early conceived the idea of a marriage between the second son of the Duke of Coburg, his eldest brother, and her majesty; and the young prince's grandmother, Augusta, duchess of Coburg, had spoken of a union between him and "the little May flower," her grandchild, whilst they were yet children. Her majesty tells us that there were six competitors for the position of prince consort. The elder brother, the present duke, was more favoured by his father than the second son; Duke Ernest of Wurtemberg was strongly supported by persons near the throne; Prince Alexander of Orange had been the chosen candidate of William IV.; and the present duke of Cambridge, then Prince George, was also spoken of. The claims of Prince Adalbert of Prussia, were made the subject of correspondence, which has been published. The duke of Coburg had come over with his son on a visit to England, in May 1836, and the impression which it was desired to produce on the princess's mind in favour of her cousin was made on that occasion, but the object of the invitation had not been communicated to either. The Princess Victoria attained her majority on the 24th May, 1837; and it was then understood between the king of the Belgians, and his niece, that the marriage should be regarded as decided upon, but no formal intimation was made of it.

In March 1838, the king of the Belgians spoke to his nephew, and found he only desired to have some assurance that, after waiting three years or so, as it seemed probable owing to the queen's wishes on the subject he would have to do, the queen would ratify their engagement. The queen tells us "she bitterly repented the delay which did ensue, as a worse school for a young girl, as one more detrimental to all natural feelings and affections than the position of a queen regnant at eighteen without experience, and without a husband to guide her," could not be imagined. Educated politically by Lord Melbourne, the queen was in danger of becoming, as a German writer says, the slave of a small aristocratic clique. "She was impressed with the idea that she was only queen of the Whigs, not to say of a particular faction of the Whigs then in power, instead of being the queen of the entire people." *

On the 10th of October, Prince Albert and the duke of Saxe Coburg arrived in England, and proceeded to Windsor Castle on a visit to the queen, with whom the duchess of Kent always resided; early in the preceding month the public were informed by the press that her majesty's marriage with that prince had been resolved upon. Her mother was of opinion that "she should not marry till she is much older." Lord Melbourne, however, did not at all oppose the project. On the contrary, four days after the prince's arrival at Windsor, the queen told him, as she relates, she had made up her mind to marry her cousin; and he said "he was very glad of it, for a woman cannot stand alone for any time in whatever position she may be." Next day the queen spoke to the prince on his return from hunting, and "he received the offer," says her majesty, "without any hesitation, and with the warmest demonstrations of kindness and affection." The marriage was arranged to be celebrated after the meeting of parliament in the year following.

On the 23rd of November, the queen communicated to the privy council assembled in Buckingham Palace, her intention in these terms:—

"I have caused you to be summoned at the present time, in order that I may acquaint you with my resolution in a matter which deeply concerns the welfare of my people, and the happiness of my future life. It is my intention to ally myself in marriage with the Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. Deeply impressed with the solemnity of the engagement which I am about to contract, I have not come to this decision without mature consideration, nor without feeling a strong assurance that, with the blessing of Almighty God, it will at once secure my domestic felicity, and serve the interests of my country. I have thought fit to make this resolution known to you at the earliest period, in order that you may be fully apprized of a matter so highly important to me and to my kingdom, and which I persuade myself will be most acceptable to all my loving subjects."

At the request of the privy councillors her majesty's declaration was ordered to be made public, and the intelligence was everywhere received with much satisfaction.

The general assembly of the church of Scotland once more came into collision with the civil courts The presbytery of Strathbogie, by a majority of seven ministers to four, had admitted Mr. Edwards to the living of Marnoch, despite the order of the assembly not to do so. Dr. Candlish moved the suspension of the seven ministers till they submitted

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* Baron Stockmar's "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 3-9.

to the assembly, which after debate was carried by a large majority in the general assembly on the 11th of December. The Strathbogie presbytery protested and appealed to the Court of Session, which granted an interdict against the entry of the ministers appointed by the assembly, and thus began an arduous and heated contest.

At the close of the year occurred the petty insurrection known as the "Frost riots," the chief actor being a linen draper named Frost, in Newport, Monmouthshire, who had been some time previously made a magistrate by Lord John Russell, notwithstanding strong remonstrances. From that office he was, however, summarily dismissed. The plan of insurrection adopted at a convention of deputies, held near Blackwood, was to assemble on the night of Sunday, the 4th of November, in three divisions at Risca, and march into Newport at midnight, when a general attack was to be made on the troops; and the non-arrival of the mail was to be a signal to those in their counsel at Birmingham, that a general rising throughout the north was to commence. The first, under the direction of Frost, was to meet at Blackwood; Zephaniah Williams, a publican, was to lead his men from Nant-y-glo; while the third contingent, under William Jones, a watchmaker, was to march from Pontypool. Frost carried out the part allotted to him, but was not supported by Williams and Jones. He, however, marched his men, to the number of five thousand, upon Newport. The mayor, Sir Thomas Phillips, took all the precautions that were possible: special constables were sworn, thirty soldiers were sent into the town, and occupied the part which would probably prove the point of attack. The insurgents entered the town in two divisions, united at the market-place, demanded the surrender of the town hall, were refused, and at once fired a volley into the room where the military were stationed. Sir Thomas Phillips, and some others, were wounded, but the military poured a raking discharge on the mob, which caused their complete rout. Frost and others were arrested—a special commission was sent down to Monmouth to try the rioters—they were convicted, and sentence of death passed upon Frost, Williams, and Jones, which, however, was subsequently commuted to transportation for life.

Meanwhile there were events in a distant land, to which those who valued the security of our Indian empire could not be indifferent. Runjeet Sing, the Lion of Lahore, was succeeded by a feeble son; and thus an active and able, if interested ally was removed from us at the very moment our officers in Cabul found that to maintain Shah Soojah it was necessary to occupy that province and to hold Candahar by force. A combination was going on against England in the East. The ameers of Scinde were invited to join in a league against the English. The Persian court still refused to make atonement for its injuries. Lord Palmerston made an application to Count Nesselrode, and received assurances that all Russia desired was to develop commercial enterprise, and that the two great powers should remain friends. But the Russian diplomatist added a condition, which may well be studied at the present moment: "He considered," he said, "that it was necessary to insure the two powers remaining friends, that they should not come into contact in Central Asia." The aggressive principle once set in action in India, is not easily stayed. The rajah of Sattarah was deposed, and his state annexed; Kurnaul was seized, and another warning given to native princes of the danger of covert hostility to the British raj. In order to secure our command of the Red Sea and the coasts, a combined force, under Captain Smith of the Volage, bombarded and took Aden. Not only in India, but in America, had we frontier troubles. The undefined boundary between the state of Maine and the province of Nova Scotia was the cause of dangerous complications with the state legislature and local government, which threatened to compromise the relations of the Republic and Great Britain; and the aggressions of the Nova Scotians into the debatable land of Aristook provoked a threat of armed force, and led to the seizure of agents of both governments.

The Chinese authorities were again giving our merchants and representatives trouble. There were disturbances in Canton, and on the 4th of December the Chinese government declined to permit trade till the opium traffic ceased. The emperor of China would not recognise the right of foreigners to poison his subjects by selling them opium. It is no answer to say that his subjects liked the poison. The Indian government derived an immense revenue from the narcotic, which redressed the balance of trade that our demands for tea and silk would have turned much against us, and we resolved to force opium into China at the point of the bayonet.

The government prepared for the next meeting of parliament by shuffling the official pack of cards during the recess. Lord John Russell went to the colonial office, Mr. Francis Baring became chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Spring Rice was raised to the peerage as Lord Monteagle, and was provided for with the snug berth of controller of the exchequer; Mr. P. Thomson was appointed governor-general of Canada; Mr. Shiel, vice-president of the board of trade; and Mr. Macaulay, secretary of war. These changes were said to be necessitated by the retirement of Lord Howick from the ministry.

SECTION III.

When the queen opened parliament on the 16th of January, 1840, the country was prepared for the announcement from the throne of the marriage in which so much interest was taken; but the words of the speech in which her majesty's intention was formally declared were not the less eagerly listened to, and the people joined in the prayer which their young queen uttered, that the Divine blessing might prosper the union, and that it might be conducive "to the interests of my people as well as to my own domestic happiness." That prayer was heard. It may be readily conceived, that it was trying for the queen to have to make such a communication, coupled as it was with the demand for "such an establishment as might appear suitable to the rank of the prince, and the dignity of the crown."

But her composure and self-possession were conspicuous. The duke of Wellington, in concurring warmly in the congratulations of the address, moved that the word "Protestant" should be inserted before the word prince in its first paragraph, although he was quite satisfied of the fact; and after a debate, in which Lord Melbourne said he thought the insertion unnecessary and even prejudicial, as it was known Prince Albert was of a family the most Protestant in Europe, it was agreed to. In the Commons, Sir R. Inglis also objected to the omission of the word "Protestant," but there was no amendment moved. The speech from the throne contained allusions to the insubordination in the manufacturing districts, and recommended to attention municipal reform in Ireland; and the sitting was only remarkable for a powerful invective from Lord Brougham, against Mr. O'Connell and his agitation.

On the 20th of January, a bill was passed through all its stages for the naturalisation of Prince Albert, which was read three times in the Commons next day; but the duke of Wellington objected to the clause entitling the prince to take precedence in rank after her majesty, in parliament and elsewhere, Lord Brougham pointed out that, if the queen died without heirs, and the king of Hanover came to the throne, Prince Albert would have a higher rank than the Prince of Wales, heir to the throne; and finally the clause was omitted, as it was perceived the queen could grant the desired precedence by letters patent, which were issued soon afterwards. The prince, who had returned to Gotha, was invested with the Order of the Garter there on the 23rd, and left for England on the 28th. It was while he was on his journey that an incident, which created a painful impression on his mind, and caused great annoyance to the queen, occurred. It is usual on such questions for the ministers to confer with the leaders of the opposition; but Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell did not communicate with the duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel respecting the provision to be voted by parliament for the consort of her majesty. On the 27th of January, Lord John Russell, in a speech full of historical precedents, moved that 50,000*l.* a year should be settled on Prince Albert, out of the Consolidated Fund, for life, which Mr. Hume proposed to reduce to 21,000*l.* a year. The amendment was defeated by three hundred and five to thirty-eight. The eccentric Conservative member for Lincoln, Colonel Sibthorp, next moved that the allowance should be 30,000*l.* a year, and Lord John Russell, in opposing it, said he was convinced the opposition, if in power, would have proposed the same provision. This taunt roused Lord Eliot and Sir James Graham to an indignant repudiation of want of respect for the queen, which Lord John Russell had imputed to them, in the words, "When professions of due respect are made, I cannot forget that no sovereign of this country has been insulted in such a manner as her present majesty has been." Whether used designedly or not, these words seem to have deepened the spirit of resistance to the larger grant, which placed the Conservatives and advanced Radicals in unnatural alliance. The amount demanded would make the allowances of her majesty and the prince exceed, by 20,000*l.*, the civil list of William IV. and Queen Adelaide together. There can be no doubt that the conduct of the Conservative party in voting against the larger grant gave offence at court, which strengthened the personal repugnancy of her majesty to the leaders of the party, and deepened the attachment to the Whigs, which she had not hesitated to confess to Sir R. Peel. A majority of two hundred and sixty-two to one hundred and fifty-eight, carried Colonel Sibthorp's amendment, and defeated the government proposal.

The interest of the nation in the happiness of the queen was evinced in the anxiety with which they watched all the arrangements for the forthcoming marriage, and the universal and enthusiastic rejoicings which celebrated the event all over the kingdom. Although the art of the photographer was unknown—M. Daguerre's invention, indeed, was only exhibited in Paris the year before—representations on wood and stone of the young prince were multiplied and eagerly purchased, and much curiosity was manifested to learn what manner of man he was. On the 10th of February the wedding was celebrated at the Chapel Royal, St. James, in great state, in the presence of all the great nobility and ministers, and in the afternoon the Queen and Prince Albert went to Windsor. They returned to London, and made their first public appearance at Drury Lane Theatre, sixteen days afterwards, and two nights afterwards went to Covent Garden, being on both occasions welcomed by great assemblages.

A Regency Bill to constitute Prince Albert sole regent in event of the queen's death before her offspring became of age was passed, the duke of Sussex making some objection to the omission of the members of the royal family. The prince was sworn in of the privy council, and his first public appearance at the meeting of the society for the extinction of the slave trade at Exeter Hall, over which he presided on June 1st, set at rest the absurd stories which had been circulated respecting his ignorance of English, and deficiency in sympathy with questions which most moved our people. "He was nervous," writes the queen, "before he went, and had repeated his speech to me in the morning; but it was a great success, was excellent in tone and substance, well delivered and warmly received, and gave universal satisfaction."

A dispute between the House of Commons and the common law judicature, which had been growing for some time, had come to such a pass at the opening of parliament, that a direct collision was inevitable, and it was precipitated by the government. The goods of Messrs. Hansard, printers to the House of Commons, were sold by the sheriffs of Middlesex in recovery of damages gained by Mr. Stockdale in suits for libel, contained in publications of the proceedings in parliament, to which the defendants (Hansard) were ordered by the House not to appear or plead. On the 17th of January Lord John Russell moved that Stockdale had been guilty of contempt and high breach of privilege, in raising an action at law against the printers of the House, and moved that he be committed. The motion was carried by two hundred and thirty-nine to one hundred and thirty-five. Mr. Stockdale was called to the bar of the House, and committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms. Then the sheriffs of London were summoned to the bar for selling Hansard's goods, and on a motion carried, after a very interesting debate, by a large majority placed in custody. The sheriffs were ordered to refund the money levied from Messrs. Hansard. Stockdale's attorney was also placed at the bar, and, having apologised, was reprimanded by the Speaker. On the 24th of January, the serjeant-at-arms was served with a writ of habeas corpus from the Court of Queen's Bench for the sheriffs. He appeared with them in custody, and was instructed to return that he held them under a warrant from the Speaker for a breach of privilege; and the court, after argument, held that the return was good and sufficient. Stockdale began another action against Messrs. Hansard, and his attorney was committed to Newgate. The end of the Stockdale matter was, that the House of Commons successfully asserted its right to be above the law, by inflicting punishment on the officers of the law who attempted to execute it against the will of the House. The sheriffs, the successful plaintiff, Stockdale, and his attorney, were imprisoned in Newgate, or taken into custody of the officers of the House, and the court of Queen's Bench held that it was a sufficient return to the writ of habeas corpus, that the persons for whom it was sued were in custody by order of the House for breach of privilege, and that the Speaker's warrant was authority for the detention. They were discharged as an act of grace only by a motion in the House. It is obvious that if the debates in the House are to be published at all, the publication should be unattended with pains and penalties; but when the House of Commons had once pleaded in the courts of law, it would have been more becoming and constitutional to have awaited the judgment of the court. The House asserted a sovereign right which no sovereign could or would arrogate, and as the duke of Wellington put it, "claimed the privilege of being the only free libellers in the country." The petitions of the daily newspapers to be allowed the benefit of the Printed Papers Act, as far as reports of debates in the House were concerned, were, however, treated with contempt. The high handed action of the Liberal party, and their determination to place the authority of one branch of legislation over the law of the land, may be studied with advantage by those who see no use in written constitutions; and it certainly was opposed by some of the ablest statesmen and constitutional lawyers in the House itself, and excited much discussion and dissatisfaction in the metropolis and the country. Before this question was finally settled the opposition, which had now assumed an aggressive attitude, resolved to try their strength in a substantial motion. They had been waiting for a long time, and in the early part of this session the attempts to convert the discontented bands which supported the government into enemies, and to educe substantial results out of the increasing unpopularity of the administration, were vigorous and not always unsuccessful. On the 28th of January, Sir J. Y. Buller, afterwards created a peer, proposed a vote of want of confidence, principally on the ground that the ministry encouraged agitation, which, after four nights' debate, was rejected by three hundred and eight to two hundred and eighty-seven.

On the Irish Municipal Corporations Bill, there was another great party struggle. Lord Morpeth moved the second reading on the 14th of February, and carried the measure through the House in a series of pitched battles, in which the whole forces of Irish Roman Catholics, English Liberals, and Scotch Radicals, were united in support of government against the English and Irish Conservatives. A measure in a different sense, for the better registration of voters in Ireland, brought in by Lord Stanley, which met with considerable favour, and was carried against ministers in March, had to be dropped on account of the lateness of the session. There were the usual Corn Law discussions, each of which added to the ranks of the free traders.

Great efforts had been made by the Anti-Corn Law League all through the previous year to excite hostility throughout the country to the restrictions on the importation of foreign corn. Many petitions against the Corn Laws had been presented to both Houses of parliament, and, on the 18th of February, Lord Brougham moved "that they be referred to a committee of the whole House, and that evidence be heard at the bar." He enumerated the disadvantages attending the system, the danger of famine, the results of extreme fluctuations in price, and the obstacles to foreign trade. The motion was opposed by Lord Melbourne and the duke of Wellington, and was negatived without a division. A similar motion was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Villiers, who introduced it annually. Sir Robert Peel warmly opposed it, controverting the statements as to decline of our manufactures, and the motion was rejected by a majority of one hundred and eighty-nine. Up to April, 2,141 petitions, with 980,352 signatures, were presented in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws, and 2,886 with 138,051 signatures in favour of them.

The Eastern question, which assumes an infinite variety of shapes, appeared this year in one which England could easily deal with in the apparent furtherance of her best interests. The genius of Mehemet Ali, his audacity and resolution, were regarded as emanations of French influence; and the avowed desire of France to let Syria pass into his hands, gave rise to the keenest suspicions respecting his ultimate intention of converting Egypt into a French dependency, ruling the African shore of the Mediterranean, through which was our best mode of access to India, and converting it into a French lake. The policy of Lord Palmerston was founded on suspicion of France in the East, and much of the dislike which has been felt for England in Egypt must be attributed to it. Had that country been reduced to the condition of an ordinary Turkish pashalic, we certainly should not have seen the Suez Canal, to which Lord Palmerston had a fanatical objection, that was communicated by his agents in the press to the whole country; nor should we have beheld the railways, the canals, the vast activity and progress in Egypt which mark the viceroyalty of the present ruler and his predecessors. The language of the press in France, and the arguments urged by M. Guizot, her ambassador in London, did much to create an uneasy feeling in this country, and the co-operation of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, was not needed to enable our ministers to take a firm stand, and insist on the withdrawal of the Pasha's troops from Syria. The defection of the Turkish fleet, which was delivered up by the Admiral Capitan Pasha in Alexandria to Mehemet Ali, excited the anger which treachery and treason always produce in the minds of a free people, and the intelligence that the allied fleet had been ordered to the coast of Syria to co-operate with the Turks, was generally received with approval, though it excited alarm amongst the timid who feared the anger of France.

On the 15th of July, a convention was signed in London by the five great powers to propose to Mehemet Ali to accept his pashalic from the sultan, and to pay annual tribute; to withdraw from Syria, where Ibrahim Pasha was at the head of a victorious army; and to abandon his claims to be independent of the Porte. Mehemet Ali rejected the terms, and attributed his attitude to the necessity of guarding against his enemy Khosreff Pasha at Constantinople. The British fleet under Admiral Stopford, conjointly with a Turkish squadron under Walker, and an Austrian squadron under Bandiera, appeared off the coast of Syria. Beyrout was reduced by bombardment on the 7th of September, Sidon on the 27th of September, and St. Jean d'Acre was bombarded and taken by assault on the 3rd of Nov. The news that Beyrout had been bombarded arrived simultaneously with the account of a fire in Plymouth dockyard, by which three ships of war were destroyed or much injured, and caused such a panic lest France should interfere that Consols fell to 86. M. Thiers, in reply to a note of Lord Palmerston, declared that France could not consent to the execution of the decree of the sultan, by which Mehemet Ali was deposed, and stated that she regarded him as a prince vassal, who was a necessary and essential part of the Ottoman empire; but he and his ministry resigned in consequence of the king's objections to passages of a warlike nature in the speech to be delivered to the Chambers. M. Guizot and Marshal Soult formed a ministry, which, however, had to gratify thepride of France by putting into the mouth of the king words of much gravity. When Louis Philippe opened the Chambers on the 6th of November, he said that the proceedings of the allies "had imposed serious duties on him: I have the dignity of our country at heart, as well as its safety and repose." Extraordinary credits were opened "to put France into a condition of facing any chances which the course of events in the East might bring about;" but the convention with Commodore Napier signed on the 27th of November, by which Mehemet Ali consented to evacuate Syria, restore the Turkish fleet, and receive Egypt as a hereditary fief from the Porte, though disallowed by Admiral Stopford, his chief, practically led to the settlement of the question, although it did not by any means appease the irritation of France. She complained of being debarred from any share in the settlement of the Eastern question, which, Lord Palmerston retorted, was in consequence of her insisting that the question should be only settled in her own way, against the opinion of all the other powers.

The anti-English spirit, which showed itself strongly in the Paris press, could not have been allayed by the expedition of the Prince of Joinville to St. Helena, to bring the ashes of Napoleon to the Invalides; and it is not easy to say how much that act, however becoming in itself, had to do with the revival of Bonapartism and the downfall of the Orleans dynasty. Our neighbours had their own troubles. Parliamentary institutions fitted them but badly, and the king was harassed by changes of ministry. Now M. Guizot, and now M. Thiers were in the ascendant, and the latter seemed inclined to promote a policy which would bring France into direct collision with England. The very year that saw the prince of Joinville sailing, with our consent, in La Belle Poule to St. Helena, witnessed the escapade of Boulogne, where the emperor's nephew made another, and, as it appeared, more hopeless appeal to the spirit which had made such a feeble manifestation at Strasburg. An attempt by Darmes to assassinate Louis Philippe showed what depths of political violence lay beneath the surface of society. Abd-el-Kader's patriotic guerilla occasioned apprehension for the security of the much-valued settlements in Africa. The conclusion of the combined operations on the coast of Syria was regarded with a sense of relief, as the agitation in France showed more sympathy with the warlike aspirations of M. Thiers, who had asked for an army of 900,000 men, than with the peace policy of M. Guizot, who was content with 500,000, yet the latter went far more near to war with us than his predecessor, as we shall see hereafter. The fortification of Paris, which was a favourite plan of M. Thiers, was authorized by the passage of a bill through the Chamber in the spring.

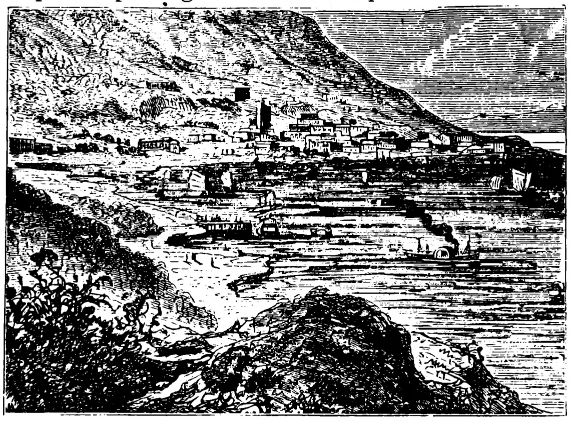
The Whig budget for the year did not permit the British parliament to entertain any delusions as to the state of the finances. Mr. Baring, who was chancellor of the exchequer, admitted a deficiency of 2,732,000*l.*, the expenditure being 49,432,000*l.*, and the income 46,700,000*l.*, and the assessed taxes were increased 13 per cent., customs and excise 5 per cent., and an additional duty of 4*d.* a gallon placed on all spirits.

In China the difficulties of conducting the opium trade, on Christian principles, were aggravated by the arrogance of the Chinese government and officials, not to speak of the mismanagement of the government at home; and the controversies which arose at the close of 1839, as the sequel of continued misunderstandings, created by the cupidity of our merchants, and the ignorant insolence of the native officials, came to a climax before the close of this year. On the 3rd of November, 1839, the Volage and Hyacinth, stationed to protect the merchant fleet at Canton, were menaced by a fleet of war-junks, which they forced to retire. The emperor of China issued an edict putting an end to our trade in December; and Commissioner Lin wrote to the queen to announce the determination of his master to execute any foreigners engaged in the opium trade, confiscate their property, and strangle their accessories, but giving one and a half year's grace to have the law made known. On the 1st of February the Canton governor received orders to seize all the English in Macao, and on the last day of the month the British shipping and gunboats were assailed by fire-junks, which were successfully evaded or destroyed. But it is to the credit of his name, although the national reputation was discredited by our policy, that the efforts of the Chinese to vindicate their right to be a nation obeying its lawful rulers and recognising the duties and obligations of an independent state, were acknowledged, and urged upon the home government, by an unfortunate and enlightened man. Capt. Elliott, addressing Lord Palmerston at the very moment when riots and violent political excesses were distracting the public peace in England, denounced a traffic (opium) "which, by the very manner of its pursuit, must every day become more dangerous to the peace of this ancient empire (China), and most discreditable to the character of the Christian nations under whose flags it is carried on."

The state of affairs in China was made the subject of a special motion by Sir James Graham, on the 7th of April. In a powerful speech, he moved that the hostilities which existed were due to the want of foresight and precaution of her majesty's present advisers, who had neglected to furnish our superintendent with proper powers and instructions; but after three nights' discussion, in which Mr. Macaulay undertook to defend the ministry, the motion was rejected by two hundred and seventy-one to two hundred and sixty-one.

The squadron which had been assembled at Singapore in April, under Sir Gordon Bremer, repaired to the Canton river, which, with the town, was declared to be in a state of siege on the 24th of June. On the 5th of July the island of Chusan was taken by the British, under Brigadier Burrell, and the capital, Tsing, had been delivered up to pillage, and all trade, except such as could be carried on by smugglers, was suspended between China and the outer world. We shall see presently what was the result of this unequal contest, in which every principle of right was arrayed on the side of China as a sovereign and independent state, seeking to prohibit the importation of a deleterious drug among her people.

There were not wanting many here who regarded the traffic with abhorrence; and Earl Stanhope presided at a large meeting in London, at which a petition to parliament against the "opium war" was unanimously adopted, but a motion in the Peers by the noble earl for an address to the crown to order the discontinuance of it was negatived without a division. The war seemed to be closed in the January of the following year, by a convention or preliminary treaty between Captain Elliot, the plenipotentiary, and the Chinese authorities, which provided for the surrender and cession of Hong Kong, a money-payment, and the opening of trade; but the emperor disavowed the arrangements, and hostilities went on, Hong Kong, however, remaining in our hands, and becoming, by proclamation, part of the queen's dominion. Thus it was that an administration which professed to make as the cardinal points of its policy the maintenance of peace abroad, an economical system in the public establishments, and the redress of popular grievances, plunged into three wars, not to speak of the alarm caused by the irritation of France, and a breach with the king of Naples respecting the trade in sulphur.



HONG KONG.

The government certainly had not succeeded in establishing peace at home, for there was much agitation—much discontent. The expressions of loyalty which Mr. O'Connell had uttered with such warmth were not considered by him incompatible with very hostile declarations against the Union; and the Precursor Society having collapsed, the Repeal Association was set on foot, and the Irish people were told by the great agitator, at a meeting of "the loyal national association" on the 13th of July, that "repeal would be accomplished within a year." The lord lieutenant, addressing the members of the Dublin corporation, just elected under the new Municipal Reform Bill, and nearly all followers of O'Connell, declared that the government considered the maintenance of the union essential to the empire, and that he felt it his duty to discountenance by all legal means the agitation of the question, withholding government favour and patronage from those who took part in it.

On the 10th of June a mad potboy, named Edward Oxford, fired two pistol-shots at the Queen and Prince Albert, as they were driving up Constitution Hill, near the Green Park. He was at once seized, and made no attempt to deny his crime. The condition of the queen deepened the resentment against the miserable creature, who seems to have been mainly actuated by the desire to gain notoriety, which influenced a brain crazed by vanity and by the influences of trashy writings. Subsequent investigation proved that he was not the agent of any conspiracy, although the organs of Mr. O'Connell did not scruple to accuse "the foul assassin, Orange Tory faction, of a deliberate attempt to assassinate the queen, and put Cumberland on the throne." Oxford was tried for high treason at the Central Criminal Court three weeks afterwards, but was acquitted on the ground of insanity, and was ordered to be confined during her majesty's pleasure. Parliament presented addresses expressive of their indignation, and heartfelt congratulation, and public bodies all over the kingdom vied with each other in the fervour of their expressions of loyalty.

Some abortive attempts were made by the government to settle the differences which were so rapidly alienating a powerful and intelligent mass of the Scottish Presbyterians from the state. The secession synod and the synod of Ulster entered into formal union, and the endeavours to soothe the disputants by acts of parliament signally failed. A bill introduced by the earl of Aberdeen for the removal of doubts respecting the allocation and admission of ministers to Scotch benefices was passed in the Lords. The court of session granted an interdict prohibiting the sentence of the general assembly from being carried into execution against the seven suspended ministers of the Strathbogie presbytery. But the government withdrew their bill, and the suspended ministers refused to appear before the general assembly. The court of session ordered the presbytery to receive and induct Mr. Edwards, and the majority of the Strathbogie resolved to obey, and after some disorderly proceedings the reverend gentleman was inducted on the 21st of January in the year following. The law appeared to triumph, but the division in the Church was complete. The ecclesiastical condition of Canada was still in need of legislation. The Clergy Reserves Bill was finally passed, after much debate, and the basis for the union of the two provinces laid, in a bill introduced by Lord John Russell, which created a House of Representatives and a Legislative Council. On the 11th of August parliament was prorogued, with the Melbourne ministry still in office. They had suffered many defeats. Even early in the year, once on a motion of Mr. Herries, respecting their financial arrangements, and again on one of Mr. Liddell, censuring them for their arrangements with Sir John Newport to induce him to give up his post in favour of Lord Monteagle, they had been subjected to hostile majorities which almost passed votes of censure upon them. In 1838 they had been beaten in twenty-one divisions, had abandoned twenty-four bills, and they had to count one hundred and seven adverse divisions since 1835; but at the close of this session they did not seem to have suffered materially in parliamentary strength.

Her majesty, who was attended in the prorogation of parliament by Prince Albert (who was made a member of the Privy Council the following month), and by the king and queen of the Belgians, delivered her speech with her usual clearness of elocution. Although the speech announced the continuance of "friendly relations with the great European powers," the disputes with Persia and China were necessarily alluded to, and the success of our arms in India was made subject of congratulation. Parliament had already thanked the governor-general and the army of Affghanistan for their zeal, vigour, and courage, and the duke of Wellington had eulogised the military sagacity and skill of the operations. Rewards followed; General Keane was raised to the peerage, Burnes and Macnaghten were made baronets. The court of directors voted their thanks to Lord Auckland, who was also elevated in the peerage; but Sir C. Forbes, one of the court, quoted the opinion of the duke of Wellington, that they should wait till they saw the troops safely out of Affghanistan before they were so profuse in laudation. This caution was but too well justified by the result. Not in India and China only were we in a state of war. Lord Palmerston persistently refused to renew relations with Persia till the shah had atoned for his evil deeds before Herat, and made amends for his subjects' insolence to our representatives; so we had three small wounds in the East open at once.

On the 21st of November, the princess royal of England, now crown princess of Prussia, and princess imperial of Germany, was born. The event was regarded with the liveliest interest and satisfaction, and the intelligence of the queen's rapid recovery, and of the royal infant's progress, was eagerly welcomed throughout the country.

Although the events which occurred on the continent were doubtless of great consequence to the nations concerned, the abdication of the king of Holland in favour of his son, and the death of Frederick William III. of Prussia, were not regarded with much solicitude here, while a quarrel with Naples, on account of the sulphur monopoly, was regarded as of far greater moment; nor did the election of Mr. Tyler, as President of the United States, cause any speculation or interest in a country to which the affairs of Canada had just given so much trouble, and the acts of American citizens so much annoyance.

There were still loud complaints in the country, and the agitation which had so long distracted men's minds was producing a mischievous effect on every branch of industry, when the queen opened parliament on the 26th of January; but the naval and military operations in the East afforded ground for the expression of satisfaction, and the army and navy once more received the thanks of parliament. The royal speech referred to the pacification of the Levant, the renewed troubles with China, and certain disputes between Spain and Portugal; recommended measures to amend the laws relating to the relief of the poor, and the administration of justice; for it is a curious fact that the English law, which Blackstone called the perfection of reason, needs reform at least once a year. In the Lords the debates on the address, to which there was no amendment, were characterised by much moderation; and some remarks of Lord Brougham, on our supposed desire for the humiliation of France, in the Eastern question, drew from the duke of Wellington a remarkable observation, which could not be very truthfully repeated at present by any British minister. "He had," he said, "done more than any man, "to place France in the position she ought to hold in the councils of Europe, and had done so from a firm conviction, which he felt now as strongly as ever, that if France were not so placed, there was no security for the peace of Europe, or for a sound decision on any subject of general policy." In expressing his high admiration of the conduct of the fleet on the coast of Syria, and of the gallantry displayed in the capture of St. Jean d'Acre, he "warned their lordships not to expect that ships, however well commanded, or seamen, however gallantly led, would be always "capable of successfully engaging with stone walls," a warning which we saw justified in the attack on Sebastopol.

The debate on the address did not close without speeches in both Houses on our relations with France, but an amendment was moved in the Commons for the purpose of enabling the opposition to attack the measures of the government, and Sir Robert Peel animadverted severely upon the omissions in the queen's speech. The state of Canada was not alluded to, the boundary question; the state of Ireland, consequent on the repeal agitation; and the war in India passed by. He regretted the altered state of our relations with France, and the prospects of war which were so apparent; he considered it to be absolutely necessary for the peace of Europe that a cordial understanding should exist between France and England. The best interests of humanity were involved in preserving it; no doubt a false notion existed in France as to the feeling of the English people; we did not wish to see her power curtailed, nor would we rejoice at her misfortunes; but it was also true that the policy we pursued in attempting to settle the Eastern question was not justified by necessity. The relative position of the Russian empire and Constantinople was peculiar. Had we refused to interfere, and were Russia as ambitious as it was said she was, might she not have taken upon herself the exclusive protection of Turkey? If she thus gained possession of Constantinople, would not the right honourable gentleman opposite urge that she should be dispossessed by force? Would it not therefore be more expedient to adopt a policy which would prevent her getting there? The co-operation of France would have been of inestimable value in settling this question; but at the same time he was not prepared to say that if four governments, acting with strict integrity, were convinced that the interests of Europe demanded active interference, they should be called upon to desist in consequence of the refusal of one power to co-operate. Were the policy of that single government permitted to prevail, it would acquire too great a preponderance in the affairs of Europe. He would therefore suspend his opinion on the convention until further information had been furnished by the government. The past history of France showed how desirable it was that that country should be treated with courtesy. Feeling this, there was one part of the proceedings which gave him serious concern. Up to the 15th of July, the day on which the treaty was signed, M. Guizot had been kept in perfect ignorance of it. His personal character, and his well-known friendly disposition towards England, required that he should be treated at least with courtesy. But what took place? The treaty was first signed, and then the fact was communicated. Sir Robert Peel protested against parliament being allowed to separate without being informed as to the progress of events—a course well calculated to undermine its authority. War should be regarded as the most mischievous of all calamities—additional taxation, waste of capital, angry passions, and many other disastrous consequences followed. No settlement of the Eastern question could possibly prove efficacious till France was a party to it. Such being the case, why not invite her interference? Sir R. Peel then referred to Marshal Soult's letter of the 17th of July, 1839, in which he stated his opinion that the preservation of the Ottoman empire should be regarded as an essential element of the balance of power, and concluded by avowing his conviction that Marshal Soult and M. Guizot, of all other men, would shun an unnecessary conflict with England, and expressing his hopes that their efforts would prove successful in preserving peace, and rescuing France and England from the calamity of renewed hostilities. These expressions of the leader of the opposition had the best influence, and did much to allay the angry feelings with which Lord Palmerston's vigorous policy was regarded in the French capital, but did not strengthen the position of the ministry at home.

Abroad our influence was waning, and the economical administration of the admiralty had notoriously reduced the strength of the fleet to such a point that any untoward event in the Mediterranean might have found us unable to cope with France. But the ministry were not to be deterred by the increasing might of the opposition from their persistence in the path of retrenchment, although they were not responsive to the cries of the enthusiasts who had got up among the clouds, and called on them to follow, and found a kingdom of Utopia.

On the 10th of February, the christening of the princess royal was solemnised with great state at Buckingham Palace. The duke of Wellington represented the duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha as sponsor, the other sponsors being the queen dowager, the duchess of Gloucester, the duchess of Kent, the king of the Belgians, and the duke of Sussex. The queen dowager named her royal highness, Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa. The ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Norwich, and the dean of Carlisle, and a magnificent silver-gilt font filled with water from the Jordan, was used in the rites of baptism.

The trial of the earl of Cardigan by the House of Peers, on the 16th of February, for fighting a duel with Captain Tucker, caused considerable excitement throughout England. The rank of the prisoner—the trial by his peers, and the fact that more than half a century had passed since the occurrence of a similar case—lent great interest to the proceedings. At noon, Lord Denman took his seat on the woolsack, and, after prayers were read, the clerk of the crown delivered the commission to the Lord Speaker, which was read, as also the writ of certiorari, the case having been removed from the Central Criminal Court on the report of a committee of the Lords, and then the record of indictment. The sergeant-at-arms then made proclamation that the gentleman-usher should bring to the bar James Thomas, earl of Cardigan, who approached, made three reverences—knelt down, rose again, made three more reverences, and returned to his place. On being asked whether he was guilty, and how he would be tried, he said, "Not guilty," and "by my peers;" to which the sergeant-at-arms replied, "God send your lordship a good deliverance." The facts were stated by the attorney-general, Sir John Campbell. The meeting took place at Wimbledon on the 12th of September. The first fire was ineffectual; on the second, Captain Tucker was wounded. The miller who owned the ground arrested the prisoner, who was brought before the magistrates at Wandsworth, to whom he said, "I have fought a duel, and hit my man, but I believe not seriously;" and on being asked whether the person he fought was Captain Reynolds, he replied, "Do you think I would condescend to fight one of my own officers?"

Sir William Follett, who defended the prisoner, relied upon the failure to identify the person wounded by his client, and the Captain Tucker named in the indictment. Strangers were then ordered to withdraw. The Lord High Steward addressed the House, stating his opinion that the prisoner should not be called upon to enter on his defence, but that a verdict of acquittal should be forthwith pronounced. Strangers were readmitted. The Lord High Steward, commencing with the junior, called each peer by name, and asked whether he thought the prisoner was guilty or not guilty. "Not guilty, upon my honour," was the reply of each. The Lord High Steward then announced the result: "James Thomas, earl of Cardigan, you have been indicted for a felony, for which you have been tried by your peers, and I have the satisfaction of declaring to you that their lordships have unanimously said, 'Not guilty.'" The duke of Cleveland, however, added the word "legally." Lord Cardigan then retired. Proclamation was made for dissolving the commission. The white staff was delivered to the Lord High Steward, who, holding it in both hands, broke it, and declared the commission dissolved. Very soon afterwards the name of Lord Cardigan was again brought to public notice. The case of a private of the 11th Hussars, who was flogged on a Sunday by order of the colonel, was made the subject of strong observations in and out of parliament, and led to a censure from the Horse Guards to Lord Cardigan, and to the better observance of the Sabbath in the service.

It would be difficult to determine exactly the causes which led to the growing unpopularity of the Melbourne administration; but it may be safely assumed that the apprehension felt by the landed interest for the security the Corn Laws had hitherto given to their revenues, the alliance between them and the Irish liberals under O'Connell, the results of their foreign policy, and a general desire for change, were among the influences which strengthened the opposition, and reduced the number and constancy of their own followers. It may be observed that when events and the force of public opinion tend towards any great change, those who are opposed to it seem for a time to be masters of the situation. They turn out a ministry, they march victoriously over the field, and grasp the reins of power, but presently they are compelled either to introduce the change which has now become a reform, and to abandon the principles they professed to maintain, or to retire from office and leave to their adversaries the task of doing that which they have resisted. Doubtless the latter course is that which is most consistent with the integrity of public life and the utility of party in a state: the former does credit to the candour of those who are convinced by argument, but is always liable to the suspicion that the attractions of place have had a share in the conversion. Soon after the meeting of parliament the ministry suffered a defeat on a motion of Mr. Cresswell, respecting the claims of British subjects against Denmark, dating from the time of the old war. They succeeded in carrying the second reading of Lord Morpeth's Irish Registration Bill by a majority of five only in a House of five hundred and ninety-three members. The opposition was led on this occasion by Lord Stanley, and for three nights the Irish policy of the government was assailed and defended with the greatest vigour and acrimony, but deadly amendments carried in committee gave the measure its deathblow, and it was withdrawn towards the end of April.

A measure for the repeal of the civil disabilities of the Jews passed the Commons, but was rejected in the Lords. On the 30th of April, Mr. Baring introduced his budget, which exhibited a deficiency of 2,421,000*l.*, viz., expenditure, 50,731,266*l.*, income, 48,310,000*l.*, which he proposed to meet by alterations in the sugar duties, by reducing the duty on foreign sugar and on timber. These alterations would only yield 1,300,000*l.*, but the chancellor of the exchequer intimated that Lord John Russell had propositions to make which would cover the balance. Mr. Baring's budget was in fact only a feeler to prepare the way for Lord John Russell, who, above all things admired boldness, and was given to political coups d'état. The noble lord rose accordingly on the same night, and gave notice he should move that the House resolve itself into a Committee to consider the Acts relating to the trade in corn. Although some measure of the kind was expected, the House was taken by surprise at the moment. The Anti-Corn Law meetings had been numerous, and the agitation against the laws no doubt considerable, but if physical force could be made a test of public opinion, the Chartists, who successfully disturbed these meetings, were much more numerous and influential. But there were up to May, 1607 petitions signed by 474,448 persons presented against, and only 540 petitions, signed by 30,904 persons, presented in favour of the Corn Laws. The budget, which was but part of the ministerial plan, was not allowed to pass into the form of resolutions. There were especially many objections raised to the plan of Mr. Baring for dealing with sugar and timber. On the 6th of May, Lord Sandon moved that, considering the efforts and sacrifices of the country for the abolition of slavery, the House was not prepared to adopt the proposal of government to reduce the duty on foreign (i.e., slave-grown) sugar. The motion led to a great party debate, which lasted for eight nights, and, on the 18th of May, Lord Sandon's motion was carried against the ministry by a majority of thirty-six in a house of five hundred and ninety-eight members; but when Lord John Russell, after Lord

Sandon's amendment had been carried, proposed, as if nothing had happened, that the sugar duties should be continued for a year, Sir Robert Peel stood up, and in an attitude which showed that he knew the hour of triumph had come, gave notice of a resolution "That her majesty's ministers do not sufficiently possess the confidence of the House of Commons to enable them to carry through the House measures which they deem of essential importance to the public welfare, and that their continuance in office under such circumstances is at variance with the spirit of the constitution." Lord John Russell further announced that he intended to propose a fixed duty on wheat of eight shillings; on rye, five shillings; on barley, four shillings and sixpence; and on oats, three shillings and sixpence a quarter. He encountered in this policy not only the hostility of all the landed gentry, but the anger of the disappointed manufacturers; for it was a compromise which the latter would not accept, and the former were ill-advised enough to reject. Besides, it was too late. The only proper and becoming course for any government to follow after such a defeat on a cardinal question of their financial policy as that they were subjected to on the budget was to have resigned. Sir Robert Peel saw both the fitness of the principle and the time for applying when he gave the notice of want of confidence. On the 27th of May, he moved his resolution, in a speech of extraordinary ability, and, after a most animated debate, in the course of which Mr. Disraeli said of Sir R. Peel: "When in power he has never proposed a change which he did not carry, and, when in opposition, he never forgot that he was at the head of the great Conservative party. He has never employed his influence for factious purposes, and has never been stimulated in his exertions by a disordered desire of obtaining office; above all, he has never carried himself to the opposite benches by making propositions by which he was not ready to abide;" it was carried, on the 4th of June, by a majority of one—three hundred and twelve, to three hundred and eleven. The government were thus in a minority once more, and Lord John Russell stated that he did not propose to give any notice respecting a change in the Corn Laws. On the 7th of June, he announced the ministry had advised the queen to dissolve, and that government would lose no time in summoning a new parliament. The supplies were granted for six months without opposition. The prorogation took place upon the 22nd of June, the dissolution next day, and writs were issued for a new parliament to meet on the 19th of August.

The general election was looked forward to with great interest. The Conservatives had visibly increased in numbers and strength, their ranks being recruited by many who, hitherto identified with the Liberal cause, felt that the exigencies of the time required a strong government. The conduct of the Whigs had alienated many of their supporters. The clergy placed no confidence in their intentions; the landed interest looked with suspicion on a ministry that had shaken the Corn Laws; the mercantile classes were incensed by attacks on our West Indian and Canadian interests in sugar and timber. The course adopted by the Whigs in seeking support was suggestive of their conviction that they had hitherto failed in keeping their promises. They did not revert to what they had done, but relied solely on what they would do. The Conservative party rested their case upon the single issue that their opponents had forfeited the confidence of the people. The first great struggle was in the election for London, hitherto the stronghold of the Liberal party. Four Conservatives offered themselves as candidates—Mr. Lyall, Mr. Masterman, Mr. Wolverly Attwood, and Mr. Alderman Pirie—two Liberals and two Conservatives were elected; Mr. Masterman being at the head of the poll, and Lord John Russell, with a scant majority of seven over the third Conservative candidate, at the foot. This was a disheartening blow to the Liberals, and was quickly followed by most signal defeats in the county elections. The defeat of Lord Morpeth in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and of Lord Howick in Northumberland, were strongly significant of the temper of the country. Mr. O'Connell was defeated, and two Conservatives, Mr. West and Mr. Grogan, were returned in Dublin. In Westminster, a seat regarded as sacred to Liberalism was taken from Sir De Lacy Evans, and given to Captain Rous. The returns showed a result far more favourable to the Conservative interest than was anticipated, and the fact of Sir Robert Peel commanding a strong and efficient majority in the coming session was regarded as accomplished. Lord John Russell, in returning thanks for his election, thus summed up the results: "In the English cities and boroughs there is a small majority in our favour. In the Scotch cities and boroughs a very decided majority in the same way. In the Irish boroughs and counties there is also a majority in favour of the policy of the present ministers. In the Scotch counties the majority will be the other way, and in the English counties that majority will be overwhelming." Referring to the reforms his party had carried when in power, "None of them," he wrote, "received the hearty assent of the main body of our opponents; to several they offered a violent and persevering resistance. But truth triumphed over them, and will again. Returned to office, they may adopt our measures and submit to the influence of reason, or, if they refuse to do so, they will be obliged to relinquish power; and the monopoly of trade will share the fate of religious intolerance and political exclusion." On the 19th of August, the Commons unanimously elected Mr. Lefevre as Speaker; the new session of parliament was opened on the 24th by commission. The queen's speech, having referred to the gratifying nature of our relations with foreign powers, announced the final accomplishment of the treaty of the 15th of July, 1840, between England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia; regretted that the negotiations with the Chinese government had not yet been satisfactorily concluded; and requested the attention of parliament to the debt incurred by Upper Canada for public works. The extraordinary expenses lately incurred for the protection of her possessions rendered it necessary to consider the means of increasing the public revenue in a manner that would prove least burdensome to the people. In dealing with this question, it might be inquired whether the principle of protection had not been carried to an extent that might prove injurious to the income of the state, as also to the interests of the people.

"Her majesty is desirous that you should consider the laws which regulate the trade in corn. It will be for you to determine whether these laws do not aggravate the natural fluctuation of supply, whether they do not embarrass trade, derange the currency, and by their operation diminish the comfort and increase the privation of the great body of the community." The days of the Melbourne administration were numbered. On the same evening amendments on the address, equivalent to votes of want of confidence, were moved in both Houses, which were eventually carried by a majority of seventy-two in the Lords on the same night, and of ninety-one, in a House of six hundred and twenty-nine, in the Commons on the 28th of August at 3 A.M.

The government could now hold office no longer, for the days had passed when the personal feelings of the monarch could keep ministers in power against the will of parliament. Lord John Russell moved that a committee of the opposition should draw up the address in answer to the speech. On the 30th of August, Lord Melbourne announced the resignation of ministers, and next day Sir Robert Peel was sent for and entrusted with the task of forming a new government. The new writs for the seats rendered vacant by the assumption of office were moved for on the 8th of September, and the House adjourned until the 16th, but in no instance did the Liberals seriously dispute a return. Sir Robert Peel met the country with a powerful majority, and with a government including men of the very highest ability, who had been for some time out of power, at his back. The duke of Wellington was leader in the House of Lords without office (minister without portfolio). Lord Lyndhurst became lord chancellor of England; Sir James Graham, home secretary; Lord Stanley, colonial secretary; Mr. Goulbourn, chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Ripon went to the board of trade; Sir H. Hardinge became war secretary; Mr. Gladstone, vice-president of the board of trade; Mr. Herbert assumed charge of the admiralty; Lord de Grey was appointed lord-lieutenant, and Sir E. Sugden lord chancellor of Ireland. The premier gave an early intimation that he intended postponing the statement of his financial policy to the following session, at which there was considerable dissatisfaction. Great complaints of distress were made by the manufacturing members; inquiry was urgently demanded; but when ministers were pressed on the subject of their intentions, the duke of Wellington frankly stated that he did not, at present, propose to make any alteration in the Corn Laws. Resolutions, authorizing the funding of subscriptions to exchequer bills in the three per cents., were carried in the Commons, but no measure of importance was introduced or discussed. On the 7th of October parliament was prorogued, with the sobriquet affixed to it of "do nothing" by the opposition, which was now composed of all classes of reformers. In truth, it may be said the art of government at this particular period lay in the political strategy which avoids collision with hostile masses, and defers the evil day of combat as long as possible. Although there were many questions which threatened the government, none menaced its existence as long as it could be staved off and subjected to management at a distance, but many might prove dangerous if the government had to pronounce an opinion for or against them. In Scotland, the schism which had been made in the dry wood of the church, was extending deep and wide, and the agitators, or the Non-intrusionists, led by such chiefs as Dr. Guthrie, showed that the old spirit of Puritan independence and indomitable theological conviction burned as fervently as in the days when James Guthrie was led to the Grass Market to die for the faith. At a time when internal dissensions respecting the relations of church and state were rending the Church of Scotland, a converted Prussian Jew, who had been protected by Bunsen, and favoured by the king of Prussia as the restorer of Israel in Jerusalem (which was under the Turkish government), was consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury, and licensed by the queen as bishop of a see embracing Syria, Chaldæa, Egypt, and Abyssinia—a bishop very much *in partibus infidelium* indeed—though protected by England and Prussia. Whatever troubles there were in store for state or constitution at home, there was every reason to be content with the aspect of foreign affairs, as the great danger which impended from the Eastern question to the public peace was allayed by the success of the allies. In the further East, a contest which was for a long time inevitable, in consequence of the pride and jealousy of an ancient people opposed to the cupidity and commercial enterprise of a great civilised power, had been begun and ended very speedily, for the means of enforcing obedience to the commands of the court of Pekin against our merchants, were not equal to the agencies the latter could influence in their favour.

The progress made in arranging our difficulties with China by force of arms was, to all appearance, satisfactory. As Chusan proved to be pestilential, it was resolved to abandon the island and take possession of Hong-Kong. The operations against Canton commenced: but it was after a while evident that the Chinese were only desirous of gaining time to put themselves in a state of defence, by their polite reception of our pacific overtures. And as the imperial commissioner refused to accede to our demands, hostile proceedings were renewed in January, by a brilliant attack, by the fleet under Bremer, on the Bogue Forts, which were soon reduced. Just as the commodore was about to attack the fort outside the city, the Chinese sent off a flag of truce and reopened negotiations; and on the 20th, plenipotentiary Elliott issued a circular announcing the conclusion of preliminary arrangements for a treaty of peace with China. The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded to England, an indemnity of six million dollars to be paid, and the trade of Canton to be opened up. The emperor of China, on the very same day, issued an edict ordering the extermination of the English foreigners who approached the celestial shores, and subsequently disavowed the treaty, and hostilities were consequently resumed early in February. But it is to be said that the Chinese were resolved on carrying out the emperor's edict if they could. They fired on our boats in the river, which led to an attack on their forts on the 26th of February, by the squadron under Senhouse. The batteries were silenced in an hour, and taken, and Bremer forced his way gallantly up the stream, and anchored within sight of Canton on the 5th of March. Once more the Chinese temporised, and, as they stated there was no government authority to treat for peace in the city begged for delay, which Captain Elliot accorded, and requested the admiral to stay his advance. On the 17th of March, they fired once more on our flag, and next day the force occupied the British factory at Canton. A truce was agreed upon till the Chinese could hear from Pekin, but they collected troops and threw up defences, and as there could be no doubt of their ultimate object it was resolved to anticipate them, and preparations were made for a regular advance upon Canton. Sir Hugh Gough was in charge of the troops, and the fleet was commanded by Sir F. Senhouse. On the 21st of May a splendid advance was made by the combined forces, which was crowned with complete success, all the outworks being taken and held by our troops; but on the 26th, as the troops were about to make the assault, the impetuous general received, to his great disgust, a notification that hostilities were to cease, as the Chinese authorities had made proposals to pay six millions of dollars, to make compensation for damages, and to yield other points, which Captain Elliot considered satisfactory, but which were certainly not approved of by the commander-in-chief.

Not a word was said in the convention about "opium," the teterrima causa belli. There was an outcry raised by the Chinese traders and by the merchants at home, before they knew that the treaty had not been carried out, and had been denounced by the emperor; and almost as soon as the news of these early successes reached England, there was an outburst of dissatisfaction to which the government of Lord Melbourne yielded at once, and Sir Henry Pottinger was despatched as plenipotentiary in May, and Admiral Parker was sent out to supersede Sir Gordon Bremer.

The first act of the ambassador was to issue a proclamation announcing that his primary object was to secure a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of the war. A large fleet was collected. Operations were renewed with vigour, and on the 26th of August the city of Amoy was assaulted and taken. Chusan fell on the 1st of October after a feeble resistance; Ningpo was occupied without a shot; but the war still went on. The Chinese, though beaten again and again, and always with fearful loss, did not yield to our demands; and it was not till November in the following year that the merchants of London and Liverpool were rejoiced by the news that a treaty of peace had been finally negotiated.

From the progress of the opium war in China the attention of the nation was soon to be diverted by a great and unexpected, if not undeserved disaster.

We have seen how Shah Soojah was seated on the throne of Cabul, and Dost Mahomed was in exile; but in November of the previous year (1840) that crafty and gallant old chief surrendered to Sir William Macnaghten, and claimed British protection. Although there was still agitation on the frontiers, the signs of the times were so deceitful, that no one was prepared for the terrible calamity which we have now to narrate. The unhappy mistake of one of our officers, who attacked a small fort in Affghanistan, and put the garrison to death under the idea that they were enemies, whereas they were warm adherents of Shah Soojah, exasperated the warlike Ghilzies, and doubtless contributed to the intensity of that hatred which found a terrible outlet in the time of our trouble. Dost Mahomed, after his surrender to Sir William Macnaghten, seemed content with his position. The power of the old combination against us appeared to be utterly destroyed; but in reality there were fresh combinations, not of states or of men, but of events and of circumstances preparing themselves, which were about to cause us great reverses.

The court of directors having restored Shah Soojah to his throne, found it was necessary to protect him on it against his chiefs and unwilling subjects. They warned the India Office that to attempt to do this by a small force, or the influence of any British resident, would be "unwise and frivolous;" declared they would prefer to such a policy the entire abandonment of the country, and a frank confession of failure, and demanded either a speedy retreat or a large increase of force in Affghanistan; but these counsels, given a full year before the outbreak, did not meet with due heed.

A British force, left to assist our protégé in restraining the disaffected at the capital, was stationed in a position which, in a military sense, indicated an affectionate reliance on the good-will of warlike and treacherous tribes whom we had enraged by interfering with their quarrels, and by the vendetta caused by the destruction of that Ghilzie garrison by Major Lynch, already mentioned. The conduct of the Indian government evinced an utter ignorance of the political and military exigencies of the situation. At a moment when it was of the utmost importance to conciliate the savage and warlike tribes, they reduced the subsidies hitherto accorded to them, and brought about an instant guerilla on their hands which closed up the passes. The chiefs, who refused to acknowledge Shah Soojah, took the field; and in October 1841, just as winter was setting in, their levies gathering around the Tezeen Pass threatened to close it, and cut off the communications with British India. Major-General Sir Robert Sale was despatched by General Elphinstone, who was in command of the forces in Affghanistan, with the 13th Light Infantry and the 35th Native Infantry from Cabul, to force the Khoord Pass, and disperse the bands of the Ghilzie chiefs gathered at Tezeen. They entered the pass on the 12th of October, and continued fighting their way to Gundamuck, which was reached on the 30th of the month. On the 12th of November, they entered the ruined fortress of Jellalabad, and commenced to repair the walls. The strong garrison which was placed at Jellalabad seemed to render it secure, and as yet there was no ground for much fear of disaster. Ghuznee was held by our troops, but the difficulties experienced in the October of the previous year in forcing the Khoord Cabul Pass do not seem to have carried their full import to those charged with military functions.

Our envoy, Sir William Macnaghten, had indeed, with a blindness which makes us doubt if his position and reputation were quite deserved, written but a few weeks (August 29) before the gathering of the clans, to say that a more solid foundation had been laid for tranquillity than had ever been dreamt of, and that a brigade could be dispensed with to supply the place of troops returning to India. Four weeks afterwards (October 26) he recommended that mountaineers should be armed and drilled to take the place of regulars. But there was no time given by our enemies for the execution of such a project. On the 2nd of November, a rising occurred in Cabul itself. Sir A. Burnes was attacked in his house by the mob, and, together with his brother, Lieutenant Burnes, and Lieutenant Broadwood, was brutally murdered, and our troops were obliged to take refuge in the Bala Hissar, or citadel, where they were at once invested by the Affghans, who seized the commissariat. Their supplies were cut off. Those who know what marvels have been wrought in India by bold and skilful men cannot be restrained by commiseration for the fate of those who fell, from expressing the belief that British officers on this occasion displayed a want of the qualities which might have saved them and the reputation of the country. Sale could give no help from Jellalabad, and no effort was made to escape from Cabul till it was too late. When the events at Cabul were made known to Lord Auckland on the 3rd of December, he wrote to Sir Jasper Nicolls to announce that in "the extreme event of the military possession of that city and the surrounding territory having been entirely lost, it is not our intention to direct new and extensive operations for the re-establishment of our supremacy throughout Affghanistan." He also wrote to Sir W. Macnaghten a despatch which foreshadowed "the possible occurrence of still more serious disasters" than the difficulty of which he had knowledge up to the 9th of November, but could only "trust to an over-ruling Providence, and the energy and perseverance of the troops for safety." The roads, indeed, were blocked by snow and vigilant enemies; and meantime the besiegers, or rather the investing multitude, made offers to negotiate, and these General Elphinstone eagerly urged Sir W. Macnaghten to accept. On the 24th of November he wrote to the envoy: "After having held our position here for upwards of three weeks in a state of siege, from the want of provisions and forage, the reduced state of our troops, the large number of wounded and sick, the difficulty of defending the extensive and ill-situated cantonment we occupy, the near approach of winter, our communications cut off, no prospects of relief, and the whole country in arms against us, I am of opinion that it is not feasible any longer to maintain our position in this country, and that you ought to avail yourself of the offer to negotiate which has been made to you." On the 26th of November, Akhbar Khan, one of the foremost of the Affghan chiefs, again sent in proposals for the safe conduct of the British out of Affghanistan; but his conditions were not acceptable; the negotiations were broken off, and the investment was pressed with greater energy. There was no prospect of help. Men's hearts failed them, because they had no confidence in their leaders. On the 9th of December, Macnaghten writing to Mr. Erskine, says: "We have now been besieged thirty-eight days by a contemptible enemy, whom the cowardice of our troops, and certain other circumstances which I will not mention, have emboldened to assume an attitude of superiority. Our provisions will be out in two or three days more, and the military authorities have strongly urged me to capitulate. This I will not do till the last moment. We have rumours that a force is coming to our assistance from Candahar; and I sincerely trust it may, for we have no energy or spirit among those here." Grave words these, and we fear not unmerited. The end was approaching. On the 11th of December a convention was entered into between the envoy and the Affghan chiefs, by which the British agreed to evacuate Affghanistan, Candahar, and Ghuznee. Shah Soojah was to be deposed, Dost Mahomed released, pledges given that no British troops should ever again be sent to Affghanistan, unless at the request of the people. Supplies were to be at once furnished to the troops, but delays occurred in carrying out the convention, apparently that the Affghans might complete preparations for our destruction. A trap was laid, into which the political agent fell blindly; and sorrow for his duplicity must be added to the humiliation we feel in reading the details of this story. Pretended emissaries from Affghan chiefs came to Sir W. Macnaghten to treat for the seizure of the leaders with whom he had signed the convention, and for the surrender of the citadel to our troops. He actually signed a paper agreeing to these proposals, which was at once placed in their hands as full evidence of his duplicity. That duplicity may have been excusable in the mind of the envoy because he had no faith in the execution of the convention already agreed upon with the chiefs; but the act was damaging to our reputation, and reduced us, in regard to public morality, to the level of Asiatics. To carry out the Affghan plot thoroughly, it was next proposed to have a conference outside the cantonment with Akhbar Khan, to which Sir W. Macnaghten, with a small escort and a few officers, Trevor, Mackenzie, and Lawrence, repaired on the 23rd of December. Almost immediately on his arrival at the spot he was surrounded by armed men and seized. His escort was fired upon—he, resisting the efforts of Akhbar Khan to force him on horseback, was murdered by that chief or his followers, and his officers, except Trevor, who was killed, were carried into captivity, from which they speedily escaped. It was with such a warning of what he had to expect that General Elphinstone, on the

27th of December, made a new convention with the Affghan chiefs. He agreed to march out of Affghanistan, leaving all his guns, except six, all his treasure (fourteen lacs) and hostages, in the hands of his enemies. The disgraceful treaty was signed on the 1st of January by Elphinstone. On the 6th of January, 1842, he led his force, consisting of four thousand five hundred fighting men, and twelve thousand camp followers, with many women and children, out of the town of Cabul, and prepared to face the horrors of the Khoord Pass. There is a winter of Alpine severity in these regions, and there was then an intense cold which paralyzed the native troops. The snow lay deep on the ground. The 44th regiment, which was the only British element in the garrison, had suffered severely from sickness, and was not in very good case. As soon as the rear of the long column had cleared the city, the Affghans gathered on their flanks, and began to fire on them. The first acts of hostility ought to have left no doubt of the intention of the enemy, and should have induced General Elphinstone to have preferred a pitched battle to a retreat. He had precious lives in charge, he had the honour of our army in his keeping; but he was an invalid, and he failed at a supreme moment. The Khoord Cabul pass is about ten miles from the city, and is five miles long. The Ghilzies were already in possession of it. A scene of dreadful confusion and slaughter took place, and in the midst of it an attempt was made to appeal to the honour and fine feeling of the Affghan chiefs. Akhbar demanded the surrender of Pottinger, Lawrence, and Mackenzie as hostages, and promised to do his utmost to restrain the Ghilzies. The hostages were given up, but the massacre continued. Three thousand perished in that pass, where the snow was charged with blood. Once more the column, if it can be called so—a string of terrified people, penned in by the walls of the narrow pass, which were crested with armed hordes pouring in a pitiless fire on the hapless mob—wound on its bloody way in fast diminishing numbers. Akhbar Khan appeared on the scene, and Lady Sale, Mrs. Trevor, and Lady Macnaghten were delivered into his hands as hostages, and thus escaped a dreadful fate. On the night of the 10th of January, the column—what was left of it—was still twenty-two miles from Jugdulluck. They made a desperate attempt to reach it by a forced march, but at dawn they were still ten miles from that doubtful haven. The enemy were on them at once. The column resumed its march and the attack was renewed. General Elphinstone was detained soon afterwards, and, with Brigadier Shelton, carried into captivity, in which he died. The Khyber Pass was speedily the scene of a hopeless massacre. Of the sixteen thousand five hundred men who started, only some three hundred reached Jugdulluck. They went no farther. The Affghans were insatiable. On the 13th of January the sentinels on the walls of Jellalabad saw a weary horseman riding over the plain. It was assistant-surgeon Brydone, who, exhausted and wounded, came to announce that he was the sole survivor of the British army. The news of this awful catastrophe flew through every bazaar in Hindustan. The glory of our raj was tarnished. The whole of Affghanistan was in arms. The mountain tribes rose on all sides, and Sir A. Sale was soon closely invested in Jellalabad. The ameer of Bokhara, who had previously seized Stoddart and kept him close prisoner, placed Conolly, who had gone to procure his release, in prison. These two British officers were subjected to torture in a long captivity, and the ameer put them to a cruel death, a crime which is unavenged to this day. On the 1st of March, Colonel Palmer, in blind obedience to orders from Cabul, surrendered Ghuznee. He was exposed to outrage and insult by the perfidious Affghans to whom he capitulated, and the garrison were attacked and plundered and murdered on their march. But, fortunately, there were in India skilful and gallant soldiers to vindicate our prowess and our name. Lord Auckland, before he left India, had made preparations to retrieve our disasters, which were developed with energy by Lord Ellenborough, his successor, who landed in Calcutta on the 28th of March. An army was assembled under General Pollock, with a splendid contingent of trained Sikhs, under General Avitabile, to re-enter Affghanistan, relieve our garrisons, and punish the authors of such great misfortunes. Lord Ellenborough informed the commander-in-chief that we must chastise the Affghans even though we had supported an unpopular king. When the fatal convention with Akhbar Khan was signed, orders were sent to General Nott to evacuate Candahar, but he had not executed commands which he rightly suspected to be given under compulsion. On the 10th of January he was attacked, but he routed the Candaharees, and setting his troops in motion, followed up his success in a number of vigorous actions, and ravaged and subdued the whole province. General England, who had been ordered to move to Nott's assistance with four thousand men through the Bolan Pass, was not so fortunate. On the 28th of March he received a severe check at Hykulzie, apparently from want of proper conduct, and fell back upon Quettah. It is an illustration of the narrowness of our military policy that, instead of taking the best men in the Crimean war, we seemed to forego the enormous advantages of placing generals of capacity in command merely because they were "Company's officers," and that we put General England at the head of a division of the British army. A force, under Brigadier Wilde, sent in advance of Pollock, who was detained at Peshawur by the sickness of his troops, failed to force the Khyber Pass; but Pollock's British, and Avitabile's Sikhs, entering it on the 6th of April, fought their way through in constant actions. On the 9th of April their columns debouched into the plains, and on the 16th came in view of the walls of Jellalabad. Nine days before Pollock had thus cleared the jaws of the pass, Sale and his famishing garrison made a sortie, which had the most signal success. He fell on the Affghans like a thunderbolt, on the morning of the 7th of April, took camp, standards, guns, everything, routed them utterly, and raised the siege at one blow! But the gallant Dennie, who was the soul of this great exploit, fell on the field he had won. Amidst great rejoicing Pollock's army entered Jellalabad, the defence of which must ever take a high place in the roll of great deeds with which history must credit our army in India. Akhbar Khan, whose character presented a combination of chivalry and savagery, not unusual among Affghan chiefs, delivered up his prisoners and hostages untouched, with the exception of General Elphinstone. Nott, having thoroughly asserted our supremacy in Candahar, was directed by Lord Ellenborough to advance in the direction of Jellalabad, whilst Pollock moved upon Cabul. He left his cantonments on the 8th of August. He retook Ghuznee on the 5th of September, destroyed the famous citadel, and, in compliance with the orders of the governor-general, brought away the club of Mahomed of Ghuznee from his tomb, and carried away the famous gates of the temple of Somnauth which were placed at its entrance. He continued his march, and soon afterwards effected his junction with Pollock, who on the 20th of August began his advance on Cabul, routing with ease the Affghans who ventured to dispute his progress, and inflicting on them a final and bloody defeat at Tezeen on the 8th of September. He reached Cabul on the 15th of September, the British flag flew once more over the Bala Hissar and the walls of the ill-omened capital of Affghanistan. There remained now little for Pollock to do except to leave in Affghanistan immortal memories of our vengeance. Shah Soojah we could not restore; he had been assassinated. The Indian government, however, had resolved that the policy of interference and occupation in these wild provinces was *ultra vires.* Pollock prepared for a leisurely evacuation of these treacherous and sinister regions which should leave ruin behind it. The town of Istalif was stormed and burned by General M'Casklil on the 29th of September; and deeds were perpetrated there and elsewhere which tarnished the fair fame of the conquerors. It was on the 12th of October that the united armies set out from Cabul, which they laid waste by fire and gunpowder, so that the greater part of the city was left but a heap of smoking embers. Their route lay over the skeletons of their fallen comrades. Jellalabad was levelled with the ground. The track of our army was marked by a broad trail of smoke; fire rained upon the land, and the memory of that vengeful march endures there to this day. The sandal-wood gates of Somnauth were carried off by the conquerors into Hindostan. On the 3rd of November Pollock reached Peshawur, and three days later the rear-guard under Nott emerged from the pass, England's retreat from Quettah through the Bolan Pass not being harassed by the enemy. On the 19th of December, on the plain of Ferozepore, the united armies were reviewed by Lord Ellenborough.

When Affghanistan was evacuated, the governor-general issued the following extraordinary proclamation, in which he showed that he was more anxious to emulate the style of barbaric Asiatic conquerors than to suit the notions of the British parliament:—

"My Brothers and my Friends,—Our victorious army bears the gates of the temple of Somnauth in triumph from Affghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Mahmoud looks upon the ruins of Ghuznee. To you, princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwarra, of Malwa, and Guzerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful war. My brothers and my friends, I have ever relied with confidence upon your attachment to the British government. For myself, identified with you in interest and in feeling, I regard with all your own enthusiasm the high achievements of that heroic army, reflecting alike immortal honour upon my native and upon my adopted country. To preserve and improve the happy union of our two countries is the constant object of my thoughts. May that good Providence, which has hitherto so manifestly protected me, still extend to me its favour, that I may so use the power now intrusted to my hands as to advance your prosperity and secure your happiness, by placing the union of our two countries upon foundations which may render it eternal."

In another proclamation, dated "Secret Department, Simla, 25th October, 1842," Lord Ellenborough announces that all the Affghans then in the power of the British government should be permitted to return to their own country, and that the Affghan chiefs thus released were, before they passed the Sutlej, to present themselves at the durbar of the governor-general in his camp at Ferozepore.

It is true that we re-entered Affghanistan and proved our power and our vengeance, but after all the result was not in our favour. In effect we gave the Affghans a triumph; for we were obliged to abandon our pretensions to impose a ruler on the chiefs and people. The massacre of the troops, which the duke of Wellington described as the most lamentable sacrifice of life he had ever heard of in a British force, was a far greater victory to them than our destruction of mud-walled towns and bazaars was a humiliation. Disguise it as we might, the destruction of a British column and the capture of its general were terrible blows to the prestige of the British arms. They shook the belief of Hindostan in our invincibility. The retreat from Cabul was more than a mere reverse.

It was indeed a dreadful disaster. The British envoy did not hesitate to stigmatise the cowardice of the troops as one of the causes which enabled the Affghans—"a contemptible enemy" he styled them—to assume an attitude of superiority, and he scarcely excluded the military authorities who urged him to capitulate from the same opprobrium. Of General Elphinstone's part the less said the better; but men felt it was well he did not survive the events for which he was responsible. It is a noteworthy circumstance that Lord Ellenborough, who was appointed governor-general towards the close of 1841, made a speech at the East India Company's dinner at the date of the outbreak, of which the news did not reach England till some weeks after, in which he declared he intended to govern on peace principles, and abjured all thoughts of a warlike administration of affairs in India. We have just seen how circumstances forced him to adopt the very opposite policy. The events in Affghanistan at first produced a depression not exceeded by that which fell on the nation when the Indian mutiny was at its worst. But on the 22nd of November, ere the armies of Pollock and Sale had crossed the Sutlej, the news came to London of the recapture of Ghuznee and Cabul, of the safety of the prisoners, and of treaty of peace with China; and there was a corresponding reaction which, however, was restrained from excess by the recognition of our inability to command good generals and unvarying success.

There were indeed at home and abroad trials to test the capacity and firmness of the new ministry; the distress of the manufacturing classes, the uneasiness and despondency of the agricultural interest, Irish discontent, the controversies between church and state, the chartists, the corn-law agitation—these and cognate troubles at home combined to put all the powers of administrators and statesmen to the proof. Our relations with France were not such as to afford guarantees against a sudden war on any slight pretext, the tone of the United States government was not friendly, and on the back of these foreign difficulties came the campaign in India—the sudden grief and agony of Affghanistan—and the war with China.

We had other wars which scarcely occupied a thought. There was one with the stout Dutch boers of Natal, in which they gave a drubbing, on the 4th of May, to Sir H. Smith; but on the 26th they were beaten, and Port Natal was occupied. Then the English colonists, who were taking possession of land sold to them by the New Zealand Company, were set upon (on 16th June) at Cloudy Bay, Wairoo, by the owners, as they said they were, of the soil, and nineteen settlers, including Captain Wakefield, Captain England, and Mr. Thompson, magistrate, were murdered. Later in the year we blockaded Nicaragua, and no one very much knew why or wherefore, except a few old clerks in the Foreign Office, and a smaller number of active young naval officers.

The two provinces of Canada were united on the 10th of February, but Lord Sydenham did not live to see the results of the measure, as he died of a fall from his horse in the following September. The heat which had been produced by the collision of parties on Canadian topics had cooled down; but there was much trouble caused by predatory association called "Hunters' Lodges," composed of Americans, which the president of the United States denounced in a proclamation. Controversies not easily determined, and evil passions not readily to be appeased, still vexed the two governments, and retarded the establishment of order in our dominions. Among the irritating matters between the two countries was the case of the brig Creole, which was sailing from Virginia to New Orleans with a cargo of slaves and tobacco, when the slaves rose, killed the owner, imprisoned the crew, and took the vessel into Nassau, where the British governor set them all free except the actual murderer of the owner—and this was also the subject of a compromise. The excitement concerning the frontier question in the United States abated as time wore on; and although the arrest of Mr. McLeod, a British subject, on a charge of murder, arising out of the destruction of the Caroline, created much irritation, the verdict of not guilty concluded, by an American jury, his trial in such a way as to evade a very serious embarrassment; but it was considered desirable to come to a definite understanding with the American government on the boundary question, the suppression of the slave trade, and the extradition of criminals, Lord Ashburton was named as special commissioner for that purpose, and was completely outwitted by the eminent statesman who represented the United States, Mr. Daniel Webster.

Among the *causes célèbres*, that of "Bogle *versus* Lawson," which took place during the year, is entitled to take high rank. It was simply an action of libel brought against the "Times" newspaper; but the facts were so strange, and the extent to which commercial interests were involved so enormous, that it became a matter of great public interest. In May 1841, a letter was published in the "Times," stating that a great "forgery company," which had been established some time on the continent, had burst; and that the object of the company was to plunder continental bankers by forged letters of credit purporting to be signed by Messrs. Glyn, Halifax, Mills, and Co. A list of the conspirators was given, and in it appeared the name of Allan George Bogle, the plaintiff. The *modus operandi* was remarkable for daring and ingenuity. The plot was concocted in Florence, where the principal agents were then residing. The marquis de Bourbel, the first of these, had been an attaché to French embassies in Portugal and Copenhagen, was a man of the most winning manners, a cultivated linguist, a duellist, gambler, and roué. Mr. Cunningham Graham, of Gartmore, a scion of an ancient family in Scotland, had squandered his estates, and fled the country many years before. Though he had not the varied acquirements of De Bourbel, he possessed one which was of the utmost value—as a line engraver he was matchless. These two master minds were much thrown together, and, in concert, drew the outlines of the scheme. They were joined by Bogle, the plaintiff, who was step-son to Graham, and partner in a highly respectable firm of bankers in Florence; "Bogle, Kerrich, and Co." In 1839 De Bourbel went to London, and sought his friend Baron d'Arjuzon, a ruined gambler, to whom he unfolded his purpose. A genuine letter of credit of Glyn, Halifax, and Co., and a quantity of the peculiar paper on which these letters were engraved, were procured. Copper plates were sent to Graham, who traced on them the signature of Glyn, Halifax, and Co. His work was a triumph of mechanical skill, and success was felt to be certain. The 20th of April was fixed for commencing operations. The agents were d'Arjuzon and his mistress, a Mr. and Mrs. Pipe, the son of Graham, a M. de Paindry, and T. Perry. Each of the seven conspirators started to one of the principal cities in Europe, armed with the forged circular letters, to present them simultaneously. So considerable was their success, that in a few days a sum of 10,700*l.* was realised. By a sheer accident two of the conspirators were arrested on board the steamer leaving Ostend for London. Their depositions revealed the plot; Bogle was seriously compromised by their disclosures, but De Bourbel and Graham managed to escape. Bogle, on the 30th of June, 1840, commenced his action for libel. To this the defendants pleaded justification, and took upon themselves the onerous task of supporting that plea. The difficulties in obtaining evidence of Bogle's complicity soon became apparent, and it was necessary to send a confidential agent to the principal cities on the continent for the purpose. That duty was undertaken by Mr. Dobie, the solicitor to the defendant, and the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, with one farthing damages; the judge refusing to certify, and leaving each party to pay his own costs. The fact was thus established, the only pecuniary sufferer was the journal, which, by publishing the existence of the plot, put commerce on its guard, broke up the conspiracy, and saved hundreds of thousands of pounds. The merchants and traders of London, and of several continental cities, felt this so strongly, that they subscribed a sum of 2,700*l.* to present a testimonial to the "Times." This was accepted on condition that it should perpetuate the memory of the trial and benefit the community. Two scholarships were founded for Christ's Hospital, and the City of London School to Cambridge and Oxford. It is worthy of observation that within the last few months an attempt at plunder, vastly exceeding the above in magnitude, and organised with equally consummate skill and ingenuity, was frustrated by the energetic interference of the same journal. The grand scheme of the New York and San Francisco Commercial and Mining Company has been aptly described as "standing unparalleled for simple audacity of conception." But for a time it succeeded beyond the most sanguine hopes of its promoters; not only were the simple English likely to be gulled, but the bait had been swallowed in anticipation by the clever Californians. Fortunately for both, but more so for the former, the "Times" interfered. The "subject" was carried to its operating table and dissected by its writer; alarm was created, and the bubble burst under the pressure of unprejudiced inquiry. Thirty millions sterling of capital were asked for, and no doubt would have been subscribed, had it not been for the energetic interference which instigated an inquiry, that conclusively showed the diamond-bearing district had been "salted" so lavishly with precious stones, that numbers were found in places where nature could never have deposited them. No legal punishment was carried home to the prime movers in this vast conspiracy. The commercial world received another shock by the detection of an immense fraud in exchequer bills by a clerk in the office; but the forger was tried and sentenced to transportation for life.

The following results were given by the Census for this year.

Population.—Males, 7,321,875. Females, 7,673,633. Total, 14,995,508, showing an increase of population since 1831 of 14·5 per cent.

Thus in ten years of great trouble, change, agitation, and adversity, the nation had grown by nearly two millions of souls. The distress in the manufacturing districts, which was so great in some places as to throw the mass of the people on the rates, must have lowered the ratio of increase. In Leeds, out of 20,000 dependent on work, 16,000 were unemployed in the month of October.

At twelve minutes before eleven o'clock, on the morning of the 9th of November, 1841, the prince of Wales was born. On the announcement of the birth of the prince the nobility crowded to the palace, and the lord mayor proceeded there in state. The park and tower guns announced the joyful event, and great rejoicings in London and the provinces celebrated the birth of an heir male to the throne. A form of thanksgiving, prepared by the archbishop of Canterbury, was read on the 14th in all the places of worship throughout the kingdom, and the event gave general satisfaction.

On the 25th of January, the prince of Wales was christened in the royal chapel, St. George's, Windsor. The foreign ambassadors and ministers, knights of the Garter, and officers of state assembled in the Waterloo Chamber, and the ceremony was performed with much splendour by the archbishop of Canterbury there, at the close of a glittering procession. On their return, the queen held a chapter of the order of the Garter, when the king of Prussia was elected a knight commander, as a lineal descendant of King George I. A grand banquet was subsequently given in St. George's Hall. The visit of the king with the illustrious Humboldt in his train; the laying of the foundation stone of the Royal Exchange by the prince consort; the festivities at Windsor, scarcely attracted attention in the turmoil of parties the contests between the freetraders and chartists in the large towns were not always confined to wordy arguments.

The session was opened on 3rd February, by the queen in person, and the presence of the king of Prussia, who had come over to stand as godfather to the prince of Wales, gave additional éclat to the ceremony. The birth of the prince of Wales was alluded, in her majesty's speech, to as an event which had completed the measure of her domestic happiness, but she knew well that a sovereign's personal content does not secure or measure the well-being of her people. The queen had to express her regret that for several years past the annual income had been unable to bear the public charges, and that distress, borne with exemplary patience and fortitude, still continued in the manufacturing districts. The consideration of the laws relating to importation of corn was recommended to parliament. These phrases did not deal with the question which really occupied every mind, or the issue which caused thousands of people to flock to Westminster to hear how the premier was going to settle the disputes between manufacturer and agriculturist. The address was agreed to in both Houses without serious opposition, and Sir R. Peel announced that he would introduce his Corn Law scheme six days later. The country was under the influence of the Anti-Corn-Law agitation, which had been renewed with great vigour in the autumn, and now extended to the capital. It was necessary for the police to prevent the Anti-Corn-Law delegates from taking possession of the lobby of the House. The ministerial proposals were introduced by Sir R. Peel, on the 9th of February, 1842, in a speech of consummate ability, complete in form, order, and clearness, which was listened to with breathless interest.

He proposed a duty of twenty shillings a quarter when wheat was at fifty-one shillings, gradually descending to one shilling till wheat was at seventy-three shillings, and a similar principle was to apply to other grain. That was his whole plan, the "sliding scale," as it was called. But it was set out with consummate tact; though it could not be made palatable, the draught was beautifully labelled. The landed gentry were shocked. They could not or would not read or see the signs of the times. Sir R. Peel was the chosen leader of the Conservatives. He had been considered a staunch Protectionist till the paragraph in the queen's speech excited suspicions. He was still believed in by many as their only champion against the enemies of church and state, and the old constitution. But his proposals for a modification of the sliding scale were neither agreeable to his own supporters, who desired no change, nor to his opponents, who were for a sweeping measure. A compromise like this was not acceptable to protectionists, and it was still less so to those who demanded the total abolition of all duties. Mr. Cobden denounced it as an insult to the country. Lord John Russell, on the 14th of February, moved that, considering the evils caused by the present Corn Laws, and especially by the fluctuation of the graduated or sliding-scale, the House was not prepared to adopt the proposals of government, which were founded on the same principles and likely to be attended by the same results. The noble lord, who was answered by Mr. Gladstone, made sharp criticisms on the scheme of his successful rival; but on a division, there were three hundred and forty-nine for, and two hundred and twenty-six against, the resolution. An amendment of Mr. Villiers for the total abolition of the Corn Laws, which led to a stormy debate, was not more successful. The news of the rejection gave increased impetus to the Corn-Law-League, and to the agitation. Sir R. Peel was burnt in effigy; but the bill passed through committee on the 5th of April; and although Lord Melbourne, Lord Brougham, and others opposed it in the House of Lords, no substantial change was made in the provisions of the measure. On the 11th of March, Sir Robert Peel propounded his great plan of fiscal reform to a crowded House. The Income Tax was his *cheval de bataille*, the reasons which the premier had for introducing this impost, which has sat upon us for more than thirty years, were thus stated. No one could entertain any doubt as to the extraordinary difficulties experienced in framing a measure of finance for the year. They were more than usually formidable: Sir Robert Peel found no surplus reserve at his disposal, but, on the contrary, an ascertained deficiency of 2,570,000*l.*, together with contingencies in China and India; and these were difficulties not caused by sudden and perhaps temporary pressure, but by a steadily increasing decline in receipts. Consequently, a bold, comprehensive, and substantial remedial measure was required. He did not shrink from stating the actual circumstances of the country, but proved that the probable deficiency on the two years ending the 1st of May would reach 4,700,000*l.* The question arose, how was this deficiency to be met? The miserable expedient of continued loans could not again be resorted to; nor ought the labouring classes to be burdened by the taxation of the necessaries of life. Should, then, the old taxes be renewed? The charges of the Post Office, for instance? the tax on salt? leather? wool? Surely not; for on faith of their abolition important contracts had been entered into. Would a tax on locomotion answer? He, for one, would be loth to tax the means of transferring the labour of those whose only capital was labour. As to obtaining an increased revenue from decreased taxation, it might be very true in the abstract, but as a fall of revenue generally took place afterwards, and lasted for a considerable period, a mere reduction of duties would be a sadly inadequate measure. He proposed an income tax not to exceed seven pence in the pound, and not to be applicable to incomes under 150*l.* a year. It was intended that Ireland should eventually subscribe her quota if necessary, but for the present it was thought that she should be exempt; at the same time an additional duty of one shilling might be placed on spirits, and an equalisation of stamp duties to those in England be arranged. Regular absentees from Ireland should pay the property tax as in England. The aggregate amount receivable would be about 4,380,000*l.* so that there would be a considerable surplus, which would be applicable to relaxing the commercial tariff. Sir R. Peel's main principles were the removal of prohibition, and the reduction of duties on raw materials; the total diminution on the deductions would be about 270,000*l.* The right honourable baronet concluded with an earnest appeal to the House to support untarnished the name which the English nation had inherited from their forefathers, and which they had maintained in this country throughout a protracted war and twenty five years of peace. In concluding, he expressed his hopes that in three years the income tax might be dispensed with. His first resolution to grant a duty on Irish spirits, was agreed to. The leading members of the Whig party, however, including Earl Grey, Mr. Baring, and Lord John Russell, opposed these measures in committee, and urged that there was no necessity for the Income Tax, but there were some exceptions to Liberal dissatisfaction. A tax of sevenpence in the pound on all incomes except those of occupiers of land, threepence-halfpenny in the pound on occupiers of land, and equalisation of certain stamp duties were carried. Lord John Russell charged Sir R. Peel with overrating the difficulties of the country, and proposing a tax to keep ministers in office. The debate continued for four nights. Mr. Macaulay argued that there was no deficiency to justify the tax. Lord Stanley adopted Mr. Roebuck's description of the measure as "honest, direct, and straightforward." Mr. O'Connell argued for a property tax as opposed to an income tax. Sir J. Graham declared that ministers would stand or fall by the proposed measure of taxation, it being one "to bear upon the rich and powerful, and to spare the humble and poor." Lord John Russell's amendments were negatived by a majority of ninety-seven, and the bill was read first time in committee. The 5th of April, 1842, was the day fixed for the tax to commence. On the 30th of May the third reading was carried by a majority of sixty-nine—one hundred and thirty to one hundred and ninety-nine. On the 21st of June the bill was read a third time in the Lords, and passed. The continuance of the sugar duties for another year was also carried by a large majority. Meantime the depressed condition of trade, manufactures, and the general suffering of the country excited serious apprehensions, and gave full play to the agitation against the retention of any duties on the importation of corn. The advocates of repeal, led by Mr. Villiers, were not deterred by repeated defeats and by the success of the government, from urging the question on the reconsideration of parliament; but their efforts were impeded by the chartist movement, which had taken an almost exclusive hold on the masses of the town populations. A monster petition for the Six Points, purporting to be signed by 3,317,702 persons, was presented on the 2nd of May, and a motion was made by Mr. Duncombe that the petitioners be heard at the bar of the House, but it was rejected by two hundred and eighty-seven to forty-nine.

A royal letter to the archbishop of Canterbury authorized a collection for the working classes, and a fancy dress ball was given by the queen for the benefit of the trade of the metropolis.

The employment of women and children of tender years in factories was brought before the House of Commons by Lord Ashley, in an able speech, which convinced the House and the country that legislation was necessary, and laid the bases of most beneficial and humane measures on the subject; but the Liberal party were not in favour of such interference with the law of contract.

The patience of thousands of distressed operatives was so remarkable, that Sir Robert Peel more than once alluded to it in terms of highest praise; but the real power to deal with the question which mainly occupied the minds of the masses was passing out of the hands of statesmen, and the Anti-Corn-Law League, guided by the intelligence of Mr. Cobden, and animated by the eloquence of Mr. Bright, exercised an enormous influence over the nation, and gradually arrayed political parties into two great divisions—Protectionists and Freetraders—and speedily became the most active, powerful, and influential political association seen in England for many years.

The bribery which was said to have prevailed at recent elections was largely discussed during the session; the disclosures before the committees certainly revealed an unprecedented extent of corruption, and startling and novel phases in bribery. On the 6th of May, Mr. Roebuck prefaced a motion for a committee of inquiry by putting formal questions to the members for Reading, Nottingham, Lewes, Penryn, and Harwich. He asked Lord Chelsea whether he was cognizant of, or party to, any arrangement to accept the Chiltern Hundreds, and vacate his seat, although he had been declared duly elected by the select committee. Lord Chelsea refused to answer "so unreasonable a question." A similar question was put to Mr. Charles Russell, who also declined to answer. Then to Captain Plumridge, who said that he was not cognizant of such an arrangement until it had been made, that it did not please him, and that he thought it premature. Sir J. Hobhouse, Mr. Attwood, and Major Beresford refused to answer; Mr. Elphinstone said that he was no party to the agreement entered into before the committee, and did not intend to take the Chiltern Hundreds. An amended notice was subsequently agreed to, that as corrupt practices had been alleged to exist in Reading, Nottingham, Harwich, Lewes, and Falmouth, a select committee should be appointed to inquire into their truth. The inquiry proceeded with closed doors, and at the end of July the report was presented. On the 28th of July, Mr. Roebuck, in consequence of the facts set forth in that report, moved that no further writ should be issued by the Speaker for those towns till further legislative enactments had been passed, in order to preserve purity of election. After a lengthened discussion the resolutions were negatived, but the investigation produced some practical results. The chancellor of the exchequer became suspicious of the motive which actuated members in asking for the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, and declined to give it, so that a member who had bound himself under pecuniary penalty to resign his seat could not do so. The writs for the delinquent boroughs were suspended for a considerable time, but eventually all were issued except that for Sudbury. Lord John Russell introduced a measure, not so much to impose additional penalties on bribery as to bring to light bribery that was already committed. The first part of the bill facilitated disclosures of bribery before committees, the second was directed to prevent corrupt compromises. In cases where an entire borough was declared guilty of bribery, it should be disfranchised. The necessary machinery for the purposes of effecting the disfranchisement having been introduced into the bill, it was passed, and obtained the royal assent.

But while the legislature was occupied in purifying the representation, the chartists were active and vigorous. The condition of the people in the manufacturing districts was calculated to excite the apprehension of those who know that suffering is the precursor and cause of political discontent and of crime, and the pressure of the rates reduced the town populations to the dead level of misery of those whose want of work threw them on public charity. The spinners and weavers of Staleybridge struck work, and turned out the hands in Ashton, Oldham, and Manchester; all over the North there was a reign of intimidation and violence for more than a fortnight; at Preston and at Burslem the military fired on the rioters, killing and wounding several. Remedial measures were demanded by public meetings. The trade delegates assembled at Manchester added to the alarm and distress by promulgating demands which tended to make them the employers of their masters. These they subsequently moderated, but the Executive Committee of the chartists took occasion of the lamentable loss of life in collision with the military, to issue placards inciting to open insurrection. "Englishmen" were told they had made the cast for liberty, and must stand the hazard of the die. "The blood of your brothers reddens the streets of Preston, and the murderers thirst for more." Mr. Fergus O'Connor, whose extravagance of language and action were not then assigned to the real cause revealed in the later days of his life, gained a popularity among the chartists by his very violence, which leads us to doubt if they were much under the influence of reason. He was arrested for inciting to sedition. The government, under the advice of the duke of Wellington, who was gazetted as commander-in-chief in succession to Lord Hill, acted with energy and prudence, taking every means to allay irritation, and avoid the display of force, but concentrating troops in the agitated districts; and special commissions were opened at Stafford and in Lancashire, for the trial of those engaged in the riots. The government issued warrants to open the letters of the suspected leaders of these disturbances, and many of these were arrested, and were subsequently convicted before a special commission. In Ireland agitation had assumed the proportions of a contest with authority, in which the latter was hourly yielding. The Repeal Association had more control over the people than the *de facto* government. Mr. O'Connell and the priests worked in harmonious action, and preached in and out of the press on the text that moral force was the sole agency on which they relied to gain a repeal of the Union, whilst their practice was to assemble enormous multitudes of people, and inflame their passions by the recital of past wrongs, and their vanity by laudations of their physical strength and heroic qualities. In England the chartist agitation had gained ground, and was deeply-seated in all the large towns and manufacturing communities, and the league for the abolition of the Corn Laws was extending rapidly among the commercial and industrial classes.

Before parliament was prorogued, the House of Lords gave judgment, affirming the decision of the court below, in the celebrated Auchterarder case. Lord Campbell, a Scotchman of Scots, rebuked the appellants with his usual vigour. "Since the days of Thomas à Becket, there never had been a claim set up in England to be above the law. The Scotch Roman Catholic Church had never, as far as he was aware, claimed a higher privilege than the English Roman Catholic Church. The Scotch Church of this day was a church established by law, and must, therefore, act according to law. A church which did not so act, ceased to be a church established by law, and became not the church of the state conjoined with the state, but a mere sect in the country in which it existed." This was quite in consonance with the declaration of Sir James Graham, that the ministers intended to insist on obedience to the law, and to see that the Veto Act of the general assembly did not prevail over the law of the land, but it was also a challenge which was hotly and largely accepted. Parliament was prorogued by the queen in person on the 12th of August, before the news came of the treaty of peace with China, or of the terrible operations in Affghanistan, and the most significant paragraph of the speech was that in which the hope was expressed that when the members of both Houses returned to their counties, they would do their utmost to encourage, by example and exertion, that spirit of order and submission to the law, without which there could be no enjoyment of the fruits of peaceful industry, and no advance in the course of social improvement. It was a proof of the queen's confidence in the loyalty of her Scottish subjects, or of the sagacity of her ministers, that the visit to the ancient kingdom, so long neglected in the way of kindness by the rulers of England, was made when the people were in the midst of a religious agitation of great intensity. On the 29th of August, the Queen and Prince Albert embarked at Woolwich, landed at Granton on the 1st of September, and proceeded to Dalkeith Palace; but the public reception was marred by imperfect arrangements, and the queen made a second progress through Edinburgh on the 3rd of September, when she had an enthusiastic welcome from vast multitudes who flocked from all parts of the North. The beauty of the scenery, and the facilities for indulging in the sports of mountain, moor, and river, to which Prince Albert was much attached, produced the natural desire to obtain a residence in the Highlands, which was subsequently gratified; and her majesty has recorded in simple and touching language the pleasure she felt in that happy visit of fourteen days, which led to such a memorable change in the habits of royalty.

There had been, as our readers may remember, shots fired at the Queen and Prince Albert by the pot boy Oxford, who was acquitted of the capital charge on the ground of insanity, and was confined in a lunatic asylum in 1840. Since that time her majesty had been exposed to the ludicrous persecution of a crazed youth, who haunted the palace, and became known to the public as "the boy Jones", who had at last been quietly got rid of; but the present year was marked by the occurrence of two serious attacks on the life of the sovereign. Shortly before six o'clock, on the afternoon of the 30th of May, her majesty was returning to Buckingham Palace, down Constitution Hill, in a barouche and four, accompanied by Prince Albert. A man who had been leaning against the wall of the palace garden suddenly drew and fired a pistol. So close was the discharge, that Colonel Wyld, who rode alongside the carriage, had his face blackened by the smoke; but the queen was unharmed, and apparently unconscious of her danger. Prince Albert saw and pointed out the man, and he was immediately seized, and was recognised as John Francis, son of a machinist in Covent Garden theatre. A meeting of the privy council was held, and the prisoner was examined privately. It was known that on the previous day a pistol had been presented by a man at the queen, and her majesty was warned of her danger, but she determined on going out as usual, unaccompanied by the ladies-in-waiting, whom she did not wish to expose to risk. The intelligence of this new outrage filled the capital with alarm, and both Houses adjourned in much excitement. On the afternoon following the attempt, a great concourse of people assembled before the palace gates. Her majesty, Prince Albert, and the duchess of Saxe Meiningen, left the palace at the usual hour in an open barouche and four. A great public demonstration took place as the queen passed. In the evening the royal party went to the Italian Opera, and were received with the most loyal demonstrations of attachment and of thankfulness. Francis was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death on the 17th of June, but the sentence was commuted to transportation for life. The public were a few weeks later alarmed and incensed by the intelligence of another outrage against the person of the queen, the true intent of which can scarcely be determined.

At noon on the 3rd of July, the Queen, Prince Albert, and the King of the Belgians, were proceeding from Buckingham Palace to the chapel royal when a deformed youth presented a pistol at the carriage. A person named Dasset seized and handed him over to the police. They, however, let him go. They soon saw their error, and sent circulars to all the stations. The result was the arrest of John William Bean, the son of a working jeweller, residing in Clerkenwell. He was committed for trial and was found guilty of a misdemeanour.

The year 1842 was not, on the whole, prosperous, and although the domestic felicity of the queen had no alloy, there was much to justify alarm in the state of the empire.

The distress and depression which darkened the prospects of the nation in the course of the previous year were aggravated, in 1843, by a decrease in agricultural produce, and inactivity in our manufactures. Parliament was opened by commission on the 2nd of February. The royal speech made reference to the termination of the Affghanistan and China wars, the settlement of disputes between Turkey and Syria, and the completion of a treaty of commerce with Russia. Regarding home matters, her majesty regretted "the diminished receipt from some of the ordinary sources of revenue. She fears that it must be in part attributed to the reduced consumption of many articles, caused by the depression of the manufacturing industry of the country which had so long prevailed, and which her majesty has so deeply lamented. In considering, however, the present state of the revenue, her majesty is assured that you will bear in mind, that it has been materially affected by the extensive reductions in the import duties which received your sanction during the last session of parliament, and that little progress has been hitherto made in the collection of those taxes which were imposed for the purpose of supplying the deficiency from that and other causes. Her majesty feels confident that the future produce of the revenue will be sufficient to meet every exigency of the public service." The address in answer to the speech was carried in each House without a division. The earl of Auckland and Lord Ashburton spoke in the Upper House in defence of the policy they had respectively pursued in India and Canada.

On the 2nd of February a debate on Lord Howick's motion for a committee of the whole House to consider the reference in the queen's speech to the long-continued depression of manufacturing industry was continued nightly from the 13th till the 17th, when the motion was rejected by three hundred and six to one hundred and ninety-one votes. Mr. Cobden spoke with great animation. Taunting ministers with being freetraders only in the abstract, he asked, "Why do they not carry their principles into effect? The right honourable gentleman, the vice-president of the board of trade, admits the justice of the principles of free trade. He says that he does not want monopoly; but then he applies these just principles only in the abstract. Now I do not want abstractions. Every moment that we pass here which is not devoted to providing for the welfare of the community is lost time. I tell the honourable member that I am a practical man; I am not an abstract member, and I ask what we have here to do with abstractions? The right honourable gentleman said that the system continued for centuries, and cannot now be abandoned. If the attorney-general be in the house, and I hope he is, what would he say to such a plea in an action of trover? Would he admit the plea? Would he say, 'I know that you have right and justice on your side in the abstract; but then the unjust possession has been for so long a time continued that it cannot be at once abandoned?'" Defending the League from attempts made in the House of Lords to connect it with "an almost maniacal transaction" (the murder of Mr. Drummond, the secretary of Sir R. Peel, by an insane person named Macnaughton), Mr. Cobden characterised the language used by Lord Brougham as "the ebullition of an ill-regulated intellect, rather than the offspring of a malicious spirit." He asked Sir Robert Peel what he meant to do, with capital melting away, pauperism rapidly increasing, and foreign trade declining. Everybody saw that he must adopt some change of plan, and it was the duty of every independent member to throw on him the individual and personal responsibility of the present state of affairs—a responsibility, of course, arising from his position. He had the privilege of resigning office. Sir Robert Peel, in some excitement shared by the House, accused Mr. Cobden of holding him individually and personally responsible for the distress of the country, and of having said so before, at the conference of the Anti-Corn-Law League. "But," added Sir Robert, his voice almost drowned in the loud recurrent cheering, given with peculiar emphasis on the ministerial side, "be the consequences of these insinuations what they may, never will I be influenced by menaces such as these, to hold language or adopt a course which I consider in the slightest degree inconsistent with my public duty."—Mr. Cobden said he did not say "personally." Sir Robert Peel: "You did,—you did.—The honourable gentleman may do so, and he may induce others to hold me individually responsible, but it shall in no way influence me in the discharge of my public duty." Amid much confusion, Mr. Cobden was permitted to explain that what he meant was that the right hon. baronet was responsible in virtue of his office.

On the 25th of April, four days after the death of the duke of Sussex, the Princess Alice was born, and on the same day was launched at Pembroke the steam-yacht Victoria and Albert. The budget, introduced on the 8th of April, exhibited an expenditure of 49,387,645*l.*, against income 50,150,000*l.*; but the income tax was converting very rapidly the deficiency into a surplus. The accounts for the first quarter of the year showed some improvement, but the country was not prosperous. The Corn-Law League and the Repeal Association, wide apart as they were in objects and organisation, had the effect of disturbing the minds of men. Mr. Villiers's annual motion was negatived, on the 9th of April, by three hundred and eighty-one to one hundred and twenty-five, after long debates.

On an early day in the session Lord Ashley, the present Lord Shaftesbury, ever solicitous for the welfare of the people, brought forward a motion for an address to the queen, praying for the instant and serious consideration of the best means of promoting the blessings of a moral and religious education among the working classes, which was indirectly opposed by some members; but it led to no immediate result for the moment. Indeed the temper of the times made the path of the philanthropic reformer rude and difficult. Lord Ashley startled the House and the country by a picture, only too true, of the brutish ignorance of the multitude, and government could no longer shut its eyes to the evil; the motion was agreed to. An education clause in a government measure relating to the better management of factories caused tremendous excitement among the English dissenters; and, although the government amended the clauses, the opposition to their legislation was so strong, as evinced by 13,369 petitions with 2,068,059 signatures against the original, and by 11,228 petitions with 1,745,686 signatures against the amended clauses, that, on the 15th of June, Sir J. Graham was obliged to abandon them.

The year, which opened with an announcement from Mr. O'Connell that it was to be "*the* great Repeal year," saw the development of the agitation by which it was to be accomplished to the dimensions of a conspiracy, and witnessed the division of the church of Scotland into two great bodies, identical in faith, doctrine, practices, almost in formula, but with the great gulf of principle accepted by one and repudiated by the other between its divisions. To the General Assembly Sir James Graham, in his reply to the memorial and addresses, on the 4th of January, gave peremptory assurance that the crown and other patrons would insist on their rights. The Non-intrusionists therefore resolved to summon a special commission of the Assembly and present "a claim of rights" to parliament. On the 31st of January, a meeting was held accordingly, at which a majority carried a resolution to petition parliament to demand an efficient measure to secure the principle of non-intrusion and the complete freedom of the church in spiritual jurisdiction from the control of the civil courts. However, the government and parliament rejected the appeal; and on the 21st of March a special meeting of the Commission of the General Assembly was held in Edinburgh, when a minute was agreed to, stating that in the circumstances the Commission "deem it incumbent upon them to announce to the church and to the country as they now do with the utmost pain and sorrow that the decisive rejection of the church's claims by the government and by parliament appears to them conclusive of the present struggle, and that, in the judgment of the Commission, nothing remains but to make immediate preparations for the new state of things, which the church must, so far as they can see, contemplate as inevitable."

A last effort was made by the government to prevent the schism of the Scotch church by a declaration from the temporal head of its relations to it, and its resolves, in a queen's letter, issued from the Court of St. James's, on the 15th of May, and signed by Sir James Graham.

"The faith of our Crown," it said, "is pledged to uphold you in the full enjoyment of every privilege which you can justly claim; but you will bear in mind that the rights and property of an established church are conferred by law; it is by law that the church of Scotland is united with the state, and that her endowments are secured; and the ministers of religion, claiming the sanction of law in defence of their privileges, are especially bound by their sacred calling to be examples of obedience. The Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian church government in Scotland, was adopted at the Union, and is now the Act of the British parliament. The settlement thus fixed cannot be annulled by the will or declaration of any number of individuals. Those who are dissatisfied with the terms of this settlement may renounce it for themselves, but the union of the church of Scotland with the state is indissoluble, while statutes remain unaffected which recognise the Presbyterian church as the church established by law within the kingdom of Scotland." Three days afterwards the breach was consummated. The Assembly commenced its sittings in St. Andrew's church, Edinburgh, on the 18th of May, with the marquis of Bute as lord high commissioner, and Dr. Welsh, the retiring moderator, after sermon entered his protest against making up the roll, and read the reasons which led him to do so amid breathless attention. After a full narration of the rejection of the Claim of Rights by the legislature, and the coercion exercised by the civil courts, he concluded: "We protest that, in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is and shall be lawful for us, and such other commissioners chosen to the Assembly appointed to have been this day holden as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting for the purpose of taking steps along with all who adhere to us—maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and standards of the church of Scotland, for separating in an orderly way from the establishment, and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence on God's grace, and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of His glory, the extension of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house according to His holy word; and we now withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have come upon us, because of our manifold sins, and the sins of the church and nation; but, at the same time, with assured conviction that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this our enforced separation from an establishment which we loved and prized, through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of His sole and supreme authority as King in His church." The number of ministers and elders who signed the protest up to the 31st of May was four hundred and forty-four.

Dr. Welsh left the church, followed by Dr. Chalmers and the leaders of the Non-intrusionists, and an immense and enthusiastic procession marched to Tanfield Hall, where the new Free Assembly was formed, of which Dr. Chalmers was elected moderator. The sentence of deposition against the Strathbogie ministers was in the old Assembly annulled by a vote of one hundred and forty-eight to thirty-three, and it was unanimously resolved that the Veto Act of 1833 was *ultra vires* of the Assembly.

In the Free Assembly the Act of Separation was agreed to on the 23rd of May, the signing of the document occupying about four hours. It solemnly renounced for its subscribers the status, privileges, and emoluments derived from the establishment; reserving to ministers, however, the right to act as pastors of particular congregations or portions thereof adhering to them, with the rights and benefits accruing from the Ministers' Widows' Fund; and disavowing the renunciation of churches built by private contribution and not endowed by the state. It contained also the order, that the Act of Separation should be transmitted to the moderator of "the Ecclesiastical Judicatory by law established."

The Free Protesting Assembly commenced their second session sittings in the City Hall, Glasgow, on the 17th of October, and their new moderator, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Brown, in his address, claimed for them the right to be the real church of Scotland originally recognised by the state; and thus, without a blow struck, or a shot fired, and nothing harder said than odium theologicum could justify, was this immense change effected in the constitution of the new Free Church.

The agitation in England respecting church government, state churches, and temporal administration was accompanied by equal perturbation and controversy in matters spiritual. The "Tracts for the Times," number xc. especially, which were repudiated generally by the bishops, had many advocates. The vice-chancellor of Oxford suspended Dr. Pusey for two years, but refused to assign any reason for his decision, and Puseyism received an immense development in the university. The Rev. J. H. Newman resigned his living, and went over to the Church of Rome, very soon after the formal pronouncement by Pope Gregory that the garment exhibited at Trèves was the identical raiment worn by our Saviour on the day of his crucifixion.

But in Ireland the agitation for repeal, which was to be effected by moral force alone, was suspected of a connection with the importation of arms which the police had noticed and reported for some time past; and in the month of April the purchases of pistols, muskets, fowling-pieces and the like, were made the subject of distinct legislation for that country. A bill was introduced by Lord Elliot to regulate the importation, manufacture, and registration of arms, the reasons for which were fortified by statements respecting the disorganised condition of the country, and outrages on person and property. The bill was read a second time. On 30th of May there was a debate, which was adjourned over several nights, in the course of which Sir James Graham declared "conciliation had been carried to the extreme extent." He justified the instructions to the lord chancellor to remove from the commission of the peace all magistrates who attended repeal meetings. It was only on the 9th of August that the measure reached its third reading in the Commons, and the introduction and success of the bill roused Mr. O'Connell and his friends to renewed exertions. A motion of Mr. W. S. O'Brien for a committee of inquiry into Irish grievances found no favour in parliament, and was rejected on the 13th of July by a division of two hundred and forty-three to one hundred and sixty-four votes, which, seeing the use made of the result, and the undoubted existence of wrongs, which denounced then, were defended by those who have since removed the basis on which they rested, is now to be deplored.

Mr. O'Connell, who knew he had nothing to expect from a Conservative administration, used every art to extort from the legislature such concessions as might be made to the fear of civil war, which was avowedly the agency which operated on the Tory government of the day in yielding Catholic emancipation. The meetings of the Repeal Association became a kind of Irish parliament, in which speeches were made which were distributed by subsidised journals, through the agency of repeal unions, all over the kingdom. Money flowed in from the United States, the Irish in Scotland and England, as well as from Ireland. Repeal courts of arbitration were established, to which the people were advised to submit their disputes, and the country was divided into districts for the purposes of the association, administered by regularly-appointed officers. In the spring, when it was reported that the queen was coming to visit Ireland, Mr. O'Connell redoubled his activity, and monster meetings, as they were called, were organised, ostensibly to petition to parliament, but certainly producing terror and alarm in the minds of the country gentry and the Protestant population. Mr. O'Connell promised that when the queen visited her Irish subjects, she should hear of nothing but repeal. The Paris republicans were injudicious enough to show a desire to aid the repeal movement because it would trouble England; and M. Ledru Rollin, a noisy demagogue, at the celebration of the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, gave as a toast, "Ireland and France, the enemy of all oppression." In answer to Lord Jocelyn, Sir Robert Peel stated the intentions of government with reference to the repeal demonstrations. There was no influence, he said, power, or authority which the prerogatives of the crown and existing laws give to ministers that would not be exercised for the purpose of maintaining the Union. An executive government can lose nothing of moral or real strength by confiding as long as possible in the ordinary powers which the law and constitution give them; but if the necessity should arise for further powers, he should without an instant's hesitation appeal to parliament. "I am also prepared to make, in my place here, the declaration which was made, and nobly made, by my predecessor—I mean Lord Althorpe—that, deprecating as I do all war, but above all civil war, yet there is no alternative which I do not think preferable to the dismemberment of this empire."

These vigorous words, and the firm attitude of the government, drove Mr. O'Connell to desperation, and in his speeches to the people, and in his acts, he began to use the most violent language, and to transgress the bounds of his ordinary prudence. Although the queen, in proroguing parliament, declared her firm determination to maintain inviolate that great bond of connection between the two countries, the legislative Union, Mr. O'Connell persisted in his promises and his agitation, and seems to have really deceived himself into the belief that he would weary the British government to yield. He appeared before the people in his scarlet velvet robe and gold chain, as lord mayor of Dublin, and in a green velvet cap with a gold band, *parsemé* with shamrocks, so that to those afar he "the likeness of a kingly crown had on." The number of those who attended the monster meetings was much exaggerated, but they were no doubt formidable masses. There was a meeting at Kilkenny, where it was asserted that the entire male population of Tipperary, Carlow, Wexford, Waterford, &c., was assembled, at which Mr. O'Connell denounced Sir R. Peel and the duke of Wellington as "second Cromwells." "We were a paltry remnant then," he exclaimed, "we are millions now." An English writer estimates the multitude at Tara at a million two hundred thousand, although the whole population of Ireland was only seven millions. Mr. O'Connell was loud in his promises, and actually promulgated his plan of the Irish parliament—one hundred and seventy-three members for the counties, and one hundred and twenty-seven members for the boroughs, household suffrage, and vote by ballot. At Ennis he argued that the queen could, by virtue of her prerogative, revive the Irish parliament. At a great meeting at Mullaghmast on the 1st of October, he excited his auditors to frenzy by an account of a massacre he alleged to have been committed by the soldiers of Elizabeth of three hundred and ninety Irish chiefs, who attended a peaceful conference with the English deputy. The excitement grew throughout the country—the sums which flowed into the coffers of the Repeal Association were considerable, and large contributions came from the Irish in the United States. O'Connell grew bolder with impunity, and aspired to create a magistracy of his own and to control the whole of Ireland, and at last his influence attained such an ascendency over the lower people that it was obvious either the government of Ireland must pass into his hands, or he and his followers be rendered amenable to the law. It was announced that a great repeal meeting would be held on Sunday, the 8th of October, at Clontarf, near Dublin, a spot dear to the Irish as the scene where the most famous of their ancient kings, Brian Boirhoime, defeated the Danes in a sanguinary battle, in which he lost his life. The vicinity of the place to the capital, and the immense preparations, roused the government to a sense of their danger, and the very day before the meeting the lord-lieutenant issued a proclamation prohibiting the meeting, "calculated to excite reasonable and well-grounded apprehension that the motives and objects of the persons to be assembled thereat are not the fair legal exercise of constitutional rights and privileges, but to bring into hatred and contempt the government and constitution of the United Kingdom as by law established, and to accomplish alterations in the laws and constitution of the realm by intimidation and the demonstration of physical force." The Irish authorities acted tardily indeed, and yet with such haste as to give ground for the accusation that they meant to entrap the repealers. A strong force of military was despatched to occupy the ground selected for the meeting, and the road from Dublin to Clontarf was held by artillery, cavalry, and infantry. The men-of-war were placed in position, and the forts at the Pigeon House manned. These energetic measures at once struck the repealers to the earth. Numbers of people repaired towards Clontarf, but the wardens, as they were called, with green branches in their hands, dissuaded them from any attempt to resist the law. A proclamation from O'Connell, intimating that the repeal demonstration was abandoned, conveyed grave charges against the executive. At the weekly repeal meeting on the following Monday he said he did not hesitate to repeat, if he were to go to the scaffold for it, that if government intended to entrap the people into a massacre, they could not have acted otherwise than they did. A Repeal Banquet took place the same evening in the Rotunda. The rent for the week was reported to be 1,233*l.*, but the movement was arrested. The blow was speedily followed up. On the 14th of October, Daniel O'Connell and John O'Connell were arrested on sworn informations of a government shorthand writer, and held to bail to answer any charge of conspiracy and misdemeanour that might be produced against them by the attorney-general next term. O'Connell immediately issued an address "To the People of Ireland. If you will during this crisis follow my advice, and act as I entreat you to do, patiently, quietly, legally, I think I can pledge myself to you that the period is not distant when our revered sovereign will open the Irish parliament on College Green." The agitation, indeed, did not slacken at once. A new building, named by Mr. O'Connell "Conciliation Hall," which was destined for the meetings of the Repeal Association, was opened soon after the arrest. He said: "I wish that the first sentence which I have to utter in this Conciliation Hall, formed now as it is into an assembly, shall be this truth, that there is but one way to obtain the repeal of the Union, and that is by strictly peaceable means. My second sentence, and the only one I shall utter before I hand in money, is that the repeal is certain." A letter was read from Mr. W. S. O'Brien, giving in his adhesion to the cause of the repealers, and the repeal rent was reported to be 2,284*l.* The attention of the country was fixed on the duel between the great agitators and the government, and it was with unbounded confidence in the resources and ability of their leader that the priests and peasantry beheld the commencement of the struggle.

On the 8th of November true bills were returned against Mr. O'Connell and others, and they were called on to plead within four days. They put in a plea of abatement that was ruled to be bad, and after much argument it was formally ordered that they should come up for trial on the 15th of January. The intelligence caused immense excitement in Ireland. It must be admitted that Mr. O'Connell's exhortations to the people to preserve the peace were earnest and almost passionate, but it was plain that if its leaders had violated the law and were found guilty, the Repeal Association would have received a blow from which it could not recover.

The proclamation of Lord Ellenborough at the close of the Affghan campaign was made the subject of a warm debate very early in the session. On the 9th of March Mr. Vernon Smith moved "That this House, having regard to the high and important functions of the governor-general of India, the mixed character of the native population, and the recent measures of the court of directors for discontinuing any seeming sanction to idolatry in India, is of opinion that the conduct of Lord Ellenborough, in issuing the general order of the 16th of November, 1842, and in addressing the letter of the same date to all the chiefs, princes, and people of India, respecting the restoration of the gates of a temple to Somnauth, is unwise, indecorous, and reprehensible." The resolution was supported by Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Mangles, Mr. Hume, Sir George Grey, Lord Palmerston, and Lord John Russell. It was opposed by Mr. Emerson Tennent, Mr. Hogg, Lord Stanley, and Sir Robert Peel. "But," said Mr. Macaulay, "it is asked, what does it matter if the noble lord has written a foolish rhapsody which is neither prose nor verse? Is affected phraseology a subject for parliamentary censure? What great man can be named who has not committed errors much more serious than the penning of a few sentences of turgid nonsense? This, I admit, sounds plausible. It is quite true that very eminent men, Lord Somers, for example, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Chatham, and his son, all committed faults which did much more harm than any fault of style can do. But I beg the House to observe this, that an error which produces the most serious consequences may not necessarily prove that the man who has committed it is not a very wise man; and that, on the other hand, an error which directly produces no important consequence, may prove the man who has committed it to be quite unfit for public trust." Speaking of the opposition, Sir Robert Peel said: "You are continually occupied in asking the question, 'What next?' in connection with Lord Ellenborough's acts. That was the sole occupation of Lord Ellenborough for four or five months after he reached India; and that was your doing. He landed at Madras on the 15th of April, in full dependence upon your statements of the condition of that country—in full dependence upon the information furnished him by his predecessors in office. He landed, and the first thing he hears is that there is an insurrection at Cabul; that the representatives of her majesty, Sir William Macnaghten and Sir Alexander Burnes, have been murdered; and that there are strong doubts entertained of the safety of the British army in Affghanistan. What next? He proceeds to Calcutta; and what does he hear there? He there hears for the first time of the order issued by his predecessor in the government to evacuate Affghanistan with as little discredit as possible. He then repairs to Benares: and what next? At Benares he hears the tremendous news that not only had we lost all military power in Affghanistan, but that the spirit of the native army had been so weakened and depressed as to render its recovery almost impossible. General Pollock is in a helpless condition in Peshawur, unable to advance to the relief of General Sale for want of reinforcements, and because four regiments of native troops were in a state of panic and disaffection. What next? On the 17th of April he hears of the failure of General England in the Bolan Pass. What next? He hears that Ghuznee has fallen; that it is no longer in our possession; that the barony of Ghuznee has no longer any territorial connection with the title. These were the questions that Lord Ellenborough had to ask from day to day; these are the questions that he had to consider during a period of four or five months, daily and hourly." The premier closed his speech by remarking, that it would give a ten times more fatal blow to religion than anything in the injudicious proclamation, if party hostility to Lord Ellenborough were cloaked under that sacred garb. On a division the motion was negatived by two hundred and forty-two to one hundred and fifty-seven votes. A motion in the Upper House expressing disapprobation of the proclamation was rejected by eighty-three to twenty-five.

But the wars which began with disaster and ended so triumphantly were not yet over, and almost at the moment when the House of Commons was discussing the terms of the Somnauth proclamation Lord Ellenborough was fulminating another from the palace at Agra, in which he announced the results of the battle of Meanee, which had placed at our disposal the country on both banks of the Indus from Sukkur to the sea.

The history of the conquest of Scinde is creditable to our arms—very discreditable to the morality of the governor-general who sanctioned if he did not plan it. Of all the pleas invented by greed of territory, that of manifest destiny is the most fertile in evil promptings. It may be that the blessings which a strong and equal government confers on Asiatics can be urged in practical justification of a policy of aggression, but they never can be adduced by Christian men as the natural incentives to violence and fraud. The mouth of the Indus was in the hands of the Ameers of Scinde, and the Indian government long coveted the possession of a port which would give them access to the mighty river, and "open up" the interior to our merchants. The Ameers sprang originally from a race of successful military chiefs, who owed allegiance to the Great Mogul, and they were represented, in later days, by a powerful family in which disputes about the partition of territory and jurisdiction were not uncommon; but these were rarely characterised by the murders and assassinations which were the results of such differences among the wilder tribes in the north-west. They were as devoted to the chase as if they were Norman kings or German princes; it was alleged that they purposely kept large tracts waste for the sake of sport, and that their subjects were neglected and oppressed: but it does not seem that these subjects had any affection for the British race, and it is certain they fought bravely for their rulers in time of trouble. The Ameers were exceedingly tenacious of their rights, and jealous of any acquisition of land within their borders. They levied tolls on the navigation of the Indus, and not having just notions of political economy, or training in the school of Adam Smith, excluded, as far as possible, strange merchants.

It would be tedious—if not tedious, it would certainly encroach much upon our space—to enumerate the various negotiations and circumstances which led at last to the concession by them of the privilege of placing a British force in their dominions. When disasters fell upon the British army in Cabul, Scinde was much agitated, like all India. Whether the suspicions of the government, that the Ameers were about taking measures to shake off the yoke imposed on them, when the successes of Nott, Sale, and Pollock restored the power of our name, were well founded or not, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Lord Shaftesbury, and those who accused Lord Ellenborough of a determination to find an excuse for the annexation of Scinde, were justified in the charge. Although our troops in Scinde remained unmolested during the Affghan war, a force was assembled on the frontier, and placed under the command of Sir Charles Napier, a man of restless energy, burning for distinction, and eager for battle, as are all of his name. This general was directed by Lord Ellenborough to "hear *anything*" our agents had to say, "to prove an *intention*" on the part of the Ameers to act hostilely towards the British army. On second thoughts, and in his next despatch to his fiery subordinate, the governor-general seems to have perceived that such a direction was somewhat dangerous, for he says: "We cannot punish thoughts; but if any of the chiefs has evinced hostile designs against us, inflict on his treachery such a signal punishment," &c. Lord Ellenborough was in, apparently, a maze, and found it convenient to overlook the difference between "thoughts" which could not be punished, and "design," which, curiously enough, were to be treated as "acts" of treachery. The cause or pretext for the action of the British government came about in this way. In 1832 the Indian government bound itself never to look with a covetous eye on the territories of the Ameers, nor to send armed vessels into the river; and naturally, as a consequence, not to send armed men into a country, wherein we agreed to regulate even the entry of merchants. When Runjeet Sing invaded Scinde in 1836, not, it is believed, without a very good understanding on the subject with the Indian government, our agents, however, made their mediation a valuable commodity by offering it on the condition, that the Ameers should receive an envoy at their court, to which they had hitherto objected; and almost as soon as Pottinger was installed in that capacity he began his importunities for a cession of territory, and of ports at the mouth of the Indus. In 1838 the Indian government not only marched troops through Upper Scinde, but in the Cabul expedition despatched a force up the river. There were some troubles in consequence, and our envoy wrung from the Ameers the creation of a British contingent, and inflicted a mulct of three lakhs of rupees annually, which was to be applied towards the maintenance of these forces. This treaty was ratified by Lord Auckland in 1839. As was to be expected, the subsidy soon fell into arrears; but Major Outram, who was now political agent or resident, could bring no more damaging accusations against the Ameers, although the Indian government were watching eagerly for the smallest pretext to justify their interference, than the non-payment of some portion of the payment. Nevertheless, in 1842, Lord Ellenborough, who was resolved to make his rule memorable by vigorous measures, instructed Outram to threaten Nusseer Khan, one of the chief Ameers, with the loss of his territory if he proved faithless to us, and it was afterwards alleged that he was deeply implicated in conspiracies against the British government. Troops, already assembled on the frontier, were moved into Scinde. Napier resolved to attack the Ameers, no matter what terms they proposed, or what they did, and entered their territory with the fixed idea of annexation. This fact is proved by a despatch he sent to Major Outram, before he heard of the attack on the Residency at Hyderabad, which was the act of a multitude, excited by the reports from Napier's advancing columns, and not in any way influenced by the Ameers. The Ameers had committed no breach of the treaties, but Outram had been directed to propose to the Ameers to surrender Kurrachee Torka, and a slip of land at the mouth of the Indus. Under the pressure of the force gathered with no doubtful purpose outside the borders, he with great difficulty induced them to put their seals to this new treaty. On the 15th of February the irritation caused by the demands of the British and the advance of Napier led to an outbreak of popular rage in Hyderabad. The residency was attacked. Outram, whom one, who subsequently became his bitter enemy, called the Bayard of India, with a small escort, fought his way through the mob, and made good his passage to Napier's camp. He had been told beforehand, in the despatch already mentioned, to "make no peace with the Ameers—not to pledge himself to anything." It was in that guise a Christian chief of a Christian prince led his soldiers into a heathen land. "Make no peace! Give no pledges!" The Ameers of Hyderabad knew their fate. But they met it bravely. They surely had a right to defend their territory and their capital. On the 17th of February was fought the battle of Meanee.

Napier had with him but two thousand eight hundred men and twelve guns, and he estimated the force of the Ameers at twenty-two thousand. The latter were well posted. In front was a nullah or dry ravine; their flanks rested on two woods, and their right was covered by a village strongly occupied by the enemy. There was only one British regiment in Napier's little column, H.M.'s 22nd, the rest were natives, the 25th N.I., 12th N.I., 1st Grenadier N.I., 9th Bengal Light Cavalry, and Poonah Horse. With the 22nd at the head of the order of battle in the first line, Napier directed an advance *en échelon* of battalions from the right, and was soon engaged with the Beloochees along the ravine. The latter were only armed with matchlock, sword, and shield, and the general in his despatch ascribes much of the result to the inferiority of these arms to the musket and bayonet; for he admits the enemy behaved with extraordinary bravery. They fought fiercely and long, and Napier says that at one time they pressed his line so heavily that he had to order the cavalry to charge their right, and thus decide the fate of the day, which was the fate of Scinde. The right was turned by this charge, the Belooch horse fled, the matchlockmen retreated in all directions, abandoning their guns and camps with their contents. The victors lost two hundred and fifty-six killed and wounded. But there is an exaggeration which is scarcely veiled in the words ("it is generally supposed") of the animated but rather bombastic despatch, in placing the loss of the enemy at two thousand, or nineteen times as many. The Ameers came in at once, and were sent prisoners to Bombay. Napier had command of pen as well as of sword, and his account of the surrender of the Ameers is graphic; but it needs some patience, with our view of the facts, to read the touch of sentiment about the restoration of their "swords because their misfortunes were great." It puts us in mind of the chivalrous feeling of gentlemanly highwaymen who allowed their victims a viaticum or returned a keepsake.

On the 20th of February our victorious army entered Hyderabad, and the British standard was hoisted on the walls. The other Ameers of Scinde did all they could to avert their fate. Shere Mahomed assembled a considerable army in a strong position over a nullah on one of the branches of the Indus, but on the 24th of March Napier, who had been reinforced, marched against and utterly routed him at Dubba; and the last levies that could be collected by the Ameers were subsequently easily dispersed in several engagements. One of these chiefs, Ali Morad, had had the foresight to do what is called "remaining faithful" to us, and no doubt he congratulated himself on his sagacity, when the six Ameers were sent away in custody, and their territories were annexed as some compensation for an evacuation of Affghanistan; but, as we shall see hereafter, he did not long enjoy his contentment; and even at the very outset he had reason to feel that when lions and jackals hunt together, the latter is like to come off with a poor share of the prey. The tide of annexation is not readily arrested. It was next to sweep over the Punjab, and to water the seeds from which sprung the greatest danger that ever befell an empire in India. The Maharajah Dhuleep Sing, the youngest son of Runjeet Sing, a boy of ten years of age, was on the throne, and there were great disorders in his dominions. It is an axiom of the British government in India—or rather it was—that when disorders exist in a native state we have a right to interfere, and, if no better remedy can be devised, annex it. At this time there were chartist troubles in England, and a repeal agitation that looked like inchoate rebellion in Ireland; but, fortunately, we had no powerful neighbours to apply our doctrine to ourselves.

The trial and conviction of Mr. Fergus O'Connor and fourteen of his fellows for disturbances in the manufacturing districts had a remarkable effect.

The turbulence of the chartists somewhat abated, but the tranquillity of Wales was disturbed by an agitation against turnpike-gates and tolls, directed by midnight bands styling themselves "Rebecca and her Daughters." Their list of demands embraced the abolition of tithes, rent-charge in lieu of tithe, the total abolition of the poor law and of church rates. The name they took was presumed to be derived from a preposterous application of a passage in the Book of Genesis, "And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them." On the 10th of June, "Rebecca and her Daughters," about one thousand strong, marched through the town of Carmarthen, took possession of the workhouse, and remained there till the afternoon, when they were broken up by a troop of dragoons sent from Cardiff, and eighty of them were taken prisoners. The following evening another mob assembled at Mydrim, "Rebecca" being on horseback in female attire. They called at the public-houses, cleared the cellars of ale, demolished the turnpike-gate, and obtained sums of money at different houses through intimidation. This destruction of turnpike-gates by bands of disguised Rebeccaites continued for months to be an almost nightly occurrence in different parts of South Wales. There were between one hundred and one hundred and fifty gates, including side-bars and chains, in the county of Carmarthen; nearly half of these were destroyed, and in places where they were renewed, the toll-house was generally destroyed along with the gate. Two or three sharp encounters took place with the authorities, but their familiarity with the district generally enabled the rioters to elude their pursuers. On the 5th of October a royal proclamation was issued against them, strictly commanding "all justices of the peace, sheriffs, under-sheriffs, and all other civil officers whatsoever, that they do use their utmost endeavours to repress all tumults, riots, outrages, and breaches of the peace, and to discover, apprehend, and bring to justice the persons concerned in the riotous and wicked proceedings aforesaid;" enjoining the lieges to give "prompt and effectual assistance;" and offering rewards of 500*l.* for the discovery of the actual perpetrators of incendiary fires or fatal outrages upon the person. A number of arrests were made. A few days afterwards, a royal commission was issued to inquire into the operation of the laws relating to turnpike roads in South Wales, and into the causes of these disturbances. A special commission was issued, and most of the prisoners pleaded guilty; but the leaders generally escaped. Far different was the progress of the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws. The

League grew, under the direction of wise and moderate, but exceedingly resolute organisers, to enormous dimensions and power, and the hopes of ultimate success in abolishing the Corn Laws, which were entertained by the great manufacturers, and by the town populations as time went on, were justified by the adhesion of men of intelligence and property, though even such reformers as Mr. Macaulay resisted immediate and total repeal. Their progress was sensible, and in the course of the year the Leaguers returned Mr. Pattison for London, and Mr. Warburton for Kendal against two Protectionists. On the 21st of November, a great sensation was produced by a few words in a newspaper. The "Times" declared the League "to be a great fact." The number of its members, the amount of its funds, and the extent of its labours were, it said, all great facts. "It is our duty to recognise, not conceal them; to meet them, not to slight them; to extract from an admitted evil the good which may lurk beneath. . . .Let some concession be proposed, some neutral ground fixed on, and the voice of discord will be hushed."

But no concession was proposed, no neutral ground was suggested, and so it came to pass that at the end of the struggle, those who had fought so long were either beaten, or led by their own chiefs under the Caudine Forks. The agricultural interest, which depended, as it imagined, for its very existence on protection, was forced to live or die without its palladium, and the manufacturing interest was brought face to face with its sole sustenance and its most terrible enemy, organised labour.

The queen and Prince Albert left Windsor Castle on the 28th of August, to visit the king and queen of the French at Trèport; and it is recorded in the chronicles of the time that the mayor and corporators of Southampton, the hospitable borough from which they embarked, like so many Raleighs, cast down their scarlet robes, to prevent the soiling of the royal shoes on the muddy pier. The yacht arrived off Trèport on the 2nd of September, and the royal visitors remained for five days at the Château d'Eu, entertained in all regal splendour, and charmed by every hospitable and tasteful device of royal welcome. In these friendly conferences, the queen seems to have conceived such a regard for the king and the queen, especially the latter, as caused her all the more pain at their conduct in those Spanish marriages, to which we shall come presently. The queen and Prince Albert returned to England for a few days, but left Brighton on the 12th of September for a visit to the king of the Belgians, in the course of which they visited the most famous of the old cities of Flanders, and were received with the liveliest expressions of respectful welcome.

The assassination of Mr. Drummond by Daniel McNaughton, who was tried for the murder, and acquitted on the ground of insanity, led to the reference of the liability of insane criminals to the judges, who were summoned to the House of Lords, on the 19th of June, and reported unanimously that they held a criminal under an insane delusion was equally liable with a sane person for any offence, and that if the madman killed a man for a supposed injury, he would be liable to the punishment awarded by law to this crime. A fatal duel between Lieutenant-Colonel Fawcett of the 55th, who was shot by his brother-in-law, Lieutenant Munro of the Blues, in a duel near Camden Town, on the 1st of July, was rather a strange comment on the formation of the association of noblemen and gentlemen belonging to the army and navy against duelling; but although the seconds were acquitted, the bent of public opinion was decidedly becoming stronger against the practice, and the imitation by linendrapers and the like of the customs, which were derived from times when gentlemen carried arms, covered duelling with an amount of ridicule which hastened its extinction by fortifying the resolution of judges and juries in dealing with it as a crime.

The year 1844 opened with indications of a more favourable character as regarded the well-being of the country; the revenue and trade returns were satisfactory; political excitement had diminished; the corn law agitation had greatly decreased; but our foreign outlook was more clouded, and, notwithstanding the queen's visit to France, the relations between the governments were rather strained. The approaching trial of Mr. O'Connell was a subject of much anxiety to ministers, and the crown could not rest indifferent to it. The issue to be tried was most serious, and failure in the prosecution would be very dangerous to the stability of the government.

On the 1st of February, parliament was opened by the queen in person. The royal speech referred in particular to the friendly relations with France and other foreign countries; to the treaty concluded with China; to the annexation of Scinde; to the opportunity for the revision of the charter of the Bank of England; to the appointment of the commission to inquire into the tenure of land; and to the laws affecting registration of voters in Ireland. Her majesty reiterated, in emphatic language, her firm determination to preserve the legislative Union. There were still wars going on, and the queen mentioned in terms of satisfaction the conquest of Scinde. In the House of Lords, the address was agreed to without much debate. Lord Normanby gave notice of his intention, after the conclusion of the O'Connell trial, to have the state of Ireland discussed; and Lord Brougham enlarged on the advantages of the French alliance. In the Commons, Mr. Hume and Mr. Sharman Crawford moved amendments to the address, which were rejected. On the 6th of February, Mr. Sharman Crawford moved the stoppage of supplies until public grievances were redressed. This was seconded by Mr. W. Williams, opposed by Sir R. Peel, and was rejected by one hundred and thirty to twenty-two.

On the 14th the thanks of parliament were voted to the army and navy for their services in China, and on the 20th the services of the troops engaged in India were recognised in a similar manner.

The occasion for the services of the latter arose in this wise. Shortly after the annexation of Scinde, Scindia's dominions, which were then governed by the maharanee acting as regent for her son, attracted the governor-general's attention, and that seldom boded good to a native state. The Mama Sahib, minister at the court of Gwalior, was supposed to be in our favour, but he did not enjoy the confidence of his royal mistress or the good-will of the chiefs, who were pretty turbulent, but who could not be accused of causing the least anxiety or trouble to British subjects. In December, however, Lord Ellenborough made up his mind and announced his intention of interfering in the affairs of the Scindia district. "The British government has so long deferred intervention in the distracted affairs of the Gwalior state, in the sincere hope that the chiefs themselves would establish an administration willing and able to satisfy its reasonable demands, and to maintain the accustomed friendly relations between the two states. The British government can neither permit the existence of an unfriendly government within the territories of Scindia, nor that those territories should be without a government capable of coercing its own subjects. . . . The governor-general will therefore direct the immediate advance of forces amply sufficient to effect all the just purposes of the British government—to obtain guarantees for the future security of its own subjects on the common frontier of the two states, to protect the person of the maharajah, to quell disturbances within his highness's territories, and to chastise all who shall remain in disobedience."

Although the independence of Gwalior had been hitherto to a certain extent respected, the destitution of Mama Sahib, who was esteemed "friendly" to our interests and was styled by his enemies our creature, by the maharanee was considered good ground for direct interference; Dada Sahib, his successor, was declared to be our enemy, and to be engaged in hostile contrivances against us. Lord Ellenborough demanded the surrender of Dada Sahib, on the ground that he had not forwarded a letter to the maharanee, in which she had been asked to dismiss him. After much delay the maharanee, under *force majeure*, complied with the request, and the governor-general expressed his satisfaction that the demand had been granted; but to prevent any misunderstanding in respect to his real object, he added a menace of intervention, "if the disorders in her dominions," which vexed our frontiers, were not remedied. Indeed, he went on to say, that "as the youth and inexperience of the maharajah," for whom the maharanee was regent, probably prevented his seeking the aid of the British government, which, the viceroy appeared to think there was no doubt, he would otherwise have sought, to suppress those disorders, the British government would give it to him unasked; Lord Ellenborough, therefore, as we have seen, considerately ordered a body of troops to march into the territory. They entered Gwalior on the 28th of December, 1843, in two bodies. One army of fourteen thousand men, and forty guns, was led by Lord Gough, from Agra—a smaller column was despatched from Bundelcund, under Major-General Grey. The Mahrattas, a warlike people, were not disposed to allow their country to be overrun without resistance. On the 29th of December, at Maharajpoor, fifteen thousand men, mostly armed with matchlocks, with three thousand horse, and one hundred guns of the Indian fashion "of all sorts," assembled to oppose Sir Hugh Gough, and the result may be easily imagined. The Mahrattas fought desperately, and the British general does justice to their valour and devotion; but they were routed with the loss of upwards of three thousand men, whilst the victors had to report a total of eight hundred killed and wounded. On the same day that Sir Hugh Gough was engaged at Maharajpoor, the column under Grey, three thousand strong, encountered a force of thirteen thousand Mahrattas at Punniar, and inflicted on them a severe defeat. Energetic displays of a friendly interest of this sort could not be resisted. Our troops occupied the capital. A treaty was made with the Mahratta Durbar by which the army of Gwalior was disbanded, and the contingent which nearly dealt us a death-blow in 1858 established in its stead.

These vigorous proceedings created uneasiness at home, and were pretext for the opposition to bring forward motions to which Lord Ellenborough's action exposed his friends; and the court of directors, without the sanction and in the teeth indeed of the express disapprobation of government, exercised the power which the law gave them to recall him "at their will and pleasure." Lord Ellenborough was, no doubt, an able man, but he was vain and ambitious; his military instincts were predominant. He declared at a farewell dinner that "the only regret he felt at leaving India was being separated from the army, and that the most agreeable and instructive period of his life had been that which he had passed in camps and cantonments." His successor, Lord Hardinge, sent out to inaugurate a policy of peace, was, as we shall see, destined to engage in still more formidable conflicts. On a review of all the circumstances, it may be considered that the directors acted wisely in their decision, for the energy of Lord Ellenborough threatened to involve them in serious contests; and they were not yet prepared for the more vigorous aggression which Lord Dalhousie carried to its legitimate conclusion in Oude.

On the 8th of February, Lord Ashley moved an address to the crown, praying her majesty to take into consideration the treatment of the Ameers of Scinde, and to direct either their immediate restoration to their liberty and estates, or that some equivalent provision should be made for them. Mr. Roebuck moved as an amendment that Lord Auckland's conduct was unjust and impolitic, and that Lord Ellenborough's policy was a deplorable consequence of his predecessor's unjust proceedings; but Sir R. Peel vindicated the Indian government, and was supported by Lord John Russell. The amendment was rejected without a division, and the motion of Lord Ashley was rejected by a majority of one hundred and thirty-four. The thanks of parliament were voted to Sir Charles Napier and the Scinde army on the 12th of February, and the duke of Wellington pronounced an emphatic eulogy on the conduct and military ability of Sir Charles Napier. On the 21st of April, Sir R. Peel announced that he had received a communication from the court of directors, stating that they had exercised their power in recalling the governor-general of India. The Irish policy of the government, particularly as regarded the O'Connell trial, was attacked, so early as the 13th of February, by the marquis of Normanby. He called for remedial measures, and an inquiry into the position of the Protestant Church, with a view to securing religious equality to all classes. Lord Wharncliffe, followed by Lords Clanricarde and Roden, defended the policy of the government, and the motion was rejected by one hundred and seventy-five to seventy-eight. In the House of Commons, on the same evening, Lord John Russell moved for a committee of the whole House, to inquire into the state of Ireland, which led to an exhaustive display of party virus, relieved by a fine speech from Mr. Macaulay. "England," he said, "can do many things which are beyond the power of any other nation in the world. She has dictated peace to China. She rules Caffraria and Australasia. She could again sweep from the ocean all commerce but her own. She could again blockade every port, from the Baltic to the Adriatic. She is able to guard her vast Indian dominions against all hostility by land or sea. But in this gigantic body there is one vulnerable spot near to the heart. At that spot, forty-six years ago, a blow was aimed which narrowly missed, and which, if it had not missed, must have been deadly. The government and the legislature, each in its own sphere, is deeply responsible for the continuance of a state of things which is fraught with danger to the state. From my share of that responsibility I shall clear myself by the vote which I am about to give; and I trust that the number and respectability of those in whose company I shall go into the lobby will be such as to convince the Roman Catholics of Ireland that they need not yet relinquish all hope of obtaining relief from the wisdom and justice of an imperial parliament." Mr. O'Connell spoke also, but it was seen that his old vigour and fire were much diminished, and he was but ill able to encounter the sarcasms of Mr. Disraeli. Sir Robert Peel wound up the defence of the government in these words:—"I will express my sincere and earnest hope that this agitation, and all the evil consequences of it, may be permitted to subside; and hereafter, in whatever capacity I may be, I should consider that the happiest day of my life when I could see the beloved sovereign of these realms fulfilling the fondest wishes of her heart—possessing a feeling of affection towards all her people, but mingling that affection with sympathy and tenderness towards Ireland. I should hail the dawning of that auspicious day when she could alight like some benignant spirit on the shores of Ireland, and lay the foundations of a Temple of Peace; when she could, in accents which proceeded from the heart, spoken to the heart rather than to the ear, call upon her Irish subjects of all classes and of all denominations, Protestants and Roman Catholics, Saxon and Celt, to forget the difference of creed and race, and to hallow that Temple of Peace which she should then found with sacrifices still holier than those by which the temples of old were hallowed—by the sacrifice of those evil passions that dishonour our common faith, and prevent the union of heart and hand in defence of our common country." After a debate protracted to nine nights, that motion was rejected by a majority of ninety-nine.

Meanwhile the law had grappled with the great agitator, whose boast it was that he could drive a coach and six through any Act of Parliament. He had now however to deal with the *lex non scripta*, and with constructive offences, being indicted for conspiring with certain of his fellows to commit treason and levy war. On the 5th of January they answered to their bail. A special jury was struck, but a protest was entered against the legality of the proceedings of the crown solicitor, who had omitted the names of qualified persons and inserted names of persons who were not resident in Dublin. The trial commenced before the court of Queen's Bench on the 15th of January. On the 12th of February O'Connell and his eight associates were found guilty of conspiracy to commit treason. An appeal in error was entered, and an argument, which occupied many days, was sustained by the most eminent counsel on both sides. A great banquet was given to O'Connell in Covent Garden theatre, before he was called up for judgment. But the judgment of the court below was confirmed on the 24th of June by the Court in Error, and sentence was pronounced of twelve months' imprisonment, a fine of 2,000*l.*, and bail in O'Connell's case, and smaller penalties in the case of the smaller offenders, and the appeal was then carried to the House of Lords.

Early in August the business of the session was concluded, but an adjournment of parliament took place till the 5th of September, in order to afford time for the arguments and decision in O'Connell's writ of error. On the 4th of that month the House of Lords reversed the judgment given in the court below. The indictment consisted of a number of counts; some of them were bad and some good; and if the judgment delivered by the Irish court had been confined to the latter, it would have been unexceptionable. But the judgment was general, and therefore tacitly assumed that all the counts were good. Eleven questions had been referred to the judges, and upon nine of these they were agreed. Upon the third and eleventh Mr. Justice Parke and Mr. Justice Coltman dissented from the opinion of their brethren. The lord chancellor moved that the judgment of the court below be sustained. Lord Campbell moved that it be reversed. On a division, confined exclusively to law lords, the lord chancellor announced that the judgment of the House was that the sentence of the court below should be reversed. The news was made known in Dublin on the 5th, and next day the order of release was received at Richmond Prison. The governor instantly communicated to the prisoners that they were at liberty. O'Connell repaired to his residence in Merrion Square, and addressed a large assembly from the balcony. "When the account," he says, "came to me of the decision in our favour, though the attorneys rushed into my presence, and one of them did me the honour of embracing me, still notwithstanding that kiss and the words which accompanied it, for a full half-hour afterwards I did not believe it." The news of the liberation caused the utmost excitement throughout Ireland, and demonstrations and addresses occupied the people for weeks together. The Repeal meetings were continued, and much money was collected, but the faith of the people in the Liberator's promises was visibly shaken.

The amendment of the system for the registration of electors in Ireland, referred to in the queen's speech, was made the subject of an abortive bill, brought in by Lord Elliot. An attempt was made by Mr. Hume to abolish the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, without success. Mr. Ward's annual motion on the Irish Church question was introduced and negatived by a very large majority. The Irish Charitable Trusts Bill was carried. And the Penal Act Bill, to abolish certain penal statutes introduced by Lord Beaumont, and taken up by government, was also passed; so that the session was not barren of results. Lord Ashley proposed a resolution for a further limitation of the hours of labour in factories, which was met by a compromise suggested by the government, the division resulting in a majority of three against the ministerial proportion of twelve hours, and a majority of seven against Lord Ashley's amendment of ten hours. The new bill passed. On the 12th of March Mr. Cobden moved for a committee to inquire into the effects of protective duties, but a large majority decided against him — two hundred and twenty-four to one hundred and twenty-three. Mr. Villiers's annual motion against the Corn Laws was rejected by three hundred and twenty-eight to one hundred and twenty-four. The annual financial statement showed an exceptionally prosperous state of things; with the available surplus it was proposed to augment the balance in the exchequer. There was never, perhaps, a time when capital was so abundant, the rate of interest so low, or the excess of revenue over expenditure larger, and the reduction of the interest on government stock from three-and-a-half to three per cent., with a guarantee that no further reduction should take place before 1874, was agreed to without cavil. On the 3rd of June the Sugar Bill was brought in, and a conflict commenced between the freetraders and the protectionists, which seriously imperilled the government. Mr. Goulburn's objects were to guard against the admission of slave-grown sugar under a false guise, and to secure a sufficient supply by such a reduction of duty as would encourage competition. He carried his resolution by one hundred and ninety-seven to one hundred and twenty-eight, and obtained leave to bring in the bill. On the 14th of June Mr. Miles, the protectionist member for Bristol, moved that, from the 10th of November, the duty on colonial sugar should be 20*s.*; on China, Java, and Manilla, 30*s.*; on foreign refined, 34*s.*; and five per cent. on all. On a division, there was a majority against government of twenty, the numbers being for them two hundred and forty-one; contrary, two hundred and twenty-one. On the 17th of June, Sir R. Peel made a statement in support of his amendment on Mr. Miles's proposal to fix the duty at 24*s.*, in which he used an argument which was construed into a threat of resignation. Lord John Russell protested against this proposition in strong terms, designating it as a demand for a retractation by the House of its own vote, which would disgrace it with the country. Mr. Disraeli seized the chance of another attack on Sir Robert Peel, and congratulated the ministry and the country that the right honourable gentleman, instead of resigning, had merely moved an amendment, concluding a sarcastic speech, which was received with loud cheers, by observing that the right honourable gentleman deserved a better position than one that could only be retained by menacing his friends and cringing to his opponents. Mr. Roebuck, referring to this speech, described it as one of those specimens of profound and mystical philosophy which enabled the utterer to earn the reputation of being wise, by propounding difficulties which he did not solve—a cheap mode of acquiring that reputation; he had known many books of three volumes full of it. Two hundred and thirty-three voted for Mr. Miles's motion, two hundred and fifty-five against it. Sir R. Peel's amendment was agreed to, and so practically the House of Commons rescinded its former vote in order, as it was said, to prevent the resignation of the minister. Sir Robert Peel next brought in the proposed measure, in which it was admitted he gave proof of great financial skill in dealing with the Bank Charter Act and the administration of banking concerns, but the private bankers protested strongly against the clause restricting issues to 14,000,000*l.* upon securities, and the bill passed. A measure to assert the power of the state over railways in the right of purchase, rates, fares, and parliamentary trains was introduced by Mr. Gladstone, vice-president of the board of trade, was also passed. The Dissenters' Chapels Bill, which originated in the Lords, proposing to terminate legal controversy respecting the right to voluntary endowments connected with Dissenting chapels by vesting the property in those religious bodies in whose hands it had been for twenty years, gave rise to what might be called a great religious movement, and met with vehement opposition. Numerous petitions were presented against it; but the measure was carried. On the 14th of June, a petition was presented by Mr. Duncombe on behalf of Joseph Mazzini and others, complaining that their letters had been opened. Sir James Graham justified the act as a state necessity exercised by virtue of the powers confided to the secretaries of state, and frequently exercised in cases of emergency. A secret commission was appointed to inquire into the matter, but the report ended in nothing, as it seemed to be ascertained that the power of opening of letters, by warrant in each case, vested by statute in the secretary of state, had fallen rather into desuetude. On the 5th of September, parliament was prorogued by commission.

So far the administration of Sir R. Peel had been conducted with ability, and its measures marked with success, for the failure in the state trials was apparent rather than real. The decision of the Lords on points of law which set the prisoners free was referred by the public to party considerations; for the majority of law lords which determined it belonged to the Liberal party, with whom Mr. O'Connell acted when they were in power. The main object of the prosecution was effected. The people of Ireland saw that the great agitator and the Repeal Association were not above the law. Many useful measures were passed, the revenues were healthy, expenditure controlled, our foreign relations more satisfactory, as the French government disavowed the seizure by their officers of Mr. Prichard, our consul, in Tahiti; peace secured in India, China, and the East; the repeal agitation abating, though the rent reached over 3,000*l.* in one week. The Anti-Corn-Law League was indeed active, and invested with the power and influence of an acknowledged political association, with vast agencies and forces rapidly augmenting within and without the walls of parliament. The domestic happiness of the queen was, as we learn from the records of her life, complete, and the year witnessed the birth of Prince Alfred; but the death of the duke of Coburg led to the separation of Prince Albert from her Majesty, for a short time, on a visit to his relatives in Gotha. In June the emperor of Russia, Czar Nicholas, came to our shores. His grand air and figure produced a great effect in society, and the multitude who, a few years afterwards, execrated his name, were loud in their welcome when he appeared in public. The czar first "put up" at Baron Brunnow's, the Russian ambassador, but subsequently moved to Buckingham Palace as the guest of the queen. The conversations of the Russian emperor with the duke of Wellington, Lord Aberdeen, and Sir R. Peel in reference to the Eastern question, will be referred to when we come to the Crimean war. The influence of the queen and her ministers induced Czar Nicholas to give a tardy recognition to the kingdom of Belgium and to the existence of the king of the Belgians, who offended him by the employment of Polish officers. The king of Saxony also came over to England, and the royal visit to Ascot races was graced by the presence of the two monarchs; but an event of almost larger interest than the appearance of the Emperor Nicholas was the arrival, in October, of the king of the French, who had been made a knight of the Garter, and came over for his investiture. In answer to an address at Portsmouth he said, alluding to his former exile in England, "At that period I was frequently pained at the existence of differences and feuds between our countries. I assure you, gentlemen, I shall endeavour at all times to prevent a repetition of those feelings and conduct, believing, as I do most sincerely, that the happiness and prosperity of a nation depend quite as much on the peace of those nations by which she is surrounded as on quiet within her own dominions." The king who uttered these words, no doubt in all sincerity, very soon afterwards brought the countries to the verge of war, and later still was again an exile.

On her return from her second visit to Scotland, where Lord Glenlyon had put Blair Atholl at their disposal, and Prince Albert became an accomplished deer-stalker, the queen, on the 28th of October, opened the Royal Exchange in state. The Burns festival at Alloway afforded a proof of the sway exercised over all classes by the genius of the poet, whose family were represented there by his sons and other relations; and great and humble flocked from all parts to do honour to his memory. The Tractarian movement was extending and making deep fissures in the fabric of the church of England. By the middle of May the Scotch Free Church Assembly had collected 70,000*l.* for the Sustentation fund, 50,000*l.* for schools, 32,000*l.* for missions, and announced that 230,000*l.* had been spent, or was in course of use, on the building of churches. Whilst the Tractarians and Anti-Tractarians were in vain admonished by the moderate or Laodicæan bishops to exercise forbearance and concession, the church of Ireland was contending with zeal and bitterness against the new system of national education which they virtually handed over to the priests.

On the whole, the year presented a marked contrast to the period of turbulence and distress which succeeded the short repose on the queen's accession. Beyond the transactions already mentioned, there was not much to call for notice. The United States government affected to regard some little activity in the dockyards as indicative of hostile intentions; but Lord Aberdeen assured the American minister they were only "defences proper in time of peace to meet the possible dangers of war, and not meant with an eye to Oregon boundary disputes. Texas was annexed to the United States, the French fleet bombarded and reduced Tangiers and Mogador; but these developments of aggressive tendencies on the part of the Great Republic and of our neighbours could not be effectively impeded, even if it were desired to do so. The intelligence of the execution of Stoddart and Conolly by the khan of Bokhara, sent by Dr. Wolff, the converted Jew missionary, who had gone out on a venturous quest to achieve their freedom, was received without exciting the feelings which led to the despatch of an expedition to Abyssinia at a later epoch. Before parliament met Mr. Gladstone retired from the ministry. Those who do not remember what occurred twenty-eight years ago may well be astonished to learn that the minister who abolished the Irish Church and introduced the Irish University Bill, left office because of his opposition to an increase of the grant to Maynooth and to an establishment of non-sectarian schools.

A few days after Mr. Gladstone's resignation, a convocation was held at Oxford to condemn the book of Mr. George Ward, "The Ideal of a Christian Church," and deprive him of his degrees as the holder of views inconsistent with the Thirty-nine Articles, which was done by large majorities, Dr. Pusey, Mr. Gladstone, and Dr. Hook voting against the proposition; but the religious controversy by no means abated, and the most thoughtful and energetic of the younger clergy showed a decided tendency to follow the leaders of what was called the Puseyite section of English churchmen.

Parliament was opened by the queen in person, on the 4th of February. The royal speech, referring to the abatement of political agitation in Ireland, remarked that, "as a natural result, private capital has been more freely applied to useful public enterprises undertaken through the friendly co-operation of individuals interested in the welfare of Ireland." One paragraph recommended that a favourable consideration should be given to "the policy of improving and extending the opportunities for academical education in Ireland." In accordance with a pledge given by Sir R. Peel the previous year, that the government would during the recess apply themselves to that subject, a measure was prepared for "a liberal increase of the vote for the college of Maynooth, unaccompanied by any regulation which could diminish the grace of the grant." In the debate on the address Mr. Gladstone stated that he had not resigned on account of anything the government proposed to do relating to the church of England or Ireland. Some years ago he had in a most detailed and deliberate manner given to the world the views he entertained on the relation of a Christian state to a Christian church. He held a strong conviction that those who have borne solemn testimony on great constitutional questions ought not to be parties to proposing a material departure from them: and the intentions of government were at variance with what he held to be salutary principles; but, in order to apply his mind to the consideration of the measures relating to Maynooth free from all biassed and selfish considerations, he, without being prepared to take part in any religious warfare against them, considered it advisable to retire from the government. "I can understand, and I have even ventured to vindicate the principles upon which a Christian state allies itself for religious purposes with a Christian church, but if the time has come when, owing to religious divisions and a great modification of political sentiments, what remains of that system must be further departed from, then I cannot understand how a line of distinction is to be drawn unfavourable to my Roman Catholic fellow subjects in Ireland." Lord John Russell endeavoured to prejudice the Irish Roman Catholics against the government by recalling to their minds the use of the phrases "surpliced ruffians" and "demon priesthood," which Sir R. Peel indignantly denied having approved of, and which he declared had never been used by him or any of his friends towards the Irish clergy. The Whigs were apparently irritated that the Peel administration should make any concessions to appease the Irish, whose peculiar maladies they supposed themselves to be the only practitioners to deal with successfully; and they were not displeased that the Charitable Bequests Bill of the previous session had been received with coldness in Ireland by those it so much benefited.

The excited state of the public mind in reference to the Free Trade controversy, and the relations of parties to their chiefs, led to great anxiety to know what the ministry were about to propose in fulfilment of their promises and of the measures sketched out in the queen's speech.

The country had not long to wait for the announcement of the financial policy of the government. On the 15th of February Sir R. Peel introduced his budget in a luminous and comprehensive speech of three and a half hours' duration, which created a marked impression on the House. Ministers were justified in demanding an increased expenditure on account of the public service. No saving could be effected by the abolition of offices and the reduction of salaries. A surplus of 3,409,000*l.* he devoted to the reduction of the sugar duty, the abolition of the duty on glass, cotton, wool, and on the importation of Baltic staves. It was also proposed to abolish the duty on all those articles which merely yielded nominal amounts, a step which of itself would sweep away four hundred and thirty articles from the tariff. A sufficient force of revenue officers must be kept up to ensure the collection of the revenue, and to give facilities to the transactions of commerce. He proposed to continue the income tax for a further limited period of three years, because he was convinced that the reduction in the price of articles of great mportance would be, if not a complete, yet a great compensation for such a burden. He did not deny that the financial scheme which he had explained was a bold experiment; but, responsible as he was to parliament for its success he was not afraid to run the risk of making it. He calculated the revenue for the ensuing year at 51,100,000*l.* and the expenditure at 49,690,000*l.* The debates which ensued were able and acrimonious. Mr. Roebuck opposed the resolution to continue the income tax, as far as "trades, professions, and offices" were concerned, but his amendment was defeated by two hundred and sixty-three to fifty-five. A motion against the ministerial plan by Mr. B. Osborne was also rejected, but it was plain that the government would encounter the utmost hostility from a combination of parties, and it was only by hard fighting against open enemies on the opposition side of the House, and the protectionists who had formally declared war against the government, though they continued to sit on the same side, that the various bills for the income tax continuance, customs, and sugar duties were passed. To meet the clamour of the freetraders, a cry of distress was raised by the agricultural interest, and formal appeals were made to parliament by the duke of Richmond, Mr. Miles, and others, for relief, redress, and inquiry. The leader in personal hostilities to Sir R. Peel was Mr. Disraeli, who had recently achieved great success in the House by a few speeches of extraordinary felicity of metaphor, and had by one or two happy hits, which damaged the premier's position exceedingly, emerged from parliamentary obscurity into the full blaze of reputation, as one of those chosen few whose rising attracts members to fill the house and the galleries on the field days of party warfare. His works of fiction bore the impress of a vivid fancy and strong originality, and he developed in his later works peculiar views on the duties of government, on the relations of church and state, and the respective influences of the landed gentry and the manufacturing classes, which were held to be able expositions of the doctrines of the Young England party. That party numbered in its ranks some of the ablest writers and thinkers of the rising aristocracy. Mr. Disraeli's *début* in the House was unfortunate, and it was only the appropriate occasion for the display of his wonderful powers of sarcasm and of aggressive rhetoric which was afforded by Sir R. Peel's abandonment of his party, which raised him into notice and, eventually, to power. On the motion of Lord Howick for a committee to inquire into the allegations of Mr. Thomas Duncombe, that his letters had been opened in the Post Office in 1842, Sir R. Peel having spoken with unusual warmth, was taunted by Mr. Disraeli with simulating a passion he did not feel. "The right honourable baronet has too great a mind, and fills too eminent a position, ever to lose his temper; but in a popular assembly it was sometimes expedient to enact the part of the choleric gentleman. His case was not always best when he violently rapped the red box on the table. I know, from old experience, that when one first enters the House, these exhibitions are rather alarming, and I believe that some of the younger members are much frightened; but I advise them not to be terrified. I tell them that the right honourable baronet will not eat them up, he will not even resign; the very worst thing he will do is to tell them to rescind a vote." The temper and abilities of Sir R. Peel but little fitted him to engage in such contests—as little could the whale encounter the swordfish, as the sedate, solemn, and slightly pompous premier engage the quick, flexible assailant, whose glittering point wounded at every lunge; and when he did descend into the arena to join in the unequal encounter, the shouts of the delighted spectators added vigour and address to the unsparing blade which pierced him. In his reply to the attacks of Mr. Disraeli on this occasion, he said that it was certainly possible to manifest great influence and yet not to be in a passion; and on the other hand it was possible to be exceedingly composed in manner, and yet to cherish the most acrimonious feelings. He would do Mr. Disraeli entire justice; he believed his bitterness was not simulated, but was entirely sincere. But let him not say he acted in a friendly spirit.

> "Give me the avowed, erect, and manly foe.
> Firm I can meet, perhaps can turn the blow;
> But of all plagues, good heaven, thy wrath can send,
> Save, oh, save me, from a candid friend."

In the renewed debate, Mr. Disraeli described Sir R. Peel as having caught the Whigs bathing and run off with their clothes. He had tamed the shrew of Liberalism by her own tactics, and was the political Petruchio who had outbid them all. The premier was advised to stick to quotation, because he had never quoted any passage which had not obtained the meed of parliamentary approbation. Sir R. Peel had quoted Canning about preferring an open foe to a "candid friend"; but he might spare his courage, remembering that there is no opposition to him. "There is another reason why he should not adopt this tone; he should not forget, after all, a great many of his supporters were elected on the hustings under very different circumstances to those under which they sit here. He may object to me—although I think he has no great occasion to object—that I am sometimes in a different lobby to himself; but I was sent to swell a Tory majority—to support a Tory ministry. (Cheers from the opposition.) Whether a Tory ministry exists or not, I do not pretend to decide; but I am bound to believe that the Tory majority still remains; and therefore I do not think that it is the majority that should cross the House, but only the ministry."—Sir Robert replied, that the attack had not at all interfered with his peace of mind. "I tell the honourable gentleman at once, that I will not condescend to reciprocate personalities with him, neither now nor at the end of a week. I also feel, sir, that in this respect the honourable gentleman would have a very great advantage over me, because he has leisure to prepare his attacks."

But the policy of government with regard to Irish Roman Catholics was the subject of the warmest debate; and no one who looks back to it now, and sees what has occured within the last few years, can fail to be struck by the liberality of the government, which willingly encountered great obloquy and prejudice to do justice where they could not expect gratitude. On the 3rd of April Sir R. Peel introduced a bill for improving the condition of the Roman Catholic college of Maynooth. Sir R. Peel recommended the measure as the result of an examination of his favourite programme of "three courses." These three were on this occasion to continue the present system, to discontinue the vote, and repudiate all connection with Maynooth, or to extend the institution for the education of the priests. The first he confessed to thinking the most open to objection, and his reasons were given with undeniable force and logical precision. The other course was impossible, because the government inherited the obligations imposed on them by Mr. Pitt and by the Act of Union. The third, then, was the proper course to follow. He proposed to give sufficient accommodation for five hundred pupils, suitable rooms to the president and professors, to have the repairs of the college executed by the board of works, and to give a grant of 30,000*l.* a year not subject to an annual vote. "We do not think," he said, "that there is any violation of conscientious scruples involved in our proposition. We believe that it is perfectly compatible to hold steadfast the profession of our faith without wavering, and at the same time to improve the education and elevate the character of those who, do what you will, must be the spiritual guides and religious instructors of millions of your fellow-countrymen." The proposal gave rise to great excitement among the extreme Protestants, and the debate on the second reading lasted over six nights. Mr. Smythe having taunted ministers with their former declarations, that concession had reached its utmost limits, Sir James Graham expressed his regret at ever having used such an expression. "If I have given offence to Ireland," he said, "I can only say from the very depth of my heart, that my actions have been better than my words."

Meetings were at once held all over the country, and especially in Scotland, to denounce the grant, or rather the increase to it. Dr. Candlish declared at Edinburgh "he believed, so sure as he did God's Word to be true, that a judgment must overtake this nation if we homologate this great sin." The Emancipation Act was menaced, and Dr. Croly, in Covent Garden Theatre, reminded his hearers that George IV. died soon after his signature was put to that measure, and that the Houses of Parliament had been consumed by fire. The duke of Newcastle fulminated a manifesto "against sinful endowment of the rebellious papists' seminary, and menaced the land with the wrath of God," which seemed to be at the disposal of all the agitators. The motion for leave to bring in the bill was opposed violently by Sir R. Inglis and others, and one hundred and fourteen voted against, and two hundred for its introduction. The debates on the second reading of the bill occupied three nights in the Peers and six nights in the Commons. There was a hail of petitions against the measure. But the ministers prevailed, rejected all amendments or proposals to modify their plan, and carried the second reading by a division of three hundred and twenty-three to one hundred and seventy-six. It was the fate of the duke of Wellington to move the second reading in the Lords; they passed it by the great majority of two hundred and twenty-six to sixty-nine; and a majority of one hundred and thirty-one carried the third reading. Incidentally, the Irish Church and the position of Trinity College was involved in the discussion in the Commons. Mr. Macaulay declared the Irish Church had failed to convert or instruct, and styled it the most indefensible of all our institutions. The debates were enlivened by the sallies of Colonel Sibthorpe, who expressed his belief that they would yet see Sir R. Peel sitting cross-legged in his proper position as a Mahomedan, and embracing his holiness the pope with affection, and by the eloquence of Mr. Macaulay. The scheme for placing the College of Maynooth on a more efficient establishment was followed up by the larger measure to which the Roman Catholic prelates have evinced an all but fatal animosity. In pursuance of the queen's promises, Sir James Graham, on the 9th of May, introduced a bill for the establishment of colleges at Cork, Galway, and Belfast, with adequate endowments for principals and for professors of all branches of learning, except theology. The proposal encountered the hot resistance of Sir R. Inglis, who denounced these "godless colleges." Mr. Sheil declared he would not support it, but the Whigs promised their aid, and the Irish Conservatives did not offer any opposition to the introduction of the bill. The second reading was carried, but there were debates on other stages, in the first of which Mr. O'Connell for once agreed with Sir R. Inglis, and declared that religion ought to be the basis of education. The Roman Catholic bishops presented a memorial against the bill, and the government were attacked, front, flank, and rear. The bill was called "a penal measure!" And when Sir J. Graham, in natural astonishment, asked "why?" he was told, because "the bishops were deprived of the means of doing the duty they owed to the principles of their religion." Mr. O'Connell's anticipations that the colleges would fail have, in some measure, been verified, but Lord J. Russell's apprehension that they would be likely to produce more prejudice than benefit to the land have, happily, not been realised. The bill was carried, the colleges were established, and between the attractions of Trinity College and the condemnations of the Roman Catholic bishops, have struggled on to this day, when they are presented with prospects of a new career as portions of a national university.

In Scotland the agitation caused by the Maynooth grant, did not continue very long, but it was great for the time, and Mr. Macaulay was called to account for his vote by the city of Edinburgh; but the people were chiefly interested in their internal affairs and the great contest between the churches. The Free Kirk appealed to parliament to grant relief from the grievance to which they were subjected by the refusal of the landowners to grant sites for churches.

Mr. Cobden, on the 13th of March, introduced the Game Laws to the House of Commons in an ingeniously devised attire, under the cover of a motion for a committee to inquire into the causes and extent of the alleged agricultural distress and the effects of protection, and the motion was rejected by two hundred and thirteen to one hundred and twenty-one. By way of rejoinder, Mr. Miles shortly after moved a resolution, pledging the House to relief to the agricultural interest by the application of some of the surplus revenue. Sir James Graham and Sir R. Peel, who were supported by Lord John Russell, opposed it, and the motion was rejected by one hundred and thirty-six majority. Then came Mr. Ward to the front with nearly the same question in another dress, but made up with quite a different purpose, and wanted an inquiry into the special burthen and exemptions affecting land; but it was refused by one hundred and eighty-two to one hundred and nine. Lord J. Russell next presented a string of resolutions on the condition of the labouring classes, which would have been all the better served by his advocacy had he brought them forward when he was in office; and after two nights' debate the previous question, moved by the government, was carried by one hundred and eighty-four to one hundred and four. Mr. Villiers's annual motion for a committee on the Corn Laws received the support of Lord John Russell, who had been member of a government which had opposed it, but his support of the agitation had not the effect of the speeches made by Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden. Sir R. Peel and Sir James Graham, still obdurate, resisted, and the motion was rejected again by two hundred and fifty-four to one hundred and twenty-two.

This energetic parliament did not adjourn without doing other work of great import. A bill to relieve the Jews from municipal disabilities, and from the laws imposing tests on their election to offices, a measure to amend the poor laws in Scotland, founded on the report of a commission, a bill to grant compensation to tenants in certain cases in Ireland, were introduced and passed. Deodands were abolished; medical reform advanced; new charters granted to the colleges of London, Dublin, and Edinburgh; and banking in Ireland and Scotland regulated.

A great passion, almost equal to that of the South Sea bubble, seized the public, to make money by applying for allotments in the new companies, which generally were forced up to a premium, at which the allotments were disposed of to those who dreaded the liability incurred by the original allottee. In Leeds, the police had to be called out to keep the streets to the Stock Exchange clear. Extraordinary development was given to the railway system, and the House of Commons could scarcely find members to sit on the sub-committees and committees to which the bills were referred. In one month, October, 357 new schemes, with a capital of 332,000,000*l.*, were announced. Sir R. Peel opened the Trent Valley railway, and his example was followed by senators opening railways all over the kingdom. The "Times" published a table of all the railway companies registered up to the 31st of October, numbering 1428, and involving an outlay of 701,243,208*l.* "Take away," it was remarked, "140,000,000*l.* for railways completed or in progress, exclude all the most extravagant schemes, and divide the remainder by ten, can we add from our present resources even a tenth of the vast remainder? Can we add 50,000,000*l.* to the railway speculations we are already irretrievably embarked in? We cannot, without the most ruinous, universal, and desperate confusion." The "Battle of the Gauges," which cost so much money, was begun and fought, but not ended, in the House and out of it; and a sagacious motion of Mr. Cobden's for a commission to inquire into the best gauge, and adopt uniformity, was rejected at first, but later in the year three commissioners and the astronomer royal were appointed to inquire if uniformity were expedient and desirable. Mr. George Hudson, styled the Railway King, in consequence of the vast projects he developed, and who lately died in what would have been abject poverty, but for the efforts of some friends who remembered his generosity in the day when he was sought out by the noblest of noble, in expectation of the largesse of his favours, was elected for Sunderland in spite of the efforts of the League, who wished to secure the seat for an Anti-Corn-Law candidate, Colonel Thompson.

On the 21st of June, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert arrived at Spithead to inspect the magnificent fleet assembled for the purpose of trial cruises. All the ships, dressed in colours, manned their yards, and fired salutes as the queen touched the deck of the St. Vincent, the flag-ship of the squadron. She was received by Rear-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Captain Rowley, and the officers of the ship. She then steamed alongside the Trafalgar, 120 guns, and was received by Captain Martin. The Albion, 90 guns, Captain Lockyer, C.B., was next visited. The royal party then returned to the yacht, and signals were made to all the captains of the fleet to repair on board to be received by her majesty at a levée. Captain Rowley, of the St. Vincent; Captain Martin, of the Trafalgar; Sir B. Walker, of the Queen; Captain Lockyer, C.B., of the Albion; Captain Collier, of the Rodney; Captain Willes, of the Vanguard; Captain Moresby, of the Canopus; and Captain Corrie, of the Superb, attended. On the 23rd the queen reviewed the fleet. The scene was most animated. Numerous steamboats, the yachts of the Royal Squadron, and of the various clubs in all parts of the kingdom, presented a striking appearance. At one o'clock the Superb got under weigh and stood out towards St. Helen's, followed by the Black Eagle and others. On their return the queen passed through the entire squadron, and expressed herself much pleased. The fleet assembled at Spithead presented a rare display of naval strength. There were the Queen, 110 guns, and 3099 tons burden; the Hibernia, 100 guns, and 2530 tons; Albion, 90 guns, 3083 tons; Trafalgar, 120 guns, 2721 tons; Rodney, 92 guns, 2625 tons; Vanguard, 80 guns, 2609 tons; Superb, 80 guns, 2590 tons; Canopus, 84 guns, 2257 tons; Vernon, 50 guns, 2082 tons: total 926 guns, and 26,208 tons, being heavier by 6412 tons than the fleet of the Nile. This magnificent squadron was moored in two lines, the larboard division consisting of the Canopus, Rodney, Superb, and Vanguard; that to starboard being formed by the Trafalgar, the Queen, the Albion, and the St. Vincent. Rear-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker was commander-in-chief of the squadron, Captain C. Willes, of the Vanguard, second. And although two or three of the two-deckers survived for nine years, and took part in the war with Russia in 1854, it is remarkable that in a few years steam had condemned most of those stately fabrics to neglect and disuse.

On the 9th of August parliament was prorogued by the queen in person. At the ceremony the crown, carried by the duke of Argyll, fell from the cushion, but was not injured. In the afternoon her majesty left Buckingham Palace for Woolwich, where she embarked with Prince Albert for Antwerp *en route* to Germany. Her absence was regarded with some uneasiness; but the government did not think it necessary to appoint lords justices to exercise the royal authority. The visit gave the queen the most unalloyed delight. Among one of many pleasant incidents which distinguished it was the occurrence of the anniversary of the birth of Prince Albert on the 26th of August in Coburg, when the day was celebrated with a simplicity charmingly characteristic of German manners, and by a rustic festival at the palace of Rosenau, where the royal visitors engaged in the rejoicings of the villagers. The royal party left Rosenau on the 3rd of September, and returned homeward by way of Antwerp, where they were again received by the king of the Belgians; and visited the château at Eu, where they were welcomed by the king and queen of the French.

If her majesty placed much stress on the outward and visible signs of attachment to her dynasty, or was much swayed by fantastic appearances of devotion to the House which her ancestors had displaced, she might have been made uncomfortable by the proceedings of her Irish and her Scotch subjects. To the corporation of Dublin she was obliged to say: "Whenever I may be enabled to receive in Ireland the promised welcome, I shall rely with confidence on the loyalty and affection of my faithful subjects," most of whom were either engaged in humbling Mr. O'Connell and Repeal, and expressing unpleasant wishes towards the pope. In her northern kingdom the clans, now so loyal, were evincing their devotion to 'Auld lang Syne' by a curious demonstration, which is thus recorded: "August 19.—Centennial commemoration of the gathering of the clans at Glenfinnon in 1745. Arrangements on a suitable scale, and in a very liberal spirit, were made by Macdonald of Glenalladale at the inn of Glenfinnon, for the accommodation of those whom the celebration might draw to the spot. The memory of those 'out' in the perilous '45 was proposed as a toast by Macdonald of Marr, who presided on the occasion. The visitors afterwards walked with the neighbouring peasantry, who mustered strongly on the occasion, to the head of Loch Shiel, and marched round the monument erected there to Prince Charles. The day's proceedings were brought to a close by an exhibition of national games. This was scarcely a graceful recognition of the selection made by the queen of the period from 1740 to 1750, for the dresses of the characters in her fancy dress ball at Buckingham Palace, in the month of June, before her visit to the fleet, but it was a very innocent demonstration, and implied not the least intent to hurt the 'House of Hanover.'"

Abroad there were no apparent causes of distrust, and at home there was a larger measure of tranquillity than had been seen for some time—of course there were small troubles in remote regions where we came in contact with barbarous races intent on resisting the disagreeable processes which are called civilisation, or with the civilised races who took a different view of our rights and pretensions from our own.

The conflicts between the settlers and the natives in New Zealand, in which the latter had evinced unusual courage and resolution, naturally attracted the attention of parliament to the affairs of the colony The New Zealand Company were in direct opposition to the colonial office, and threatened to impeach Lord Stanley. They claimed the credit of establishing 16,000 whites in New Zealand, and complained that the government had marred their prospects; but they forgot that their negotiations with the natives were not characterised by strict equity, and that there was upon certain points, as Sir J. Graham observed, "the absence of all control over the lawless spirits in the island." On the 10th of March, Heki, a chief of remarkable energy, took the field and drove the settlers out of the Kokorarika district into Auckland, and defeated, on the 1st of July, a body of troops under Colonel Despard, who had marched out of Auckland to carry the pah—a native entrenched camp. One-fourth of the detachment were killed or wounded, but the camp was ultimately abandoned. Heki, however, was not reduced to submission; but under his influence, and that of other chiefs, the colonists were harried in their holdings, and fears were expressed of their being finally extirpated, till the chiefs surrendered on the 19th of December.

Another question which cropped up was that of Oregon, which President Polk, in his inaugural address, had recommended the United States to take possession of, the treaty of Washington notwithstanding. They had already annexed Texas, of which we had recognised the independence some time previously; but the act was demanded by the American settlers in Texas, who might be considered the people of the country. Papers relating to the question between the two governments were promised parliament, and the spirit of the House of Commons was indicated in a tremendous burst of cheers when Sir R. Peel ended his speech by declaring, "We desire an amicable adjustment of the differences between ourselves and the United States, but, having exhausted every effort to maintain it, if our rights are invaded, we are resolved and prepared to maintain them."

But after all the year appeared as if it would end peacefully, if it did not conclude happily. Ireland indeed was not tranquil. The Liberator held levées. He had been drawn in triumphal cars through the streets of Dublin and other cities. He entered Cork in state, with the Harp of Tara, playing before him, and mock Irish chiefs and knights attired in ancient attire in his train. He held monster repeal meetings, but he paid little or no heed to the wrath to come till it was at hand; and the condition of his own estates, exposed in the letters of the "Times Commissioner," although he strongly repudiated the truth of Mr. Foster's statements, gave ground for the belief that he was much more eloquent and apt in denouncing than in remedying abuses. There was Young Ireland clamorous to fight; there were, in certain counties, "Molly Maguires," cowardly midnight terrorists, disturbing the peace, in spite of the moral force preachments of Mr. O'Connell, and the adjurations of the head pacificator, Mr. Steele, the honest and eccentric henchman of the agitator; but on the whole, in comparison with its past state, the condition of the country was promising till the dreadful visitation of famine fell upon it. The Orangemen reorganised their society just as the fact of the potato rot in all its unknown terrors was established: but the government dismissed several magistrates for the part they took in organising them. As if to rebuke the evil passions of men and the excesses of religious and political animosity, the land was about to be afflicted with a calamity which will render the history of the time a monument of human suffering and of human charity—alike impotent to stay the plague which laid the country waste.

During the autumn appeared the first symptoms of what subsequently proved to be a total failure of the potato crop throughout Ireland. A potato dealer going down to Dover on the 11th of August, wrote to Sir James Graham, to announce that there and all the way to Tunbridge, the whole of the crop early and late was being entirely destroyed. On the 30th of September the correspondent of a Dublin journal, who reported that the harvest prospects in Dublin, Meath, Cavan, and Fermanagh were most favourable, remarked that the potato crop was far from satisfactory. The "Gardeners' Chronicle" soon afterwards announced that there was no means of stopping the murrain. Dr. Lyon Playfair, who, with others, was appointed by the government to inquire into the extent of the evil and the means to check the disease, reported, in October, that the accounts were underrated, rather than exaggerated. Alas! indeed they were not—no accounts could exaggerate the calamity. Every day's news confirmed and enlarged the worst apprehensions of the day before. The Anti-Corn-Law League seized on the occasion with alacrity and force. They had worked at the registrations and had made enormous efforts, not always in vain, to influence the constituencies throughout the year. They called meetings, the failure of the potato crop was urged as a providential interference and argument against the corn laws. Lord Morpeth joined the League, declared his conviction the time was come for the final repeal of the "corn laws," and recorded his protest against the continued inaction of the state. Lord John Russell addressed a letter to the electors of London, in which he said it was no longer worth while to contend for a fixed duty, and taunted the protectionists with having refused eight shillings a quarter in 1841, which the Free Trade party would then have agreed to.

Now, whether the government were waiting for an excuse to put an end to the corn laws or not, it is certain they did not show any signs of insensibility to the greatness of the crisis or want of appreciation of the value of speedy action. A day or two after the report of the Potato Rot commissioners was read, a cabinet council was held at the house of Sir R. Peel (Oct 31), who sat for two and a half hours to consider the situation, and next day a memorandum was issued by Sir R. Peel, which was significant of the great revolution. "The calling of parliament," writes the prime minister, "at an unusual period, on any matter connected with a scarcity of food, is a most important step. It compels an immediate decision on three questions: Shall we maintain unaltered?—shall we modify?—shall we suspend the operation of the corn laws? The first vote we propose—a vote of credit, for instance, for 100,000*l.*, to be placed at the disposal of the lord-lieutenant for the supply of food—opens the whole question. Can we vote public money for the sustenance of any considerable portion of the people on account of actual or apprehended scarcity, and maintain in full operation the existing restrictions on the free import of grain? I am bound to say my impression is that we cannot." The conclusions of the prime minister, however, were by no means agreeable to some of his colleagues. Lord Stanley wrote to express his regret at the wide difference between himself and the premier, as to the necessity for a repeal of the corn laws, and warned him, if he persisted, he would break up the government. On the 16th of November, a cabinet memorandum, to issue forthwith an order in council, remitting the duty on grain in bond to one shilling, and opening the ports for the admission of all species of grain at a smaller rate of duty till a day named in the order, was drawn up by Sir R. Peel, and submitted to his colleagues. "The cabinet," wrote Sir R. Peel, "by a very considerable majority, declined giving its assent to the proposals which I thus made to them. They were supported by only three members of the cabinet—the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert. The other members of the cabinet, some on the ground of objection to the principle of the measures recommended, others upon the ground that there was not yet sufficient evidence of the necessity for them, withheld their sanction."

It will thus be seen how hard was the task which devolved upon Sir R. Peel, and the only question is, whether the objection of Lord Stanley, that if the proposed measures were necessary, it properly belonged to others to carry them, was well founded or not. We may conclude it was no vulgar ambition which influenced Sir R. Peel. At a cabinet council held towards the end of November, when the famine had really smitten the land, it was proposed to issue instructions to the commissioners, which Sir R. Peel declared were inconsistent with the determination of maintaining the corn laws, and he refused to agree to them, unless he could propose to parliament some measure of immediate relief. From that proposal, however, the majority of his colleagues still dissented. The duke of Wellington recorded his opinions in his usual terse and vigorous English: "I am one of those," he wrote in a memorandum next day, "who think the continuance of the corn laws essential to the agriculture of the country in its existing state, and particularly to that of Ireland, and a benefit to the whole community. . . . In respect to my own course, my only object in public life is to support Sir R. Peel's administration of the government for the queen. A good government for the country is more important than corn laws or any other consideration; and as long as Sir R. Peel possesses the confidence of the queen and of the public, and he has strength to perform the duties, his administration of the government must be supported. My own judgment would lead me to maintain the corn laws. Sir R. Peel may think that his position in parliament and in the public view requires that the course should be taken which I recommend; and if that should be the case, I earnestly recommend that the cabinet should support him, and I for one declare that I will do so."

There were some members of the cabinet who were less pliable than the Iron Duke, and among them were Lord Stanley and the duke of Buccleuch. These declared that they would be no parties to any proposal involving an ultimate repeal of the corn laws. On the 4th of December, the "Times" startled the country by announcing that parliament would be summoned in the first week in January, and that the queen would recommend an immediate consideration of the corn laws, preparatory to their total repeal. "Under these circumstances," Sir R. Peel writes: "I thought that the public interest would be very injuriously affected by the failure of an attempt made by a government to adjust that question. The other members of the cabinet, without exception, I believe, concurred in this opinion; and under these circumstances, I considered it to be my duty to tender my resignation to her majesty. On the 5th of December I repaired to Osborne, Isle of Wight, and humbly solicited her majesty to relieve me from duties which I felt I could no longer discharge with advantage to her majesty's service."

On receiving the resignation of Sir R. Peel, the queen sent for Lord John Russell, who undertook to form an administration in which both sides of the House should be represented by a coalition ministry.

On the 8th of December, Sir R. Peel wrote to the queen: "Your majesty has been good enough to inform Sir R. Peel that it is your intention to propose to Lord John Russell to undertake the formation of a government. The principle on which Sir R. Peel was prepared to recommend the reconsideration of the laws affecting the import of the main articles of food, was in general accordance with that referred to in the concluding paragraph of Lord John Russell's letter to the electors of the city of London. Sir R. Peel wished to accompany the removal of restrictions on the admission of these articles with relief to the land from such charges as are unduly onerous, and with such other provisions as, in the terms of Lord John Russell's letter, caution and even scrupulous forbearance may suggest. Sir R. Peel will support measures founded on that general principle, and will exercise any influence he may possess to promote their success." On the 17th, the negotiations for a coalition, which seem to have been carried on, were brought to an end by the refusal of Sir R. Peel, contained in a letter addressed to the queen, to pledge himself to support the total and immediate repeal of the corn laws, or to meet parliament with such fetters imposed on him. Mr. Macaulay, wrote to Edinburgh: "You will have heard of our attempt to form a government. All our plans were frustrated by Lord Grey, who objected to Lord Palmerston being foreign secretary. I hope that the public interests will not suffer. Sir R. Peel must now undertake the settlement of the question. It is certain that he can settle it. It is by no means certain that we could have done so. For we shall to a man support him; and a large proportion of those who are now in office would have refused to support us. On my own share in these transactions I reflect with unmoved satisfaction. From the first I told Lord John Russell that I stipulated for one thing only—total and immediate repeal of the corn laws; that my objections to gradual abolition were insurmountable; but that, if he declared for total and immediate repeal, I would be as to all other matters absolutely in his hands; that I would take any office, or no office, just as suited him best; and that he should never be disturbed by any personal pretentions or jealousies on my part. If everybody else had acted thus, there would now have been a Liberal ministry. However, as I said, perhaps it is best as it is."

On the 20th of December, Lord John Russell informed the queen that he had found it impossible to form an administration—that he was deeply sensible of the embarrassment to business, and would therefore do all in his power, as a member of parliament, to promote the settlement of a question which was a source of such danger. Sir R. Peel was again sent for. He went down to Windsor and was graciously received. The queen required him, "so far from taking leave of him," to withdraw his resignation, and proposed to give him time to communicate with his colleagues. Sir Robert's decision was prompt. He advised the queen to let him resume office at once, and enable him to announce to his late colleagues on his return to London that he had done so—"I thought I should speak with much greater authority if I were to invite them to support me in an effort in which I was determined, and which I had positively undertaken to make, than if I were to return to London, apparently undecided, for the purpose of asking their opinions as to the propriety of making that effort. . . . The queen was pleased cordially to approve of the suggestion I had ventured to offer, and I returned from Windsor Castle to London on the evening of the 20th, having resumed all the functions of first minister of the crown. Immediately on my arrival in London, I summoned a meeting of all those of my late colleagues who were within reach." The duke of Buccleuch, making every personal sacrifice of his opinions, resolved to support Sir R. Peel, and finally, with some trouble, the ministry was reconstituted, Mr. Gladstone becoming secretary of the colonies, in lieu of Lord Stanley, who broke off from his party, and less important changes.

The Whigs were much mortified by their failure to form a government, and attributed their misfortune to "the crotchetiness" of Earl Grey, who objected to the presence of Lord Palmerston at the Foreign Office; and the League renewed their agitation, and obtained enormous subscriptions to support the Free Trade propaganda.

There were signs and tokens that the year was to close in war. The new planet, named Astræa, discovered by Encke, did not exercise much influence on the affairs of this world of ours. The Dictator Rosas provoked the interference of the French and English governments, and the blockade of Buenos Ayres by an allied squadron; and because the queen of Madagascar was harsh towards foreign merchants, by way of teaching free trade doctrines by good Christian example, English and French gun-boats bombarded Tamatave. Such matters gave us no concern; but it was an unpleasant surprise, though the news was of victory, when we heard that war was raging in India once more; that yet another kingdom was to be absorbed by the Company. It may be remembered that the result of our alliance with Runjeet Sing had not been at all to our disadvantage. At his death the Maharanee, as queen mother, ruled in the name of her young son, Dhuleep Sing, the military chiefs of the great army, which the Lion of Lahore had organised, being, however, really controllers if not wielders of the supreme power. Their army was generally concentrated near Lahore; but now and then, as in 1843 and 1844, it moved down to the Sutlej for the sake of exercise. The military power of the Sikh state imposed on the British government extraordinary precautions, and after the death of Shere Sing, the posts in the north-west had been strengthened, Loodhiana and Ferozepore were occupied by strong garrisons; a force of seven thousand five hundred men and thirty-six guns, under Sir Hugh Gough, was in reserve at Umballah; but it was explained to the Sikhs that these preparations were not made with hostile intent. On the 2nd of December, the governor-general, Sir H. Hardinge, arrived at Umballa, and remained there for a week. In the beginning of December 1845, news came to the governor-general that there were great preparations at the Sikh capital, collecting stores, equipping artillery, and concentrating troops; he directed the troops at Umballa and Loodhiana, to move up to the frontier, and demanded explanations concerning the object of these preparations, which were not given. It seems, indeed, as if the proximity of the governor-general to their frontier, combined with false apprehensions of the object of his journey and of the concentration of troops on their frontier, led the chiefs to think they were about to be assailed, and that they resolved they would anticipate attack, and strike the British general before he was ready to deliver a deadly blow.

On the 9th of December, Sir H. Hardinge was moving with his camp from Umballa to Loodhiana, with the view of visiting the protected Sikh states, according to custom, when Captain Nicolson, assistant political agent at Ferozepore, hurried in at night, to report that the army of the Khalsa had moved down within three miles of the Sutlej. In four days more he received intelligence that the Sikhs had crossed the river, and were in great force on the left bank. Thereupon the fiat went forth, and on that very day proclamation was made by the governor-general. "Since the death of the late Maharajah Shere Sing, the disorganised state of the Lahore government has made it incumbent to adopt precautionary measures for the protection of the British frontier. The nature of these measures, and the cause of their adoption, were at the time fully explained to the Lahore Durbar . . . . . . The Sikh army has now, without the shadow of provocation, invaded the British territories. The governor-general must therefore take measures for effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of public peace. The governor-general hereby declares the possessions of Maharajah Dhuleep Sing, on the left or British bank of the Sutlej, confiscated and annexed to the British government."

The Sutlej was not a boundary river; both banks were within the Sikh dominions at the point where their army crossed it, and continued to be Sikh up to the junction of the river with the Indus; but part of the territory, on the left bank, belonged to the protected states. It will be seen, on a reference to the dates, that two days before the news of the advance of part of the Sikh army was reported to Sir H. Hardinge, he had ordered up the columns stationed at Umballa. "The troops," he writes, "moved on the 10th, 11th, and 12th, in pursuance of orders given on the 7th and 8th, and the whole of the forces, destined to move up to the Sutlej, were on full march on the 12th." The Loodhiana column, under Wheeler, consisted of five thousand men and twelve guns. The march was directed to Bassean, where the roads from Kurnaul and Umballah meet; and it was whilst they were in full tilt for the Sutlej that the Sikhs moved down and crossed the river. Sirdar Tej Sing at once invested Ferozepore, on one side, and entrenched a strong position at Ferozeshah, ten miles in front of, and covering it, and about the same distance from the village of Moodkee. Sir Hugh Gough was on his way from Umballah, with the view of effecting a junction with the force, consisting of five thousand men and twenty-one guns, under Major-General Sir John Littler, which had left Ferozepore, and, after distressing marches through sandy, waterless plains, he pitched his camp at Moodkee, at half-past twelve on the 18th of December. He had with him Sir Harry Smith's division, one brigade under M'Caskill, another under Gilbert, five troops Horse Artillery, two light field batteries, and a cavalry division of the 3rd Light Dragoons, 4th and 5th Light Cavalry, 9th Irregulars, and Governor-General's Body Guard.

About three o'clock in the afternoon of that day, as the troops were engaged in cooking their meal, Major Broadfoot received information that the Sikh army was in full march with the intention of surprising the camp. The British immediately stood to arms, and then advanced towards the enemy. The artillery and cavalry pushed on in front, and when they had gone about two miles came on the enemy, fifteen thousand to twenty thousand infantry, as many cavalry, and forty guns, apparently either just taking up position or advancing in order. Gough sent his three brigades of cavalry, in columns of squadrons, into the plain and occupied it. The twelve battalions of infantry were deployed into line, under a heavy fire from the enemy's artillery, well screened behind jungle, to which eighteen of our guns replied with such vigour and rapidity, as soon to neutralise their superior force; but as the infantry could not be got into effective formation, unless the guns could be advanced with them, Sir Hugh Gough directed the 3rd Light Dragoons, 5th Light Cavalry, the Body Guards, and part of the 4th Lancers, to sweep round the enemy's left and turn the position. Brigadiers White and Gough performed this duty most brilliantly, and the Sikh cavalry flew before them disgracefully. At the same moment the remainder of the 4th Lancers, and the 9th Irregulars, with a light field battery, were led by Brigadier M'Tier to the right, and produced a considerable impression; but the enemy's infantry and guns were well placed—Sir Hugh Gough writes: "Had not the infantry and guns been screened by the jungle, these brilliant charges would have been productive of greater effect"—the day was still in doubt. At last, however, the British advanced. Brookes's artillery was pushed close up to the jungle; the infantry, under Smith, Gilbert, and M'Caskill, moved to the attack in *échelon* of lines, and, in the gloom of the gathering darkness, opened fire on the Sikhs, who awaited them at the jungle. "The opposition of the enemy," writes the commander-in-chief, "was such as might have been expected from troops who had everything at stake, and who had long boasted of being irresistible. Their ample and extended line, from their great superiority of numbers, far outflanked ours, but this was counteracted by the flank movement of our cavalry. The attack of the infantry now commenced, and the roll of fire from this powerful arm, soon convinced the Sikh army that they had met with a foe they little expected. Their whole force was driven from position after position with great slaughter, and the loss of seventeen pieces of artillery, some of them of heavy calibre; our infantry using that never-failing weapon the bayonet, whenever the enemy stood. Night only saved them from worse disaster; for this stout conflict was maintained during an hour and a half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which yet more obscured every object." The victory, though great, was dearly purchased; Major-General Sir Robert Sale received a fatal grape-shot wound in the left thigh; Sir John M'Caskill, was shot through the chest, and other officers of rank fell in the action. The total number of killed and wounded amounted to eight hundred and seventy-two, that of the enemy was five times as large.

Sir Hugh Gough remained encamped in position near the scene of action, looking after the wounded, recruiting his men, and expecting another attack, till the 21st, when he advanced towards Ferozeshah, where he found the Sikhs entrenched in a strongly-marked position. The enemy lay inside a fortified parallelogram, about one mile long, and half a mile broad, the shorter sides looking towards Moodkee and the Sutlej, the larger towards Ferozepore and the open country; and it was against the latter face, the point of which was covered with scrubby jungle, that the attack was directed. The force, under Sir John Littler, which was at Ferozepore in the rear of the Sikhs, had received orders, on the night of the 20th, to move round so as to effect a junction with Sir Hugh Gough; and leaving a garrison inside the place, Littler marched out early in the morning towards the right of the enemy's position, whilst Gough led his columns to the left, out of range of the guns with which the Sikhs had profusely garnished their entrenchments.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, on the 21st of December, the British, consisting of sixteen thousand seven hundred men, and sixty-four guns, advanced to the attack of their formidable enemy, who were variously estimated to have from forty-eight thousand to sixty thousand men, with one hundred and eight guns of heavy calibre in fixed batteries. The governor-general, Sir H. Hardinge, volunteered, and served throughout the day as second in command. The force was in two lines, Littler's and M'Caskill's (now Wallace's and Gilbert's infantry) in the first, with all the artillery in the centre, except a troop on each flank and one battery in reserve; Smith's division with the cavalry, having a brigade in reserve to cover each wing, in the second line. The left was entrusted to Hardinge; Gough led the right. "A very heavy cannonade was opened by the enemy, who had dispersed over their position upwards of one hundred guns, more than forty of which were of battering calibre; these kept up a heavy and well-directed fire, which the practice of our far less numerous artillery of much lighter metal checked in some degree, but could not silence; finally, in the face of a storm of shot and shell, our infantry advanced, and carried the formidable entrenchments; they threw themselves upon the guns, and, with matchless gallantry, wrested them from the enemy; but when the batteries were partially within our grasp our soldiers had to face such a fire of musketry from the Sikh infantry, arrayed behind their guns, that, in spite of the most heroic efforts, a portion only of the entrenchments could be carried." Evening fell while the conflict was everywhere raging. Although Smith's division of the second line was now brought up, and captured another point of the position. although the 3rd Light Dragoons charged with splendour, and carried some of the most formidable batteries, when night came and brought a respite to the combatants the Sikhs still held part of the entrenched position. It was a terrible situation; our worn-out men, tortured with thirst and fearfully reduced in strength, bivouacked among the dead and dying, almost alongside the enemy. In the middle of the night the Sikhs pushed up a large gun and opened fire on the exhausted British with but too much effect; but the 80th regiment made a dash, and took the gun. The governor-general passed the night on the field with the troops, passing from regiment after regiment to ascertain their temper and revive their spirits. "His answer to every man, who asked what we were to do?" writes a soldier, "was, that they must fight out the attack at daybreak, or die honourably on the field." "All through the night the Sikhs made attempts to dislodge our troops," but, continues the commander-in-chief, "with daylight of the 22nd came retribution. Our infantry formed line, supported on both flanks by horse artillery, whilst a fire was opened from our centre by such of our heavy guns as remained effective, aided by a flight of rockets. A masked battery played with great effect upon this point, dismounting our pieces, and blowing up our tumbrils. At this moment Lieut.-General Sir Henry Hardinge (who volunteered to take second in command) placed himself at the head of the left, whilst I rode at the head of the right wing. Our line advanced, and, unchecked by the enemy's fire, drove them rapidly out of the village of Ferozeshah, and their encampment; then changing front to its left on its centre, our force continued to sweep the enemy, bearing down all opposition, and dislodged the enemy from the whole position. The line then halted as if on a day of manœuvre, receiving its two leaders as they rode along in front, with a gratifying cheer, and displaying the captured standards of the Khalsa army. We had taken upwards of seventy-three pieces of cannon, and were masters of the whole field." An attempt made by the Sirdar Tej Sing, about two hours later, to regain his position, was checked by a movement to attack both flanks at once. The number returned as killed in this engagement was six hundred and ninety-four; wounded, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one. Prince Waldemar of Prussia took part in the first day's action, and distinguished himself for his coolness. We shall return to the history of the rest of the campaign presently.

The political events which marked the close of the year, lent additional interest to the opening of the session of 1846, on the 19th of January, by the queen in person. Her majesty's speech first dealt with the ordinary topics, which take precedence of all others, of foreign relations, and referred to the convention which had been concluded between England and France, for the suppression of the Slave Trade, the disputes connected with the River Plate, and the conflicting claims to the Oregon territory. Her majesty expressed her regret at the frequent instances of deliberate assassination in Ireland, suggested the necessity for special legislation, lamented the failure of the potato crop, and concluded by recommending for early consideration the question of protective duties. "I have had," said her majesty, "great satisfaction in giving my assent to the measures which you have presented to me from time to time, calculated to extend commerce and to stimulate domestic skill and industry, by the repeal of prohibitive and the relaxation of protective duties. I recommend you to take into your early consideration whether the principle on which you have acted may not with advantage be yet more extensively applied." As might be expected, the debates on the address were heated and long. The duke of Richmond protested against the clause referring to protective duties, as being directly contrary to every principle and every statement professed and made by the members of the existing government. The duke of Wellington declined to defend Sir Robert Peel, or his government. "The vote on the address to the crown was," said the noble duke, "the question then before the House." Lord Stanley being asked by the duke of Richmond why he left the government, refused to answer, but observed that the only difference of opinion that existed between him and his colleagues was as to the degree and amount of agricultural protection; and that he thought the proposed measure was uncalled for, by change of circumstances since 1842. In the House of Commons, Sir Robert Peel rose early to explain the immediate causes of his recent resignation and return to office. That great and mysterious calamity—the total failure of the potato crop—had, he said, forced the government to come to an immediate decision on the laws governing the importation of grain. His opinions on that question had undergone a great change, nor did he feel humiliated in avowing it, and in exercising the privilege of yielding to force of argument and reason. That change of opinion had been forced upon him by the experience of the last three years, which had fully convinced him that his former arguments were no longer tenable. He did not now think the protection of native industry right, or advantageous, nor that England could not compete with foreign countries because she had a heavy debt and severe taxation. Statistical returns showed that the removal of protective duties had stimulated foreign exports. On the 1st of November he advised the immediate opening of the ports, by an order in council; only three of his colleagues supported him; he thought a possibility of his advice being taken yet remained, and the question was adjourned. On the 25th of November the cabinet reassembled, but he found his position totally changed; he was overruled in the cabinet. On the 22nd instant, Lord John Russell's letter to the electors of London appeared. There was no alternative left to him; he would not have abandoned the post of danger were the members of his government unanimous, but not being so, he resigned. The queen, of her own choice, sent for Lord John Russell; and Sir Robert Peel believed that he was then reduced to the ranks, that he was free to do what he thought right, and he would, as a private member of parliament, have given any assistance in settling the question. On the 20th of December he went, by her majesty's commands, to Windsor, to say farewell. He then found that Lord John Russell had failed to form a ministry; he was requested by the queen to continue in office, and therefore withdrew his resignation. "I must," concluded Sir Robert Peel, "be permitted to act independently, to reserve the unfettered power of judging what is good for the public interest. I do not desire to be minister of England; but while I am the minister of England I will hold office by no servile tenure; I will hold office unshackled by any other obligation than that of consulting the public interest, and providing for the public safety!"

Lord John Russell read the correspondence which had passed between him and her majesty, and Sir Robert Peel, explaining that his letter of the 22nd of November was written under the conviction that the ministers were not performing their duty. When called upon to form a ministry he hesitated, but subsequently decided to try. The general principle on which he proposed to deal with the question of the Corn Laws was, that any reduction of duty now, without a proposal to provide for total extinction, would only prolong the contest, and that the legislature could not regulate the corn market. Mr. Disraeli, rejoicing in such an occasion for the display of his powers of biting invective, said, that he would stand by Protection, because he had been returned to that House to defend it, and he would have resigned his seat if he felt he could not do so. Sir Robert Peel had delivered "a glorious example of egotistical rhetoric." On the 27th of January Sir Robert Peel unfolded his great scheme. He proposed the total repeal of the Corn Laws at the end of three years. From the passing of the Act, and until the 1st of February, 1849, the maximum duty was to be 10*s.*, exigible when the price was under 48*s.*, to fall a shilling with every shilling of rise per quarter, till wheat reached 53*s.*, when the duty was to fall to the minimum of 4*s.* The duties on barley and oats to undergo an alteration proportionally the same; all grain from British colonies to be admitted free of duty, and maize or Indian corn to be admitted, immediately after the passing of the Act, at a nominal duty. Other articles in the tariff, to the amount of several hundreds, under the heads of articles of food, agriculture, manufacture, and miscellaneous, were dealt with, the duties on them being repealed or reduced. In the matter of compensation to the landed interest, the premier proposed a consolidation of parish road trusts, an alteration in the law of settlement, transferring the burden from the parish of the pauper's birth to that in which he had an industrial residence of five years last preceding his application for relief; the payment from the treasury of one-half the cost of medical attendance on paupers; and the removal from the local rates of the expenses of criminal prosecutions, which were to be defrayed in future by an annual parliamentary vote. "Because," concluded Sir Robert "this is a time of peace, because you are not subject to any coercion whatever, I entreat you to bear in mind that the aspect of affairs may change; that we may have to contend with worse harvests than that of this year; and that it may be wise to avail ourselves of the present moment to effect an adjustment which I believe must be ultimately made, and which could not be long delayed without engendering feelings of animosity among different classes of her majesty's subjects." It may readily be imagined that, although they were prepared for some considerable concessions, these proposals fairly took away the breath of the protectionists, whilst they failed to satisfy the freetraders; but, under the circumstances, Sir Robert Peel seems to have followed a course dictated by prudence and moderation. As a curious illustration of the difference of feeling between the chartists and freetraders, meetings of the latter, to express dissatisfaction that every remnant of the Corn Laws was not at once swept away, were disturbed by the former, who demanded "free bread," that is, food without work. Mr. Cobden addressed a letter to the farmers of the United Kingdom, urging them, in their own interest, to press for repeal of the Corn Laws at once; and Protectionist meetings were organised, at which Sir Robert Peel and his policy were denounced with unscrupulous severity. On the 9th of February the debate on the bill commenced, and was continued for three weeks, with extraordinary heat, vigour, and animosity. Forty-eight members spoke for Free Trade, fifty-five for Protection; one hundred and three speeches were made: on the division the ayes were three hundred and thirty-seven, the noes two hundred and forty; majority, ninety-seven. On the second reading, the debate lasted four nights, and it was carried by a majority of eighty-eight. On the 11th of May the bill was read a third time, by three hundred and twenty-seven votes against two hundred and twenty-nine. On the 28th of May, it was carried through the House of Lords by a majority of forty-seven, and passed. The breach between the government and the agricultural interest was complete. The "broad-acred squires," the country gentlemen, turned their backs on their former champion, and assailed him with the bitterest reproaches; and it must have been gall and wormwood to his spirit to see his old opponents, the Russell Whigs and the advanced Liberals, stepping into the front ranks of his army, and engaging his old allies and followers. The Peelites henceforth stood out as a distinct political organisation. Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Disraeli were the leaders of the country gentlemen.

The passions excited by the contest were vehement, and the spectacle of Lord Brougham, standing up and eulogising Sir Robert Peel as the greatest minister who had ever ruled the destinies of England, would have been passing strange indeed, if Lord Stanley might not have been heard denouncing the man he had followed so long, and calling on the House of Lords to protect the people against his teaching. It was useless to expect to defeat the ministerial scheme by direct opposition; but the friends he had alienated, and the enemies who had lent him temporary aid at their own price, were biding their time to unite and destroy the minister.

Meantime the spread of suffering in Ireland was as rapid, and its intensity as great, as the most desponding had anticipated. The Inquiry Commissioners reported that out of one hundred and thirty poor-law unions, not one was exempt from the ravages of the potato disease, and that not a single county had escaped. "That which was necessary on all such occasions is peculiarly necessary now. The extreme variety in the extent of the potato failure, and the minute and insulated subdivisions of land in which it prevails, lead us to entertain the greatest doubt whether any adjustment of public works can be made to meet the need wherever it may occur; and it must be met, or death from famine may be the result. Sir John M'Neill, a highly competent authority, in a document transmitted to us, estimates the distance to which the benefit of employment in public works extends, at five miles only."

To the usual causes of crime in Ireland were now added the excuses and incentives of starvation. Murders, homicides, fire-raising, assaults, robberies, appearing in arms, and firing into dwellings—these and similar offences had, towards the end of the year 1845, and at the beginning of 1846, increased to a frightful extent. On the 23rd of February, Lord St. Germans introduced a bill into the House of Lords to enable the lord-lieutenant to proclaim districts in which such offences were rife, to quarter extra constabulary upon them, to give the right of search to the police over all taverns and public-houses therein, and to arrest the inhabitants if found out of their houses at night, the rates being made chargeable for the money to be awarded at the lord-lieutenant's discretion to the relatives of the victims of violence. The measure met the support of both sides in the Lords, and passed with trifling amendments. It was not destined to meet the favour of the Lower House of parliament. The Liberals saw the time had come for a great party triumph. The protectionists beheld the opportunity for revenge.

On the 30th of March, the bill was introduced by Sir James Graham in the House of Commons, and was vigorously opposed by Mr. O'Connell and several Irish members. The Whitsuntide recess intervened. It was only on the 9th of June that it came up for a second reading. Up to that time, Lord George Bentinck and other Conservatives had supported it.

At a meeting held on the 6th of June, at Lord John Russell's, in Chesham Place, it was resolved to oppose the measure. There could be no doubt but that the Whigs, who were always opposed to coercive legislation when out of office, would receive the support of the Irish members, who dared not vote for any measure which was not popular with priest and people, and of the Liberals who were averse to coercive measures in the abstract, and that these would now be reinforced by the angry protectionists, eager to take their revenge on a recreant leader, and the chiefs who had betrayed them.

When the bill came up on the 8th of June, Sir W. Somerville, an Irish Roman Catholic Whig, moved the second reading that day six months. There arose an animated debate, in which Lord George Bentinck made the avowal that, as the Government had not pressed forward the measure, he and his friends could not think they were earnest. They would therefore oppose it; and though they declared before Easter that they would support the bill, it was on condition that the government lost no time about it. "We have been told," he said, "by the right hon. gentleman at the head of the government, that he would not consent to be a minister on sufferance. Why, sir, the right hon. gentleman must be deaf to all that is passing around him if he does not find out very soon that he is in that position. Do we not find him appealing from one side of the House to the other? Is he not supported sometimes by the hon. gentlemen opposite, and sometimes by the hon. gentlemen around him? His main supporters are his paid janissaries, and some seventy other auxiliaries, who, while they support him, express disgust at his conduct. When we remember Sir Robert Peel's conduct in 1825, in 1827, and 1829, though we might forgive him, the country will not twice forgive such crimes in the same man. It is time that atonement should be made to an insulted country, to an insulted parliament, and to the betrayed constituency of the empire."

From the 9th to the 25th of June the debate lasted, and in the course of it not only the Coercion Bill, but all the acts of Sir Robert Peel were incessantly assailed. It was a debate of remarkable interest—the men who spoke represented strong passions, great interests, and the traditions of parties never more to be seen in the House of Commons. Sir R. Peel never appeared to greater advantage than in his defence against many assailants animated by opposing purposes, and armed with very different weapons. He vigorously refuted the charges brought against him by Mr. Disraeli and Lord George Bentinck, that though he had written to Lord Liverpool in 1825 to say he approved of concessions, he had opposed Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1827, and defended himself with effect against the accusations that he had hounded on the persecutors of Mr. Canning. The whole policy not merely of this administration, but his life, were reviewed and criticised. The great minister came well out of the ordeal. But the combination of parties, more powerful than any rhetoric, prevailed. On the very night the Corn Law Bill passed through the House of Lords, ministers were defeated in the Commons on the Army Bill by two hundred and ninety-two to two hundred and nineteen. On the 29th of June, the resignation of ministers was announced in both Houses. Sir Robert Peel, in informing the House that Lord John Russell had been entrusted with the formation of another administration, said; "that the withdrawal of the confidence of many friends was the natural result of the measures I have proposed, and expulsion from office is the fitting punishment of inconsistency. The credit of these measures is due neither to the opposition nor to those around me, but to a combination of parties, and to the influence of government. There is one name to be associated with their success—the name of the man who, acting, I believe, from pure and disinterested motives, has advocated their cause with untiring energy, and by appeals to reason enforced by an eloquence the more to be desired because it is unaffected and unadorned—the name which ought to be and will be, associated with the success of these measures, is the name of Richard Cobden. (Loud cheers.) Without scruple, sir, I attribute the success of these measures to him." In concluding his address, he said: "I shall leave office, I fear, with a name severely censured by many hon. gentlemen, who, on public principle, deeply regret the severance of party ties, not from any interested or personal motives, but because they believe fidelity to party engagements—the existence and maintenance of a great party—to constitute a powerful instrument of government; I shall surrender power severely censured, I fear, by many hon. gentlemen who, from no interested motives, have adhered to the principle of Protection as important to the welfare and interest of the country; I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist, who, from less honourable motives, maintains Protection for his own individual benefit; but it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good-will in those places which are the abode of men whose lot it is to labour, and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow—a name remembered with expressions of good-will when they shall recreate their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice." The elections of those who took office were unopposed, except that of Mr. Macaulay for Edinburgh.

The ministry formed by Lord John Russell contained the usual ingredients of a Whig cabinet. There were many lords and few commoners. Not one name of the men who contributed to the success of Free Trade, or helped the cause of Reform in its earliest stages, was in the lists. Lord Minto, to whom Lord John Russell was related, was lord privy seal; Sir C. Wood, to whom every office seemed appropriate, was chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Palmerston became foreign secretary; Lord Grey went to the colonial office; Mr. Fox Maule (Lord Panmure) presided over the war office; Sir G. Grey became home secretary; Lord Seymour went to woods and forests; Lord Clarendon to board of trade; Lord Besborough, a nobleman unknown to fame or even party politics, was sent to Ireland; Lord Auckland became first lord of the admiralty; and Lord Lansdowne became president of the council. The duke of Wellington remained as commander-in-chief, and Lord Anglesey continued as master-general of the ordnance.

Lord John Russell was reproached, on the very first night that the House met for the despatch of business, by Mr. E. Denison, for the absence of any representation of the landed interest in the administration, and by Mr. Duncombe, for his omission of popular opinions. The new premier defended himself from the charge, and declared he had asked Lord Dalhousie, Lord Lincoln, and Mr. Herbert to join his government.

The Anti-Corn-Law League, with the exception of a committee of summons, was at once dissolved. Ten thousand pounds were voted to Mr. Wilson, the Chairman, and measures were adopted to compensate Mr. Cobden for the losses incurred in the agitation. On the 13th of July the new ministers took the oaths and their seats on re-election, and on the 16th the new premier explained the policy he intended to follow. While he had been unable, he said, to construct a ministry united on every measure likely to come up for discussion, on the question of Free Trade there was but one opinion. He was favourable to improvement in the representation of the people, but would not be a party to any scheme making an organic change in the franchise.

He promised a plan for the settlement of the waste lands of Ireland, a promise which was never kept, and aroused the wrath of his followers once more by refusing to touch the Irish Church. Mr. Osborne, who was beginning to make himself heard in acrimonious debate, said that if the noble lord had made his statement a little earlier, many Liberals would have sooner followed Sir Robert Peel than Lord John Russell. For his own part, he saw no difference 'twixt tweedledum and tweedledee. The late government had brought and carried on a bill to continue the existing sugar duties from the 5th of July to the 5th of August, with a view of maturing a scheme to deal with that important question; and Lord John Russell's first duty was to devise a plan for its permanent settlement. On the 20th of July he made the proposal, in a long speech, to let in foreign sugar without reference to the manner of production; that is, without regard to its being grown by free or by slave labour, but to let the equalisation of duties be effected gradually in colonial and foreign; that instead of a prohibitory duty of 63*s.* and a protecting duty of 23*s.* 4*d.* on foreign muscovado, there should be a duty of 21*s.* per cwt., diminishing gradually till July 1851, when it was to be reduced to 14*s.* Free labourers would be encouraged to emigrate, molasses would be admitted into breweries and distilleries, differential duties abolished, and other measures adopted to diminish the hardships of British colonial growers. In the face of a possible deficit of half a million, however, he proposed to admit 4000 tons of foreign sugar at 21*l.* a ton. To this plan there was an amendment moved by Lord G. Bentinck, "That in the present state of the sugar cultivation in the British East and West Indian possessions, the proposed reduction of duty upon foreign slave-grown sugar is alike unjust and impolitic, as tending to check the advance of production by British free labour, and to give a great additional stimulus to slave labour." Sir Robert Peel expressed his approval of the measure, as giving the greatest encouragement to free-labour production. The debate was protracted over two nights, and resulted in a majority for government of one hundred and thirty in a House of four hundred members.

The Irish difficulty was first in the path of Lord John Russell's government, and the road before him was beset with many formidable snares and quagmires, all the more dangerous and deep because of the part he and his followers had taken in opposing the Coercion Bill of the late government. However, Lord John Russell was not a statesman to be detained by scruples which to one less bold would be insurmountable. He believed that fortune favoured the daring, and accordingly announced to his astonished Irish friends that his government intended to renew the Irish Arms Act! By way of gagging the opposition, however, he instructed the Irish secretary to state that he considered many of its provisions "most objectionable," and that he would only ask for the continuance of the measure till the following May. Poor Mr. Labouchere! He was an eminently respectable Whig—a member of a great commercial banking family—on his way to a peerage—a man of honour, too, and vexed with a conscience. But he was obliged to stand up in the House of Commons, and, as Irish secretary, ask them to pass a bill of which he did not approve in spirit or detail—nay, insist, with warmth, on its necessity. To such inconsistencies will the exigencies of party drive small parliamentary partisans! "He was prepared to maintain the government would desert its duty, and act a part unworthy of the dignity of the crown, if it allowed the bill to drop. He should be sorry if the necessity for proposing the bill was taken as a specimen of the feeling, and a sample of the legislation the present government intended to adopt to Ireland." The dose was too strong for the most devoted adherents. Mr. Hume adjured the secretary to "drop the bill, and not to dirty his fingers with it." Mr. Muntz said that he would degrade and disgrace himself if he supported it. Mr. Bellew declared the proposal injurious to the character of public men. Mr. Duncombe cited a passage from a speech of the prime minister on this very measure in 1843, and asked whether Lord John Russell was going to pass a Coercion Bill as a tribute to the memory of his predecessors. Lord John Russell finally was obliged to say that he was ready to consent to the excision of the more objectionable clauses to which he was opposed in 1843, and in a small House carried the second reading by fifty-six to twenty-three; but it was obvious that the government could not drag its followers after it in such a career. On the 17th Lord John Russell announced that they had abandoned the measure. The government now made overtures to propitiate the leaders of the Irish Catholics. O'Connell was restored to the magistracy with fourteen others who had been removed from the commission of the peace by the previous government. The bribe was given in vain. The advent of the Liberals to power had not caused any diminution of the Repeal agitation, but it was now entering on a new phase. O'Connell never recovered his spirits after the prosecution, and he dared no longer repeat his promise—"This is—this shall be the Repeal year." And as the British parliament showed not the smallest inclination to incline their ear towards any proposals for re-establishing a separate legislature in Ireland, the more fiery spirits began to grow weary of delay, to contemn moral force agencies, and ventilated their opinion that a good stout rebellion was the best means of attaining their ends. The Young Ireland party had at least no taint of sordid self-interest on their escutcheon. They were not proficient in the arts of political intrigue; indeed they had not the smallest notion of political expediency, nor any of that useful knowledge which deters men from the quest of impossibilities. Rather were they Rosicrucians of the day, seekers after the philosopher's stone in Irish bogs; pursuers of an ignis fatuus, which they hoped to catch, and fix, as a steady light to direct the steps of floundering followers to the terra firma of liberty. There were among them poets and orators, men of passion and heart, who fired the people with odes, and songs, and speeches, who were ready to die in many verses; and prepared to endure persecution, without any of that self-sustaining belief in the actual possibility—nay, certainty—of attaining what they sought, which makes men die exulting in the faith—*ex ossibus ultor*. Their disinclination to accept the alliance with the priesthood, which had been so useful to Mr. O'Connell, became at last open hostility to the claims of the latter to direct the Irish democracy. The priests on their side did not fail to see the danger to their power, which the control of the masses for secular objects by secular leaders would infallibly produce, and represented the young Irelanders as enemies to the principles of religion and the wicked foes of the church, and of the man who had achieved political liberty for the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

These differences of opinion were augmented by the controversies at each sitting of the Repeal Association. The teachings of "the almost sanctified, moral-force, peaceful revolutionist O'Connell," as he was styled by Mr. Steele, "Head Pacificator" of Ireland, were openly repudiated by the "Young Ireland" party or Physical-force Repealers, who were led by Mr. W. S. O'Brien, member for Limerick, descendant of an ancient Irish family, if not of Irish kings—a gentleman of birth and education—a Protestant educated at Oxford—full of honourable sentiments and of vanity inordinate. He professed to be a member of parliament for Irish and not for imperial purposes, and refusing early in this year to attend on a railway committee, to which he had been nominated, was committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms for contempt, and was kept in what is called "The Cellar" for twenty-five days, to the amusement rather than the edification of the public, and to his gain of much popular repute in Ireland. There was a split in the Association late in July. Mr. Meagher, who led the opposition to O'Connell, and his followers left the Hall of Conciliation after he had made a *pronunziamento* in favour of the sword. The Liberator was rendered painfully aware that his powers were passing away, when his entreaties to true Repealers not to be led away by physical-force enthusiasts, and to give the present government a fair trial, fell flat on the audience who were once so responsive to his slightest wish. The "Nation" hymned, and sang of war and glory, and although the Tyrtæus of the party, Mr. Davis, a poet and orator, died early in this year, there were many fiery pens and tongues at work. There was a pregnant theme indeed at hand everywhere to make hearts beat and eyes grow dim, for thousands were suffering the pangs of hunger in their own land—and that land part of the richest and most powerful empire in the world.

The failure of the potato crop led to greater results than the wisest could have foreseen, when the announcement was first made that the disease was spreading. As the year wore on the fact stared the government in the face that people were like to die wholesale of downright starvation. Forcible appeals were made to the sympathies of parliament and of the nation, and to the humanity and patriotism of Irish landlords. Every effort that humanity could suggest was made to alleviate this terrible visitation. Nearly a million of money was expended by government in charitable donations of various kinds; but it became plain that some comprehensive scheme must be sanctioned by parliament to deal successfully with such a gigantic evil as threatened the land. On the 7th of August, Lord John Russell developed the government plan of giving relief to the poor by employing the destitute people on a vast system of public works. The bill he introduced gave power to the lord-lieutenant to summon a meeting of the magistrates of any county or barony in which scarcity of employment was represented to exist, and required that meeting to order the execution of public works of the kind most needed in the locality, and of an extent proportionate to the deficiency of employment. The expense of the works was to be defrayed, in the first place, by a loan from the treasury, to bear interest at three-and-a-half per cent., and to be repaid in ten years. After the magistrates had determined the nature and extent of the works to be erected, the operations were to be carried on under the superintendence of officers of the government board of works. In cases where the locality in need of assistance was so poor as to be unable to bear the interest and repayment of a loan, grants might be given; and to meet such case it was proposed to vote the sum of 50,000*l.* during the present year. An immediate advance was acceded to, after strong opposition, which was chiefly caused by the fear that the measure tended somewhat towards establishing out-door relief. Early in the month of September several districts were proclaimed as being in a state of distress, and extraordinary sessions were summoned to make presentments. The provision dealers' stores were attacked, and tumultuous assemblages were held at Dungannon, Youghal, and other places, which forced the lord-lieutenant to threaten that he would cause the public works to be discontinued wherever any combinations were formed to intimidate the officers of the board of works; and in some places the people who had money could get no bread, and were restrained with great difficulty from outrage and violence. On the 10th of October, special prayers were offered up in the churches for the Divine mercy, but Lord John Russell refused to open the ports, and in answer to a London deputation, said he would only consent to do so in the event of prices rising considerably. He preached, indeed, to the duke of Leinster on the duties of landlords, and wrote that the people should be taught to take advantage of the favourable condition of their soil and of the surrounding sea—to work patiently in Ireland as they did elsewhere; to study cleanliness, economy, and the value of time, and so forth; and this when the number of persons receiving relief on the works had increased from 26,193 in the first week of October, to 273,023 in the last week of November, and the expenditure had risen from 6,193*l.* to 117,591*l.*, the total for the month being 345,065*l.* From Skibbereen there came the most pitiable and heart-rending accounts. In the train of famine came fever, and dysentery. The scarcity spread to the Highlands and the Western Isles, and meetings were held for the relief of the patient, long-suffering inhabitants; but when parliament was prorogued by commission on the 28th of August, the government had no more comforting announcement to make in her majesty's speech than that they had a confident hope the free admission of foreign produce would increase the comforts and better the condition of the great body of the people, and in defiance of the expression of strong opinions on the subject, resolved not to open the ports nor summon parliament at an earlier period than usual. Private charity made abundant sacrifices; but all in vain. Before many weeks had passed, the entire of the west and south of Ireland was famine-struck. It was idle to contend against granting out-door relief to the able-bodied. The poor-law commissioners were empowered to give it, and at the same time to require some return in the way of labour, not so much for the pecuniary value of that return as for the means it afforded of placing some check upon the abuse that it was felt would follow. Nor were these fears ill founded. Simulated destitution spread with more rapid strides than that which was genuine; the law imperatively required that destitution should be relieved, and the people knew it. For a time the workhouse proved its value as a test, but the limited space soon became occupied, and the relieving officers were overwhelmed with applications for relief. In the meantime the landlords, oppressed by heavy poor rates, were rapidly becoming pauperised. The guardians shrunk dismayed from levying the necessary rates. The commissioners, forced to exercise the arbitrary power conferred on them by the twelfth section of the Act, dissolved the boards in such unions as they found necessary, and issued sealed orders for the appointment of vice-guardians. It was regarded at the time as a terrible expedient to place such absolute power in the hands of strangers, but the necessity was imperative; and strangers, free from local prejudice, and untrammelled by local influences, were nominated to carry out the law, and by checking abuse to protect the landlord. In some unions in the most distressed districts the numbers on the out-door relief lists sensibly increased, immediately after the appointment of vice-guardians. This was not only easily to be accounted for, but it was expected. A wild theory seemed to have taken possession of the minds of the people, that no matter how great the expenditure might be, no matter how high might be the rates declared in each union, the bill would be paid in full by government, and that not one farthing would be levied off the lands. Filled with this idea, those who could have detected imposition sheltered it, while men of standing and position did not shrink from placing their own farm-labourers on the out-door relief lists. The entire land was falling out of cultivation, the able-bodied men who should have been employed in sowing were to be found preferring idleness, and "the relief," to agricultural labour. There was but one mode of meeting the evil, to rescind the order for out-door relief in certain unions, and at the same time by clearing the workhouses of all such cases as could legally be placed on the "first section," and relieved outside, that is, the maimed, the blind, the aged, increase the means of offering the workhouse to the able-bodied. It was a dangerous experiment, for, if failure followed, the evil would have been immeasurably increased. This was however tried, and tried with the most complete success. The vice-guardians, aided by energetic inspectors, and supported by the commissioners, did not shrink from the performance of the invidious task that was allotted to them. By constant supervision at the relief depôts, and a careful organisation of a labour test, they were enabled steadily to reduce the lists, and persisted in doing so notwithstanding the charges of inhumanity made against them. The poor rates were levied without respect for persons. Never was anything more fully proved than the value of the workhouse as a test of destitution. In one of the largest and most destitute unions of the west of Ireland, the numbers on the out-door relief lists were nearly forty-eight thousand. The 20th of March was approaching, and no preparations were made for sowing the land. The order rescinding the granting of out-door relief was issued to take effect in a week; proper arrangements were made by the inspectors and vice-guardians. About one thousand vacancies in the workhouse and its auxiliary were provided, and on the day appointed ten thousand admissions were issued to the able-bodied who clamoured for relief. And what was the result? Only six hundred claimed the right to enter, one-half at least of whom left next morning. In this instance out-door relief to the able-bodied poor, which had been so grossly abused, was effectually dispensed with, the land was put under cultivation, and the ratepayer saved from complete ruin. The blue-books of the period, the reports of the commissioners, and the debates in parliament tell of the terrible destitution that existed, and the public and private measures that were adopted to alleviate it. But all the blue books that have been written, or all the debates that have taken place, must fail to give an adequate idea of the intensity of the suffering that was endured in Ireland during the famine years, or the wonderful resignation with which it was borne.

Let us turn for a while from this fearful period in our domestic history to the distant scene whereon the British arms were gaining fresh renown. Immediately after the battle of Ferozeshah, the Sikh army, much disheartened, retreated in confusion over the Sutlej. Sir H. Hardinge and Sir H. Gough did not consider it expedient, or were perhaps unable at the moment, to meddle with the flying enemy. The Sikhs had been repulsed with the loss of ninety guns, and left many dead and dying behind them, but they were not conquered. They still kept up their military spirit, and under their turbulent chiefs gave indications of future trouble. The Indian government were resolved to root out such a dangerous power, and on the 31st of December, as a preliminary step which bespoke hostilities or the fear of them, the governor-general issued a proclamation calling on all subjects who had taken service under the Lahore government to quit it, and place themselves under the orders of the Indian authorities, under the pains and penalties attached to treason. As the Khalsa drew much of their supplies from the territories in British occupation on the left bank of the Sutlej, they became distressed for want of them. In January, Sirdar Sing Majeethea crossed over from Phillour, and took up a position which threatened Loodhiana, and the line of our communications. At the same time he garrisoned Dhurrum-khote, where the Sikhs had a supply of grain. Sir Harry Smith, with one brigade and a field battery, drove this force out and occupied Dhurrum-khote, and was watching the frontier, when the Sirdar made his appearance in the field, as if to attack Loodhiana. Brigadier Godby was at once ordered to march to the support of the native regiment which held Loodhiana, and Sir H. Smith was directed by Sir H. Gough to move on the same point from Dhurrum-khote by Jugraon, supported by a brigade under Wheeler. As he was approaching Loodhiana the Sikhs made a strenuous attempt to drive him from his line of operations by a movement parallel to his own, and opened on his column a cannonade which caused him severe loss; but by superior tactics Sir H. Smith extricated his force and effected his junction with Godby at Loodhiana, losing, however, a part of his baggage as well as his communications with his second brigade under Wheeler. The British, in fact, were in some danger, and it was necessary to act with vigour and establish our supremacy. Sirdar Majeethea entrenched himself near the fort of Budiwal, but on the advance of Wheeler, being threatened on both flanks by him and Sir H. Smith, he moved down the Sutlej, and after he had made a forward movement as if to attack the British, finally took post at Aliwal, where, reinforced by four thousand regulars, twelve guns, and a large body of horse, he occupied a very well chosen and strong post. Smith now hastened to meet him, reinforced by the 53rd regiment and the Shekawattie Brigade. He moved from his camp on the morning of the 28th of January, 1846, and after a march of six miles came in sight of the Sikhs, who were drawn up with their left on an entrenched camp, and their right on a ridge by the village of Aliwal. Smith deployed his cavalry into line, and ordered them to take ground to the left and right by brigades, uncovering the infantry, which were ordered to deploy as they reached the high ground in front of the enemy. "After deployment," writes Sir Harry, "I observed the enemy's left to outflank me; I therefore broke into open columns, and took ground to my right: when I had gained sufficient, the troops wheeled into line. There was no dust, the sun shone brightly. These manœuvres were performed with the celerity and precision of the most correct field-day. The glistening of the bayonets and swords of this order of battle was most imposing, and the line advanced. Scarcely had it moved forward one hundred and fifty yards, when (at ten o'clock) the enemy opened a fierce cannonade from his whole line. At first his balls fell short, but quickly reached us. Thus upon him, and, capable of better ascertaining his position, I was compelled to halt the line, though under fire, for a few moments, until I ascertained that by bringing up my right, and carrying the village of Aliwal, I could with great effect precipitate myself upon his left and centre." He brought up Godby's brigade and Hicks's brigade, which carried the village, taking two guns of large calibre by a rapid and noble charge, and then gave orders for the whole line to advance. As they did so, Cureton's cavalry brigade charged the Sikh cavalry on the left, and drove them in on their infantry. The Light Cavalry and the Body Guard on the right made a gallant charge also, and Godby, by an adroit change of front, took the infantry in the intrenched camp in reverse, and drove them before him without a check. Wheeler and Wilson's brigades, advancing rapidly, broke the Sikhs in the centre, the village of Boondee on the river, which was strongly held by the enemy, charged by part of the 16th Lancers, 3rd Light Cavalry, and attacked by the 53rd regiment in front and by the 30th N.I. in rear, was carried brilliantly. "The enemy, completely hemmed in, were flying from our fire, and precipitating themselves in disordered masses into the fords and boats in the utmost confusion and consternation. Our eight-inch howitzers soon began to play upon the boats when the débris of the Sikh army appeared upon the opposite and high bank of the river, flying in every direction, although a sort of line was attemped to countenance their retreat, until all our guns commenced a furious cannonade, when they quickly receded."

It was a very signal victory. The Sikhs lost fifty-two guns, their camp was taken and their losses in killed and wounded must have been very heavy. There was still, however, work in store for our troops. When the enemy crossed the Sutlej they fortified the village of Sobraon as a *tête-de-pont* to cover their principal bridge at Hurreckee. It was necessary to deprive them of this, their last footing on the left bank. After his victory at Aliwal, Sir Harry Smith marched from Loodhiana and effected a junction with the army under Sir H. Gough on the 8th of February. The British had procured a supply of mortars and howitzers from the arsenal at Delhi, and resolved to make full use of artillery instead of driving the infantry at superior forces not ignorant of the use of field-works. On the 10th of February was fought the battle of Sobraon. "Our observations," writes the commander-in-chief, "coupled with the report of spies, convinced us that there had devolved on us the arduous task of attacking, in a position covered with formidable intrenchments, not fewer than thirty thousand men, the best of the Khalsa troops, with seventy pieces of cannon, united by a good bridge to a reserve on the opposite bank, on which the enemy had a considerable camp, and some artillery commanding and flanking his field-works on our side. . . It had been intended that the cannonade should have commenced at daybreak, but so heavy a mist hung over the plain and river that it became necessary to wait until the rays of the sun had penetrated it and cleared the atmosphere. The extreme of the enemy's right was attacked by Stacey's brigade (53rd and 10th), supported by Wilkinson; the 5th brigade, under Ashburnham, being in reserve. Gilbert's division was in the centre, and Sir H. Smith's was on the right. A great body of Sikh cavalry under Lall Sing was manœuvring on the right bank of the river, and had to be watched closely, as the river was fordable, but Cureton looked out for them. Stacey, flanked by two batteries and a troop, marched steadily up towards the intrenchments, but at the distance of three hundred yards, there was such a fire of musketry, artillery, and small pieces, it seemed doubtful if he could advance. The 10th, however, were not to be denied; they never fired a shot till they got within the works of the enemy. The onset of the 53rd was gallant and effective. The 43rd and 59th N.I. emulated both. Then Ashburnham was ordered to advance in support; Gilbert and Smith threw out their skirmishers to threaten the works with the aid of the artillery. . . . As the attack of the centre and right commenced, the fire of our heavy guns had first to be directed to the right, and then gradually to cease, but at one time the thunder of full one hundred and twenty pieces of ordnance reverberated in this mighty combat through the valley of the Sutlej, and it was soon seen that the weight of the whole force within the Sikh camp was likely to be thrown upon the two brigades that had passed its trenches; it became necessary to convert into close and serious attacks the demonstration with skirmishers and artillery of the centre and right. The Sikhs, even when at particular points their intrenchments were mastered with the bayonet, strove to regain them by the fiercest conflict, sword in hand. Nor was it until the cavalry of the left, under Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, had moved forward and ridden through the openings of the intrenchments made by our Sappers, in single file, and reformed as they passed them; and the 3rd Dragoons, whom no obstacles usually held formidable by horse appear to check, had, on this day, as at Ferozeshah, galloped over and cut down the obstinate defenders of batteries and field-works; and until the full weight of three divisions of infantry, with every field artillery gun which could be sent to their aid, had been cast into the scale, that victory finally declared for the British. The fire of the Sikhs first slackened, and then nearly ceased, and the victors pressing them on every side, precipitated them in masses over their bridge, and into the Sutlej, which a sudden rise of seven inches had rendered hardly fordable. In their efforts to reach the right bank through the deep water, they suffered from our horse artillery a terrible carnage. Hundreds fell under this cannonade: hundreds upon hundreds were drowned in attempting the perilous passage. Their awful slaughter, confusion, and dismay were such as would have excited compassion in the hearts of their generous conquerors, if the Khalsa troops had not, in the early part of the action, sullied their gallantry by slaughtering and barbarously mangling every wounded soldier whom in the vicissitudes of attack the fortune of war left at their mercy." The total loss of the British was, in killed, three hundred and twenty; wounded, two thousand and sixty-three. Sixty-seven cannons, two hundred camel guns, standards, and vast munitions of war were captured. Major-General Sir R. Dick, Brigadier Taylor, and General M'Laren and thirteen European officers were killed, and one hundred and one were wounded; but the loss of officers and men, large as it was, counted for very little in comparision with the result. The bridge was destroyed, but the British army crossed the river that evening. On the 14th of February, Sir H. Gough encamped at Kussoor, thirty-two miles from Lahore. The Ranee urged Gholab Sing to proceed at once and implore pardon in the British camp; and on the 19th of February, armed with full powers from the Maharajah and Durbar, he presented himself with a train of Sikh sirdars to the governor-general. Gholab Sing had to listen to stern words and resolves. Those who do not believe that morality has geographical attributes, and who do not consider that although Germany was wrong in annexing Alsace and Lorraine, and demanding a money indemity, England was right in annexing the territory between the Sutlej and the Beas and of both banks of the Sutlej, may amuse themselves by investigating the difference between the proceedings of the Sikhs in 1846 and of the French in 1870. In addition to territory, the governor-general demanded one crore and a half of rupees, the disbandment and reconstruction of the Sikh army on a limited footing, the surrender of every gun used against us, and the personal submission of the young Maharajah Dhuleep Sing. The remnants of the Sikh army were encamped eighteen miles from Lahore when the British army approached, and received the Maharajah's submission. On the 20th of February Sir H. Gough occupied the citadel, and Sir H. Hardinge, accompanied by the Maharajah, entered the city, from which he issued a proclamation and a flattering general order to the troops. A British garrison was to be left in Lahore for a year, but no interference was contemplated in the internal administration of the state. Gholab Sing was made independent prince of Cashmere, and thus ended the most terrible struggle but one in which the British power was ever engaged in India. Gholab Sing, indeed, was resisted by his new subjects, and Wheeler was sent to occupy Jummoo, but the trouble was temporary. A council of regency was established at Lahore, and a subsidised garrison was also provided for the use of the new government. The end of the dynasty of the Lion of Lahore was at hand.

There is one advantage to the peace of the world to be derived from the existence of a republic in Spain. There can then be no question about the matrimonial relations of the sovereign and the succession to the throne to embroil neighbouring nations in wars and troubles. The young queen of Spain was declared of age on the 28th of November, 1844, and the statesmen of Europe began at once to set about providing her with a husband, not to insure her happiness, but to promote their political objects. As early as 1840 M. Guizot conceived the idea of marrying the queen of Spain to the duke of Cadiz, and the Infanta, her sister, to the duke of Montpensier. The reigning family in France were especially interested in strengthening their interest by an alliance with the branch of the Bourbons on the throne of Spain; but Lord Aberdeen from the very outset contended for the right of the Spanish nation to have its voice heard in the matter. On the 15th December, 1843, writing to M. Guizot on the subject, Lord Aberdeen declared that, while her majesty's government cannot admit that the claims of any prince or family are such as to control the free choice of the Spanish government, they would be fully disposed to concur in the proposition of the cabinet of the Tuileries, and to recommend that the selection of the queen's consort should be made from the descendants of Philip the Fifth.

Lord Palmerston entered with heat upon the contest with France in reference to these marriages, and at one time the two countries were very nearly on the verge of war; and, indeed, in the early part of 1847 nothing seemed more probable than that the rupture brought about by what English diplomatists considered the trickery and treachery of the French king and his advisers would lead to hostilities. Looking back now, it is enough to make us regard the influence of the passions of the hour with suspicion and distrust. The dynasty of Louis Philippe has lost the throne of France, apparently without a chance of recovery; the queen of Spain, whose hand was the object of so much intrigue, is in exile, and Spain is a republic. And England has got on tolerably well in spite of the dreadful evils which Lord Palmerston predicted to her from the marriage of king Louis Philippe's son, the duke of Montpensier, to the sister of the queen, the Infanta Louisa. That which was supposed to be the fortifying power of monarchical institutions crumbled utterly away, and in its stead we recognise the chaotic creations of democratic excess. To England, at the time, the dread of seeing the grandson of the king of France upon the throne of Spain was sufficient excuse for the most violent resistance.

When Lord Palmerston left office in August 1841, he recorded his opinion that Prince Leopold, brother of King Ferdinand of Portugal, was not an eligible consort, as he was too nearly connected with the duke of Nemours, who had married his sister. And Lord Aberdeen, in 1842, accepting a Bourbon as the husband of the queen, so long as he was not a son of Louis Philippe, admitted that, should the choice of the queen fall on a Bourbon, England could have nothing to say against it. When the queen and the prince consort visited Eu in 1843, the king and M. Guizot assured Lord Aberdeen, who was with the royal party, that they were not only not seeking the queen of Spain for one of his majesty's sons, but that they would decline any proposal of the sort. And again, when in September 1845 the visit was repeated, explanations were exchanged between Louis Philippe and M. Guizot, on the part of France, and Lord Aberdeen on the part of England, while the king and queen conversed on the subject with Prince Albert and her majesty. Two points may be established as certain. First, the king and his minister declared the duke of Montpensier should not marry the Infanta till the queen of Spain had had issue. Second, that England declared she would support no candidate for the queen's hand who was not of the house of Bourbon, and would especially disavow Prince Leopold of Coburg. The French, however, insisted that the king only promised the marriage of his son with the Infanta should not take place till the queen had a child, whereas the English argue that the condition referred to children. It would appear from the evidence that the words used, orally and in writing, were *des enfants*. Therefore it would seem that the English contention is correct. The agreement at Eu, whatever may have been thought of it at the time, clearly went to show that England was under no obligation to oppose the choice of a Bourbon if made by others, or to employ her influence in favour of a Bourbon, but that she agreed not to bring forward and support as her own candidate any prince who did not belong to the house. The jealousy entertained by France, of any Coburg prince succeeding to the throne of Spain, was excessive. Indeed it would appear that M. Guizot had some reason to apprehend intrigues on the part of certain members of the English embassy at Madrid and at Lisbon in favour of Prince Leopold, but M. Guizot had no pretence for the argument that England was bound to enter an active opposition against his candidature, not only for the hand of the queen, but for that of the Infanta. He insisted always that the intrigues for the marriage were active. Lord Aberdeen, indeed, denied that there was the smallest ground for these suspicions; but in May 1846 the Queen Christina sent a secret agent with a letter to the duke of Coburg to ask the hand of his cousin, Prince Leopold, for the queen, her daughter. Lord Aberdeen immediately informed King Louis Philippe of the circumstances, adding the assurance that neither the queen nor Prince Albert, nor the government, would give the smallest encouragement to the demand. According to some, these overtures were absolutely devised by Queen Christina and the king, and were nothing but a trap laid for the British minister, Sir Henry Bulwer, and the English government. When Lord Palmerston succeeded Lord Aberdeen on the 29th of June, 1846, it was felt that the *entente cordiale* would now become difficult. To M. Guizot the new foreign minister was anything but agreeable, and his preference for Don Henrique, duke of Seville, and Don Francisco, duke of Cadiz, was attributed to his known predilections, regarded with so much horror on the continent, for the democratic party. The first despatch that Lord Palmerston wrote unquestionably was unfortunate. He certainly confirmed the directions of Lord Aberdeen that England had no candidate, but considered Don Henrique as a man eligible for the Spaniards themselves, and he repeated that the English government was not prepared to give any active support or to make any objection to any of the princes who were named—Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, and the two sons of Don Francisco. Now the mere mention of the Coburg prince was enough to excite the anger of France; but the despatch in which it was contained also contained unwarrantable and intrusive lectures on the queen of Spain's government, and on the domestic policy of the country. M. Guizot distinctly states that this despatch, and the attitude of the English minister just entered upon power, overcame the distaste of the Queen Christina for the sons of her sister, and determined her prompt resolution in favour of the two Bourbon marriages. The French minister wrote to the ambassador at Madrid to push the marriages, selecting the duke of Cadiz for the queen, and the duke of Montpensier for the Infanta, so that the two marriages should be celebrated, or at least declared, simultaneously. Thus the engagement with England was broken upon what the French maintained were the reasonable grounds of the intrigues of the diplomatic agents of Lord Palmerston's administration. The king of the French made some objections, and insisted that the marriage of the queen should take place first; but when the despatch of the 19th of July reached Paris, M. Guizot accepted the measures of the French ambassador at Madrid. The queen-mother pressed forward the marriages with the greatest eagerness, looking, as she said, to the fear of France behind the duke of Montpensier as a means of fortifying the royal position and terrifying the malcontents in Spain. The marriages were announced on the 28th of July. On the 1st of September the French minister informed Lord Palmerston that the letter of Queen Christina, written with the knowledge of Mr. Bulwer, and Lord Palmerston's despatch of the 19th of July, had brought about that imminent and probable chance of a marriage of the queen of Spain with Prince Leopold of Coburg, which was spoken of in the memorandum of the 27th of February, and that France was therefore free from all obligations contracted in the interviews at Eu. On the same day, in an interview with Lord Normanby in Paris, M. Guizot said that the marriages would not take place at the same time, which he afterwards explained to mean "that the queen would be given away first!" After the relations which had existed between the two royal families, approaching to eternal friendship, and expressed in the most affectionate language, it was difficult to make known these things to Queen Victoria; but on the 8th of September the Queen Marie had to perform the delicate task of announcing to her the conclusion of the marriage of her son, Montpensier, with the Infanta. The queen's answer, dated the 10th of September, was dignified, but expressed, without doubt, the surprise and lively regret which the sudden announcement of the double marriage had caused. The king of the French tried to make the best of his case in a letter to his daughter, the queen of the Belgians, which was answered by Queen Victoria on the 27th of September, in a most conclusive and excellent letter. Thus did the king falsify all the policy of his reign, as he said himself, and on the 3rd of March, 1848, he arrived on the shores of England, a banished monarch, his dynasty overthrown apparently for ever. The irritation in England was exceedingly strong, and the sympathy which would have been felt for the fallen monarch was greatly modified by the remembrance of his duplicity.

One of the rebellions formerly so common in Portugal occurred in the autumn, where Sa da Bandiera had risen in revolt against Maria II., and the interference of the British fleet was needed to protect the queen's government against her subjects. The decree of the Federal Diet of Switzerland for the expulsion of the Jesuits laid the foundation of a conflict which nearly broke up the republic in the following year. The Catholic cantons formed a League, or Sonderbund, to resist the decree, and the well-known names of Uri, Schweitz, Unterwalden, Freiburg, Zug, and Valais once more appeared banded together; but this time they were prepared to fight for the freedom of the Jesuits. In the new world the great republic was waging war against Mexico, from which she had not long before wrested the state of Texas, and President Polk, who seems to have been a president of belligerent propensities, strongly vindicated the necessity of fighting the Southern Republic.

When the queen opened parliament on the 19th of January, the state of the famishing population of Ireland was enough to soften the hardest heart. The first paragraph of the royal speech naturally related to the terrible subject, and her majesty expressed the deep concern with which she had to call attention to the dearth which prevailed in Ireland; but the makers of the speech added, and "in parts of Scotland," where, though there might have been much distress, there was no absolute starvation, and no death from famine. "In Ireland especially," continued her majesty, "the loss of the usual food of the people has been the cause of severe suffering, of disease, and greatly increased mortality among the poorer classes. Outrages have become more frequent, chiefly directed against property, and the transit of provisions has been rendered unsafe in some parts of the country. With a view to mitigate those evils, very large numbers of men have been employed, and have received wages, in pursuance of an Act passed in the last session of parliament. Some deviations from that Act, which have been authorised by the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in order to promote more useful employment, will, I trust, receive your sanction." The document was neither sympathetic nor logical. The queen was made to say that, with the view of preventing outrages against property and the transit of provisions, large numbers of men were employed, and received wages. Although outrages certainly had occurred in Ireland, "the patience and resignation of the people were, under the circumstances, most exemplary. The measures for the cure of the evils which afflicted the entire kingdom which were indicated in the speech were, to suspend the Corn and Navigation Laws, to increase the facilities for importing corn and sugar, by passing Acts which had been framed during the recess; and to take into serious consideration the best means of improving the permanent condition of the country. The Spanish marriages were only alluded to as the ground of a correspondence with the governments of France and Spain. The extinction of the free state of Cracow was denounced as a manifest violation of the treaty of Vienna; and it was announced that a protest against it had been sent to the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin. What came of this we shall see hereafter. On the extinction of Cracow there was no identity of opinion among the opposition; Mr. Disraeli, indeed, highly approved of it, but Sir R. Peel considered it as a mutual departure from the assurances given to Europe at the treaty of Vienna. Cracow was taken under the protection of Mr. Hume, and there was a debate on the unprincipled violation of treaties by our allies in the making of the settlement of Vienna, which caused them as little annoyance as the proceedings in a debating society. The veteran reformer, who did not live to see the accomplishment of all his objects, but had the satisfaction of witnessing some of them established by law, evinced great interest in foreign questions this session, and not only rebuked the great powers for their conduct in Poland, but censured the ministry for their interference in the affairs of Portugal, and introduced to parliament the claims of the deposed rajah of Sattara.

There was a debate in the Lords on the address which turned principally on the high-handed proceedings of Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Lord Stanley traced the outrage to the alienation of France and England, caused by the Spanish marriages, which were not actually detrimental to the interests of the country, but which were a slight and discourtesy which would not have been given to us, he thought, if Lord Aberdeen had been at the head of affairs. Several speakers gave vent to their feelings respecting the unsatisfactory state of the relations of Great Britain with France and the great powers; but the debate on the address was not remarkable for the expression of any original ideas except that of Lord Brougham, who defended the absentee landlords as conferrers of benefits on Ireland. In the Commons, Mr. S. O'Brien delivered a strong invective against the government, and laid at the door of Lord John Russell, who had declined to interfere with the food supply, the "deaths by starvation" recorded by coroners' inquests. Mr. Labouchere, however, insisted that the determination of government not to interfere with the trade on food was justified by the results—a bold assertion, at a time when Lord Auckland in the other House was stating that thirty to forty steamers, and fifteen sailing vessels, were employed in carrying corn, and that every requisition to the admiralty for carriage from port to port had been complied with. On the 21st of January, resolutions to suspend the Corn and Navigation Laws were introduced and passed through both Houses with great expedition. There were now nearly half a million of men engaged in what were called public works, and the weekly payments reached nearly 160,000*l.* a week. There had been, as Lord George Bentinck observed one hundred and forty deaths in Skibbereen workhouse in a short period, and it could scarcely have happened that a barony of ten thousand souls would have been depopulated, had ministers done all they could to supply them with food, so that the furious juries which returned verdicts of wilful murder against Lord John Russell and Sir R. Routh, the chief of the commissariat, were only giving vent to an exaggerated expression of the feeling of the people who were enduring such agonies. The opposition, however, would not make Ireland a battle ground, and although Lord G. Bentinck promised not to oppose the proposed repeal of the four-shilling duty, he declared every penny of the 400,000*l.* it produced would go into the pockets of the traders. But, on the whole, though ministers were censured for tardiness, and other shortcomings, it was evident they had no serious opposition to fear to any measures which they introduced for the remedy of the fearful sufferings of the people. The Irish landlords were abused by Mr. Roebuck, and defended by members of their own class. Lord John Russell availed himself of the feeling of the House to shorten his defence of the government measures, and to eulogise the success which had attended private enterprise. It is to be regretted that the government did not act with the same vigour and promptitude at least six months sooner. On the 28th of January Lord John Russell introduced the government scheme for alleviating the present and improving the future condition of Ireland. The Labour Rate Act of last session was to be withdrawn, as the landlords had grossly mismanaged it; the people were immediately to be taken off the roads, &c., and enabled to work on their own holdings, being supplied with food through local relief committees acting in connection with the poor-law guardians, the funds for this purpose to be raised partly by additional subscriptions in England, partly by a government grant, and partly by a temporary poor rate; so far as the payment of past expenses was concerned, the landlords were to receive a reversion of one-half of all that had been expended under the Labour Rate Act; 50,000*l.* to be lent to buy seed for tenants on the security of the ensuing harvest; 1,000,000*l.* to be devoted to the reclamation of waste lands, government to have the power of purchasing the same; and the Poor Law to be so extended as to authorise out-door relief in food to such able-bodied men as could not be put to useful labour.

Both sides of the House supported the resolutions, but these measures did not, and could not, prevent terrible sufferings, and death. The Tories, ably led by Lord George Bentinck, outbid the government in proposals for the aid of Irish railways; which the government successfully resisted, and then partially adopted, for in June they asked parliament to vote 620,000*l.* in aid of those railways; whereas Lord George Bentinck, in January, proposed a loan of 16,000,000*l.* at three-and-a-half per cent.; 2*l.* to be advanced for every 1*l.* raised by shareholders; the whole to be repaid in thirty-seven years. Plans of emigration were proposed and discussed, and there was a great turmoil and agitation among political economists and particularists to carry out their theories, but in the main government had strong working majorities, as it was felt in parliament and in the country that they were dealing with a most critical condition of affairs at home and abroad.

Wheat rose to 102*s.* 5*d.* per quarter in May. In June the relief commission reported that, out of the 2,049 electoral divisions of Ireland, 1,677 were under the operation of the Temporary Relief Act, and that they were distributing 1,923,361 rations per day gratuitously, at an average cost of 2½*d.* per ration, besides 92,326 rations sold.

On the 22nd of February, Sir C. Wood introduced the budget. The increase of the revenue exceeded expectation, the surplus amounting to two millions beyond what was anticipated by Mr. Goulburn. This sum had been expended on public works in Ireland, and it would be necessary to provide an additional 8,000,000*l.* for the ensuing year. The revenue he estimated at 52,515,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 52,183,000*l.* There was a general feeling that government in proposing a loan to meet the outlay incurred in Ireland, had done wisely. That course was the less objectionable to all except rigid political economists, because it was not proposed to levy new, or increase existing, taxes, and the houses of Baring and Rothschild proposed to take the loan at eighty-nine and a half (three-per-cent. Consols). A measure introduced by Mr. Fielden, for limiting the hours of labour in factories in England, was opposed by certain Liberals, on the ground that it interfered with liberty of contract; but it was carried in spite of the opposition of the chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Brougham, and others. The discussion brought to light great differences of opinion among the members of the government, and of parties on both sides of the House, but few will now question the beneficence and humanity of the interference of the legislature in that question. A bill for shortening the term of service in the army was also passed, not without strong expressions of disapproval from some old soldiers, but with the high sanction of the duke of Wellington, and the support of Sir De Lacy Evans. A bishopric was created for Manchester, but the principle of establishing a see without a seat in the Upper House was not accepted without much opposition, and there were also very vehement speeches delivered from the Liberal benches against the addition to the hierarchy.

On the 20th of December parliament was adjourned to the 7th of February. The affairs of Europe were at this period in a state which justified the utmost anxiety abroad. We had but little to fear for ourselves and had no troublesome wars to disturb our rest. The success of the British arms in India had produced such an impression on the native mind that no serious disturbance occurred during the year, but it was considered necessary to remove the Ranee from Lahore, in consequence of alleged intrigues against the regency. Lord Dalhousie whose reign, as it may well be called, left the most permanent marks on the map of India, was sent out as successor of Lord Hardinge, and arrived at Calcutta towards the end of the year. In China there were fresh troubles; the British residents at Canton did not like being called "foreign devils" even in Chinese, and complained of insult and annoyances to the plenipotentiary, Sir John Davis, who took energetic steps, as they are called, to procure redress. He instructed General d'Aguilar to proceed to Canton, and execute a *coup de main*, which was eminently successful; for a small squadron, under Captain McDougall, moving up to the Bocca Tigris, seized the forts, spiked the guns, and destroyed the ammunition, disposed of the forts higher up the river in a similar way, and so suddenly pounced upon Canton, that the imperial commissioner, Keying, after ineffectual delays, yielded to all demands very much as the victims of Claude Duval complied with requests made on Hounslow Heath. It is almost ludicrous to read, in the contemporary records, of the astonishment expressed at the dislike entertained by the Chinese for our people, "where not kept in check by the presence of a superior force." The intensity of this dislike was manifested in December of this year by the massacre of several English merchants, who were going up the river from Canton; but the murderers, or those said to be so, were seized and executed in the presence of English officials, and justice was satisfied. From the other side of the Atlantic came the tidings of a war, which did not excite much sympathy in this country. The United States had been for some time engaged in hostilities with Mexico. General Zachary Taylor conducted operations against the Mexicans with ability. Monterey was taken, after actions extending over three days, on the 24th of September, 1846. The Mexicans were defeated at Bueno Vista, in July 1847. Vera Cruz and San Juan d'Ulloa surrendered to combined naval and military operations; and General Scott, who took the field at the head of a fresh army, captured the city of Mexico on the 15th of September, and, after some further encounters, reduced Santa Anna to submission, and concluded an honourable peace.

The body of Daniel O'Connell, who died at Genoa, on the 15th of May, in his seventy-second year, and left his heart to Rome, whither he was making a pilgrimage, was brought back to Ireland, to which he gave it, and was interred in Dublin on the 5th of August. His political power was broken by the state prosecutions, and his dissolution was no doubt hastened by the terrible visitation which caused agony and death to so many of the people who revered him as their leader and liberator, for he had a feeling heart and he was devoted to the interests of his Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. There was a great outburst of grief for the time, and his remains were followed to the grave in Glasnevin by tens of thousands, whose political emancipation was his best eulogy. He was a grand tribune, if not a great patriot; his virtues and his failings were racy of the soil of the land he loved so well, but he was ambitious, and vain, and intolerant of opposition.

On the 23rd of July, the queen prorogued parliament in person, preparatory to its dissolution, and writs, which were returnable on the 21st of September, were issued for the new parliament, but it was prorogued in the absence of the queen. The queen and prince consort spent part of the year at Adverikie in Scotland. Their love of Highland life was confirmed by the visit, and gave rise to the desire, which was eventually gratified, for the possession of an estate in the north.

The prince was surely making his way in popular esteem and general favour. He was elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge after a contest with Earl Powis, in which he had a majority of one hundred and twelve, in a vote of one thousand seven hundred and ninety electors, the highest number on record.

In the recess a sudden commercial panic, one of the most disastrous ever known, seized the commercial world. The Bank raised the rate of discount to six, seven, and eight per cent., and contracted the terms of advance to ninety, sixty, and thirty days. The funds fell one and sometimes two per cent. in a single day; consols being on one occasion as low as eighty-four. Railways shares fell in still greater proportion, and latterly became almost unsaleable. In the corn trade the failures were of the most astounding magnitude. The oldest houses went down in the flood of disaster. Banks were forced to suspend payment, and for a few days it seemed as if credit itself were dead and capital departed, swallowed up in its grave. Among the most prominent firms which succumbed were Sanderson and Co., 1,725,000*l.*; Reid, Irving, and Co., 1,500,000*l.*; Cockerell and Co., 600,000*l.*: Gower Nephews, 450,000*l.*; Robinson and Co., 96,000*l.*, the principal in this firm being at the time governor of the Bank of England. Many foreign houses fell under the pressure. The counsels of Sir R. Peel were freely given to the government; and on the 23rd of October a conference was held between him and the chancellor of the exchequer. Twelve per cent. was charged that day by the Bank for loans on the security of consols and exchequer bills, while the discount on good bills ranged from ten to twelve per cent. It was rumoured that the Bank itself was borrowing at from seven to seven and a half per cent. Under these circumstances the first lord of the treasury and the chancellor of the exchequer, on the 25th of October, authorised the suspension of the Banking Act of 1844. "Her majesty's government," they wrote, "have seen with the deepest regret the pressure which has existed for some weeks upon the commercial interests of the country, and that this pressure has been aggravated by a want of that confidence which is necessary for carrying on the ordinary dealings of trade." On the same day the court of directors passed a formal resolution, according to the different recommendations contained in the ministerial letter; the minimum rate of discount on bills not having more than ninety-five days to run, to be eight per cent.

But so wonderful was the elasticity of the resources of the country, and the effect of the measures applied to arrest the panic, that, on the 23rd of November, the government informed the Bank of England that it would not be necessary to continue the letter of the 25th of October in force any longer; but a bill was brought in to extend the time for the purchase of land and completion of works by railway companies, which had contributed to the commercial crisis by demands on capital to the extent of 37,000,000*l.* in 1846. and of 26,000,000*l.* in the first half of 1847. A committee was appointed by both Houses to consider the causes of distress, soon after the meeting of the new parliament. The elections were not characterised by the violence which distinguished the previous returns. There was no doubt a strong party spirit displayed, and in Ireland the schism between the moral-force repealers and the Young Ireland party had become deeper and broader since the death of the Liberator, but except the return of a Jew, Baron Rothschild, for London, and the rejection of Mr. Macaulay by Edinburgh and Mr. Roebuck for Bath, there were no unexpected events or great surprises. There were two hundred and twenty-three members new to the House, and the returns gave a probable majority to ministers of twenty-eight to thirty on great divisions. The new parliament was opened by commission on the 18th of November for the swearing-in of members, but was formally opened by the queen on the 23rd. Her majesty, in the speech, after allusions to the powers which it would be necessary for parliament to exercise in order to indemnify ministers for the breach of the law committed in suspending the Bank Charter Act in consequence of the state of trade, said, "Her majesty feels it to be her duty to the peaceable and well-disposed subjects to ask the assistance of parliament in taking further precautions against the perpetration of crime in certain counties in Ireland. Her majesty recommends to the consideration of parliament the laws which regulate the navigation of the United Kingdom, with a view to consider whether any change can be adopted which will, without danger to our maritime strength, promote the commercial and colonial interests of the empire." The speech was transmitted to the chief towns in the kingdom by the electric telegraph for the first time. The speed was at the rate of fifty-five letters per minute, or four hundred and thirty words an hour. The address was agreed to in each House without a division. Lord Stanley and Lord George Bentinck made severe criticisms on the policy of the government, especially in Ireland—where outrages and murders were again so frightful and numerous, that the Whig government, much to its dislike, had to bring in a Coercion Bill. The Roman Catholic archbishop of Tuam went to the length of defending the priests for the incitements to murder conveyed in denunciations from the altar, which shocked the English Roman Catholics. The usual remedies were applied to the ulcer—proclamations of districts with pains and penalties and exceptional legislation—but the evil was there always. The election of Baron Rothschild by the city of London led to an extensive measure. To enable him to take his seat, Lord John Russell proposed a series of resolutions, removing the disabilities of Jews to sit in parliament, which led to very vehement debates. Mr. Disraeli said, so far as religion could be a sanction of conduct or a security for public morality, they had in the religion of the Jew the best sanction in the world, except that given by the faith of the Christian. A bill founded on the resolutions was introduced, and read a first time on the 20th, when Colonel Sibthorpe gravely objected to the measure on the ground that Jews were not likely to take their share of legislative work on Fridays or Saturdays; but in spite of the protests of the bishops of Oxford, and of Lord George Bentinck, the resolution was carried by two hundred and fifty-three to one hundred and eighty-six. In consequence of the difference of his views and those of his party regarding the Jewish Disability Bill and other measures, Lord G. Bentinck resigned the leadership of the Protectionist party.

The pope, Pio Nono, elected to succeed Gregory XVI., in June 1846, commenced his temporal reign by measures which caused a great ferment in Italy. In the June of the present year he appointed a council of ministers to carry out various reforms in the States of the Church. The news created a profound sensation, to calm which his holiness issued a proclamation a few days subsequently, announcing his intention to persevere with wisdom and prudence in the cause of reform, but warning his subjects not to be excited by desires to obtain what was impracticable. The agitation, however, increased. In Ferrara troubles broke out, to suppress which the Austrians, in opposition to the papal legate, marched in a body of troops. This act excited immense anger in Italy. The king of Sardinia sent a formal protest against the invasion of the Pontifical States, and offered to place his army at the disposal of the pope. Then came a revolt at Lucca, which the grand duke endeavoured to appease by a promise of all reasonable reforms. The answer was an insurrection, and he fled. His flight was followed by the annexation of the duchy to Tuscany. The cabinet of Vienna endeavoured to justify their conduct in invading Ferrara, but in view of the serious position of affairs, the preparations and language on both sides, Lord Minto was sent to Rome on a mission, the character and scope of which were objects of speculation and mystery. In September, at Milan the populace broke out into excesses and demonstrations against the Austrians; they resolved to abstain from tobacco, which was an imperial monopoly. A council of state was established in Rome, and opened with much ceremony on the 15th of November, and the exultation of the national party, whose eyes were turned on Turin, became excessive. In conformity with the declaration of the Austrian cabinet that the emperor could not permit revolution to have its way in Italy, troops were poured down the passes, and massed under the orders of Radetzky on the Italian frontiers. Parma was occupied by the Austrians on the 21st of December, Modena and Reggio next day; and the year closed over Italy, laden with an angry sky, charged with the thunders of an irrepressible conflict.

It was a startling manifestation of the energy of the new pope, that whilst he was thus releasing the winds which were to shake every throne in Europe, he was preparing to assert his spiritual power with uncommon boldness and audacity. The dissensions in the English Church may have encouraged him in his purpose, and he may have believed that the High Church party were waiting to come over or escape to Rome, as some of their leaders had done. Certain it is that, on the 26th of October, the "Times" announced that the title of Vicar Apostolic was to cease in England, and that in future bishops would be named after their respective sees. Very shortly afterwards the secretary of the colonies issued a circular commanding colonial governors to address prelates of the Roman Catholic Church by the title to which their rank in that church entitled them, as the Charitable Requests Act had given Roman Catholic prelates in Ireland rank immediately after those of the established Church. The great *coup* was, however, suspended for the time.

The claims of the Roman Catholics of Switzerland to exercise an *imperium in imperio* in that little republic had already plunged it into civil war. The Federal party were, in a certain sense, the aggressors; for, in opposition to the wishes of the Catholic cantons, the majority of the Diet passed a decree for the expulsion of the Jesuits. The seven Catholic cantons united to resist the execution of the decree, and formed a League, called the Sonderbund, which the Diet declared to be illegal. The Catholic cantons refused obedience to the Diet, on the ground that the latter had exceeded its powers. The Diet decreed the dissolution of the League. Twenty thousand men were called out by the Diet to enforce obedience; and, on the 13th of November, General Dufour, the Federal commander, attacked and carried the city of Friburg, the head-quarters of the League army. Nine days later the Federals defeated the League army outside Lucerne, and entered the town without resistance, and Catholic cantons were occupied militarily till they gave guarantees for the payment of the war expenses. The Valais, which held out to the last, surrendered on the 28th of November. As Switzerland has an existence guaranteed by the great powers, M. Guizot proposed to exercise the right of occupying the disturbed cantons, which drew from Lord Palmerston a strong protest; the French project was abandoned, but the affair did not conduce to remove the coldness which had been caused by the Spanish marriages between the two cabinets. Public feeling in France was in an excited state, and events occurred which damaged the character of the court and the ministers. M. de Girardin, who had publicly accused the ministers of corruption, was discharged by the House of Peers, before whom he was summoned. The Minister of Public Works was found guilty of receiving bribes, and sentenced to imprisonment; and the government, if not the king, was suspected of complicity in allowing the duke of Praslin, to terminate his existence by poison before his trial for the murder of his wife. The successes of the duke of Aumale, who was appointed governor-general of Algeria, and to whose general, Lamoricière, Abd-el-Kader surrendered, on condition that he should be sent to Alexandria or St. Jean d'Acre, did not reinstate the king or the ministry in favour. Public morality was shocked by the breach of stipulation committed by sending the Emir a prisoner to Toulon. At a Reform banquet at Rouen, and at similar demonstrations at the close of the year, the health of the king was omitted from the list of toasts. France was sighing for a grander *rôle* in Europe than she had secured by M. Guizot's craft in the Spanish marriages, or in the subjection of Abd-el-Kader, who, at the close of this very year, addressed a dignified remonstrance against breach of faith, to a man, as President of the French Republic, who was at the beginning of it a silent and almost unconsidered member of the House. Her palm was itching to meddle with affairs in Switzerland and in Italy, to resuscitate Poland, to develop ideas by means of bayonets. And on what France sought, Paris was sure to put her hand. For there has been a reflex action between the opinion of the country and that passionate thought of the capital, which is sometimes supposed to be purely and exclusively Parisian and metropolitan, because it has been intensified by the intellect of the great city.

Whilst Queen Christina was opening, with fear and trembling, the Cortes which, owing to the state of Spain, had been closed for two years, and Queen Maria of Portugal was surrounded by turbulent generals, some of whom had been in arms against her—whilst the Austrian kaiser was preparing to crush the aspirations of his Italian subjects beneath the iron heel of his army—whilst the czar was holding down Poland with one hand, and striking fiercely at Circassia with the other—whilst the king of Prussia was toying with the leaders of the Democratic party, very much as one toys with a tiger—the queen of England could day after day chronicle in her simple journal the history of her pleasure excursions, and record the manifestations of her people's love. For even in Ireland no tongue was raised against her. Whatever may have been the domestic happiness of the queen, and of the prince, who was her stay and prop in every hour of her life, the events of the year which followed that of her long and delightful visit to Ardverikie and Scotland were of a character to cause the gravest apprehensions, and shake the firmest minds. It was no thunderbolt from a clear sky which shattered the peace of Europe, and struck the foundations of nearly every throne. It fell from the murky and fire-charged atmosphere of France. The sober ambition and soft intrigues of the Citizen King could not satisfy the aspirations of any party in France. A thousand pens were busy night and day in the work which kills kings and destroys kingdoms—the outpouring of ceaseless ridicule and calumny. The passions of the people were excited by the debates in the Chambers, where political parties were led by men who seemed desirous of emulating the excesses of partisan leaders in the field, rather than anxious to prevail by the force of free discussion.

To a Parisian, who is the sublimation of a Frenchman, the respectability of the Citizen King was simply odious. He had sold his birthright—which was to predominate in Europe—for a mess of constitutional pottage. The English alliance was distasteful, and the policy which revived Buonapartism in the urn of the emperor at the Invalides was not likely to create an enthusiasm for sordid commercial relations, which were with difficulty maintained. We have already mentioned some of the causes which led to the unpopularity of the king and government. The spirit of reform which was abroad could not be laid by anything but concession. It was monstrous to hear a minister defending the sale of offices in the state as a matter of no consequence, a practice of old standing; and the Conservative policy the government pursued in the face of Italian troubles was attacked with effect by Lamartine, Thiers, and many orators of smaller note. It was, however, mainly the opposition of M. Thiers to Guizot which led to the revolution of 1848. It was the revolution of 1848 which led to the empire of 1852, and what *that* ended in we saw lately—" M. Thiers, the chief of the executive power " of a republic, " in which no one believes, and the head of a composite monster, which may be at any moment seized by the convulsions of internal dissolution." Although the ministry of M. Guizot had sustained no defeat of a serious character in the Chambers, the leaders of the opposition believed that the Chambers did not represent the opinion of the country. They resolved to give a great reform banquet in Paris on the 2nd of February, to which the National Guards were to proceed in uniform. As well might the London Artillery Company be allowed to march in array to present a petition to the House of Commons. The government forbade the banquet, and stated the grounds of their decision in a public proclamation. The general of the National Guards conjured them not to act illegally. The citizen soldiers seemed disposed to obey. Matters calmed down next day, and it was believed that at the worst there would be a severe parliamentary crisis. The agitation of the people, excited by long parliamentary contests, became extreme, however, when it was known that the articles of impeachment presented to the Chamber by M. Odillon Barrot had not been even read by the House. M. Guizot laughed at them. The attitude of the populace announced the most passionate resolves. They threw up barricades in the streets. The troops were called out. M. Guizot, in alarm, announced the resignation of ministers, and that Count Molé had been sent for by the king; but the Parisians desired something more serious than the overthrow of a government. The National Guards were hailed by cries of " Vive la Garde Nationale," to which they replied by shouts of " Vive la Réforme." " Mourir pour la patrie" was chanted by immense processions. A mob, with yells of " À bas Guizot," proceeded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where a strong body of infantry was drawn up. As the officer in command was exhorting the people to keep back, he was shot through the head by a lunatic named Lagrange. The troops fired instantly, and there were dead and wounded lying on the pavement ere the smoke cleared away. The bodies of the dead were carried on tumbrils, prepared beforehand for victims of the provoked and anticipated massacre, through the streets. The populace were lashed to fury by the sight. Barricades sprang up in all the thoroughfares. Paris was in full revolt. M. Thiers was sent for, and accepted office. He at once issued a proclamation, signed by Odillon Barrot and Thiers, " The firing is to stop. The Chambers are to be dissolved," &c. It was too late. The mob were masters of the situation. They surged around the Tuileries. The editor of a newspaper presented himself to the king and urged him to abdicate in favour of his grandson. The king consented, and his abdication was announced to the people in the afternoon; but ere the proclamations were out, the mob burst into the Chamber of Deputies, where the Duchess of Orleans, her sons, and her brothers of Nemours, and of Montpensier, were seated; and as M. Dupin communicated the intelligence that the duchess, on the king's abdication, would act as regent for her son, the fatal words, " Too late !" were uttered in the gallery. A scene of terrible disorder ensued. The vile populace covered the unhappy lady and the members of the royal family with insult: they even threatened violence. Some obscure men, a Jew advocate conspicuous among them, proposed a provisional government. Ledru Rollin, in accents which rose above the noise, said he rejected the regency; M. Lamartine, moved by the aspect of the duchess, and her noble attitude, said a few words for her, but many more for the provisional government. In vain M. Barrot sought to save the throne of July. The armed scum of the alleys of Paris were lords of the Chamber. They levelled their muskets at the president's head. Nothing would satisfy the leaders of the people but the proclamation of a republic, and, amidst the wildest excitement, the words were uttered, from the Hôtel de Ville, which decreed the downfall of the dynasty of Orleans.

The Tuileries were occupied without resistance. The palace was shamefully pillaged by the patriots. The king (under the name of Mr. Smith) and queen escaped to England. Hither they were followed by the duke of Aumale, and other members of the family; but the duchess of Orleans, now a widow and an exile, retired to Germany. The usual course was begun, and continued to the end. The Republic became an oligarchy of democrats—the oligarchs were not nobles, indeed, but the children of the people—and then merged into a despotism. It was almost amid the thunders of the artillery of Cavaignac, directed by "the Government of the People" *against* the People, that Prince Louis Napoleon took his seat in the new Assembly convoked under a new constitution. In two months he was elected President of the Republic by a prodigious majority. But there were some of the greatest men and the finest intellects in France among the early directors of the movement, the results of which every one of them lived to deplore. However, we are not writing the history of France, we are dealing with this incident as one which produced an immense impression on Great Britain and on Europe. The news of the revolutionary outbreak caused the disaffected in every capital immense satisfaction, and gave them encouragement in every country in Europe.

The election of Louis Napoleon has been mentioned, but it is worth while to consider the step which led to it. The men who grasped at power soon showed they were utterly unfit to use it. Ledru Rollin, as Minister of the Interior, imitated the most vulgar tyrant in his control of elections, and in the abuse of government influence for party ends. Nothing but speech-making, and street-marching in Paris—no work, no industry, no labour. It was a vertigo of ruin. And just at this same time Lord Brougham comes, and raps at the door of Crémieux, the Jew advocate, who was Minister of Justice, and asks to be naturalised as a Frenchman, having previously applied to the mayor of Cannes to be named as candidate for the National Assembly, and refused on the ground of his not being a Frenchman! It was a strange caprice, all the stranger that the learned ex-chancellor was not aware that if he became a Frenchman he could not remain an Englishman. Absurd projects of national workshops, which would turn the nation into a huge universal workhouse, led to outbreaks before which the instigators of the revolt which placed them in power quailed. The Garde Mobile was organised. Cavaignac, an African soldier, was made Minister of War. The provisional government having spread abroad doctrines which pauperised Paris, had to feed those who would not work, and spent 5000*l.* a day in alms. The National Assembly, which met on re-election on the 4th of May, was not as complaisant and agreeable as the Red party desired, and the new government evinced what are called reactionary tendencies; so on the 15th of May, some fifty thousand armed men—every one carried arms now—marched from the Bastille to the Chamber of Deputies and stormed it. Their orators demanded intervention in Poland and Italy; declared the Chamber dissolved, and appointed a new government, among the members of which were Barbés, Ledru Rollin, and other word- and idea-mongers, quite destitute of governing ability or constructive faculty. The National Guard, however, for once remained steady. Cavaignac called out the troops; the mob retreated from the Chamber to the Hotel de Ville, but were followed up and dispersed. Wearied at last by organised anarchy, the National Assembly, on the 27th of May, resolved on the election of a single president and a single Chamber. Louis Philippe and his family were condemned to perpetual banishment, and it was carried by a large majority against Lamartine and the government, that Prince Louis Napoleon should be allowed to take his seat as representative of Lower Charente. The opposition of the poet to the prince was of the most embittered character. Louis Blanc, who supported the claims of the latter, said it was unjust to the people to suggest he could ever become emperor! M. Jules Favre would be surprised to remember, perhaps, that he had advocated the prince's claim—"the unoffending man who was heir of Napoleon!" The prince tendered the resignation of his seat sooner than be the pretext for disorder. On the 23rd of June, the Red arose in furious revolt; Paris was declared in a state of siege; Lamartine and his colleagues of the executive committee resigned; Cavaignac was virtually dictator. For three days the troops, under Lamoricière, were engaged with the insurgents, whose courage was disgraced by the most atrocious assassinations. They murdered the venerable archbishop of Paris, M. d'Affre, as, clad in his sacred vestment, he entreated them to desist from bloodshed in useless resistance. They murdered Generals Brea and Desure, killed General Negrier, and inflicted outrages on their prisoners; but they were crushed with the loss of ten thousand killed and wounded. Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, and Caussidiere, menaced with prosecution by the report of a committee of inquiry into the causes of these horrible occurrences, flew to England. Then came the constitution-mongers to the front, to frame a building within which order, law, and progress should work harmoniously. On the 19th of September, Prince Louis Napoleon was returned for five different seats, and, on the 26th, appeared in the Assembly and offered to the Rebublic his oath of fidelity. On the 7th of October, the Assembly decided that the President should hold office for four years. On the 10th of December, the prince was elected President by nearly six million suffrages.

Let us turn from France for a moment, and take a glance at the rest of Europe. The events which marked the year in Italy and Germany were of a momentous character and import. The year opened with a revolt of the Sicilians, whose mouths were temporarily filled and shut by a constitution. The ferment in the Italian States was so violent, that Radetzky issued a general order to the Austrian troops, commanding them to prepare for action. Collisions in the streets, between civilians and the soldiery, led to martial law. The duke of Modena fled, Milan and Verona swarmed with Austrian reinforcements. On the 8th of February, the king of Sardinia, on whom the hopes of the National party were fixed, granted a constitution to his people, two Chambers and a free press. The grand duke of Tuscany did likewise on the 11th, and he was followed by the pope, who decreed one not so liberal for the Roman States, on the 15th of the same month. Our own government was so much perplexed by the proceedings of a liberal pope, who denounced the godless colleges with as much zest as Sir R. Inglis, and yet reconstructed his hierarchy in defiance of our laws, that they passed a bill to enable her majesty to enter into diplomatic relations with the Holy See, the result of which was that his holiness issued a pastoral to the Irish clergy, directing them to abstain from politics, to which their reverences paid no great heed. Messina was bombarded for three days by the troops of the king of Naples, who thus subdued the revolt, but did not gain the good-will of his subjects. On the 17th of March the people rose at Milan, and Radetzky had to retire from the city before the insurgents after nearly a week's fighting. Five days later the Venetians broke into insurrection, drove out the Austrians, and proclaimed Daniel Manin dictator *ad interim* of the Republic. The excitement in Piedmont, and the provinces bordering on the Austrian dominions, now became irresistible The Italians demanded to be led to the aid of their brethren. Charles Albert, after long hesitation, ordered his army to enter Lombardy and Venice, in the name of Italian unity, with the arms of Savoy above the Italian tricolor. The whole country from the Po to the Tyrol burst into a flame. Even the pope declared war against Austria, his troops having, however, anticipated his forced conclusion by crossing the frontier to join the Sardinians. The king's conduct was not approved of by our government; but he persevered in spite of Lord Minto. On the 8th of April, the Sardinians forced the Austrian lines on the Mincio, crossed the Adige, and menaced Radetzky, who had taken up a position covered in some measure by Verona. Although the councils of the emperor were distracted by revolutionary outbreaks in Austria, Hungary, and his very capital, his ministers did not desert Radetzky. Reinforcements were sent to him in men and material under Nugent. On the 6th of May, the Piedmontese army advanced, and engaged the Austrians, but, after eight hours' conflict, were obliged to retire to their original position; on the 18th, Charles Albert, after a siege of twelve days, entered Peschiera in triumph. The defeat at Curtatone, on the 29th, was repaired by a victory over the Austrians at Goito next day. But, on the 11th of June, Radetzky marched from Verona, made a pounce on Durando at Vincenza, and forced him to capitulate on condition that he was to recross the Po, and not raise a sword in the war for three months. Charles Albert hurrying to Verona, which he hoped to find at his mercy, was checkmated by the veteran marshal, who immediately fell back on his intrenchments as soon as he had disposed of Durando. The Sardinian Chambers voted the annexation of Lombardy to Sardinia; but Radetzky needed something more potent than a vote to oust him. On the 22nd of July, his general, Ospré, forced the lines of the Italian army at Tivoli, and made an aggressive movement which the Italians resisted with uncommon tenacity; but, after four days of constant fighting, Charles Albert was obliged to retreat. He crossed the Mincio, and rallied his dispirited forces at Milan, on the 3rd of August. Radetzky, however, gave him but short leisure. He advanced against the capital of Lombardy, and, as he did so, the Italians fell back on the road to Turin. Milan was reoccupied, and the Sardinians were only too happy to agree to an armistice which left Austria in possession of her conquered provinces. The vexation of the Italians was extreme. The Romans, Neapolitans, and Sardinians were especially violent. A decree of the pope, introducing *motu proprio* reforms in Rome, issued in October, was followed by the assassination of Count Rossi, Minister of the Interior, at the door of the Chamber of Deputies, and nine days after the pope, in the livery of a servant, was driven out of the Quirinal, and escaped to Gaeta, where he was honourably received by the king of Naples. The Constituent Assembly, as they called themselves, soon afterwards declared the pope deposed, and proposed to found a new republic.

Germany did not escape the democratic convulsion. A tumultuous meeting to demand a constitution was held in Berlin on the 13th of March, and dispersed by the aid of musketry; the same day there took place an outbreak on the opening of the Diet, in Vienna, which led to the flight of Metternich. The disturbed state of Vienna led to the departure of the imperial family to Innspruck; and, although the emperor issued a softly-worded proclamation, he had the mortification of hearing of Czech government being established in Prague, till Prince Windischgrätz bombarded the Bohemian capital, and put down the insurrection with great destruction of life and property. Another conflict took place in Berlin, on the 18th, in which, though the king declared no injury was done, one hundred civilians fell; in a short time afterwards the king issued a proclamation, declaring that Prussia had ceased to exist, that Germany must be united, and that he would take it under his guidance. He became the hero of the half-hour. Next came the emperor of Austria, and was heard calling himself king of Poland. A national congress assembled at Frankfort. The German party in Schleswig-Holstein formed a provisional government, and resolved to resist the authority of Denmark and support the duke of Augustenburg. The immediate cause of that outbreak, which led to such momentous events in 1864, was the issue of a new constitution, by Frederick VII. of Denmark, on succeeding Christian VIII., in which he ordered that Denmark, Schleswig, and Holstein should be governed by states elected alternately in the duchy and kingdom. The Prussians, without declaring war against Denmark, despatched reinforcements to the Schleswig-Holsteiners, and on Easter Sunday, under the veteran Wrangel, drove them out of Schleswig, and forced them to take refuge in Alsen and Fünen. They defeated the Danes, near Flensburg, on the 9th of April. The Prussians occupied Jutland on the 1st of May; but the great powers interfered, and an armistice was agreed to. Silesia and Posen were the scene of frightful severities; for the Prussians, who were busy helping Germans in Schleswig to recover their freedom, had no objection to slaughter Poles for demanding theirs in Poland; and Mierowlawski, after gallant fighting, surrendered early in May. The Czechs, Sclaves, Germans, and Hungarians in the composite empire were all contending for a national separation. Jellachich, Ban of Croatia, held a Diet at Wagram without leave; Kossuth excited the Magyars to fervid anger against Sclave and German by his eloquence. On the 25th of September, the Hungarians declared Kossuth dictator, and the struggle for independence was inaugurated by the brutal murder of Count Lamberg, the emperor's generalissimo in Pesth. The week after, the people of Vienna rose, sacked the arsenals, erected barricades, and began, in the usual fashion—murder—by killing Count Latour, the War Minister, with axes and sledge hammers. Civil war was let loose with a vengeance; Jellachich marched his Croats against Vienna, the Hungarians at once directed the Honveds to assist the democrats of Vienna, Prince Windischgrätz and Jellachich defeated the Magyars with loss, and Vienna was carried after desperate fighting; but the Hungarians prepared to resist with vigour, and the weak and amiable emperor abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph. A rage for constitutions seized on all the nations. The king of Naples had to put forth all the strength of his army and fleet to encounter an insurrection, which was indeed only suppressed by the severest, if not most cruel, exercise of force. Naples, and Messina, and Palermo were deluged in blood. The Netherlands had a "constitution" fever. French republicans made an abortive attempt to revolutionise Belgium. In Hesse Cassel the Elector yielded to the demands of the Liberals. In Bavaria the king, infatuated by a passion for a dancing woman, was forced to abdicate. There were tumults in Cologne, Wiesbaden, and Dresden. Frankfort was the centre of anarchy. Blood flowed in the streets, preceded by brutal assassinations. In the midst of all the excitement, the birth of the Princess Louise, which occurred on the 18th of March, gave occasion to expressions of satisfaction among all classes of the people except the avowed republicans. Of course the influence of these events was felt in great Britain at once. In London a fantastic personage, who had been defeated in the election for Westminster, called a meeting in Trafalgar Square, which was within the limits of prohibition of public assemblages during the sitting of parliament, and the police at once dispersed Mr. Cochrane's pseudo-petitioners; but a formidable movement was organised for the 10th of April, which excited serious apprehensions. In Manchester, Glasgow, and other large towns, there were disturbances. The metropolis, which in these later days has been familiarised to violations of law and order by the administration of futile ædiles, can scarcely comprehend the danger which the duke of Wellington was called on to avert, by an immense military preparation, and which two hundred and seventy thousand special constables, among whom was enrolled Prince Louis Napoleon, flocked to encounter on the 10th of April. And in that time the commissioners of metropolitan police took on themselves to deal with the malcontents, who, by their declared object of proceeding in procession to petition the House of Commons had incurred the penalties of 13 Charles II. No one, perhaps, could pretend that Mr. Odger and Mr. Bradlaugh have headed processions calculated to excite terror and alarm among the people; but the police commissioners struck at the meeting before it developed its procession at all. Mr. Mayne sent a police inspector to Mr. O'Connor, the chairman, in the midst of a body of some hundreds of chartists on Kennington Common, and told him that the procession would be stopped at all hazards. The meeting ended in a fiasco of the most ridiculous character, without a shot fired or a bayonet fixed. The chartists in England emulated the violence of language of the Young Irelanders. Ernest Jones used threats as sanguinary as any attributed to Mitchel, and, after a career of seditious speaking of some weeks, he was arrested with others, in June, tried at the Central Criminal Court in July, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The chartists declared they would rise; and, on the 11th of June, the precautions which had been adoped on the 10th of April were renewed. The houses of parliament were prepared for a siege, the river was covered with a flotilla to carry soldiers, the public offices were garrisoned, but the demonstration turned out a complete failure. In September, the chartists rose at Ashton-under-Lyne, but their exploits were confined to the brutal murder of a solitary policeman. Arrests were made of chartists who had planned an outbreak in the great towns and in the capital; and the ringleaders were tried, found guilty, and punished, generally with imprisonment for terms of years with hard labour.

The impetuous men who had succeeded O'Connell, in the direction of the agitation in Ireland, repudiating his doctrines of moral force, had been for some time turning their thoughts to the use of physical force to accomplish their object of establishing an Irish republic; or in any way prepared to vindicate, in the field, the passionate policy they encouraged by small pecuniary outlay. They announced that they intended a general armament to sweep their island clear of British butchers, and plant the green flag on Dublin Castle. Trading vessels hoisted the harp without the crown, and were forced to haul down the rebellious emblem by British cruisers. Insurrectionary clubs and societies for purchase of arms were spreading over the country. There was an active press at work preaching revolution and the rightfulness of armed resistance in the capital, and the people eagerly listened to their teachings. Their organs called on the people to arm. The "United Irishman," edited by Mr. John Mitchel, was especially violent, and recommended "cold vitriol, molten lead," and the like to be applied by ladies, chambermaids, or men who could do no better, to troops in the streets. Mr. John O'Connell, the eldest son of the Liberator, a well-meaning man of no ability, who went over to Paris on some inscrutable errand to the Provisional Government, was the object of special invective, for no one hated another as a Young hated an Old Irelander. On the 3rd of April, Smith O'Brien, and others, presented themselves to M. Lamartine, and demanded of him, who, as president of a republic, had expressed his sympathy for oppressed nationality, substantial proof of his feelings. The passion of the poet was merged in the prudence of the politician, and he told his disappointed suppliants that they must not expect the Republic to interfere, as France wished to be on good terms with Great Britain. On the 7th of April, the government, finding that the law as it stood did not enable them to deal with "seditious writing and speaking," introduced a bill for the better security of the crown and government, which was called the Gagging Act by the Irish, and encountered strong opposition from a small section of the House; but the clauses which made all written incitement to insurrection and resistance to government felony punishable by transportation proved to be most efficacious. The measure drove the national press to the wildest excesses. The "Nation" declared "the time of the sword has come." The "United Irishman" called on the people to slaughter the opposing troops, to stop the thoroughfares, cut off communication. But these voices were soon to be choked or stifled, though not without a struggle. The new law was put in force against Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Meagher, who, on the 15th of May, were tried before the Court of Queen's Bench, for seditious speeches uttered on the 15th of March. This was rather a straining of the recent legislation. But the juries disagreed, and the prisoners were discharged. On the 24th of May John Mitchel was tried; on the 26th he was found guilty, sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, hurried away to Spike Island, and sent off to Bermuda. His sudden deportation caused immense anger amongst the physical-force party. The Nationalists, notwithstanding the blows they received, persisted in their wild design of establishing an Irish republic by force of arms. They formed an Irish Confederation. Mr. O'Brien reviewed national "clubs," as if they were so many regiments; the new organisation spread rapidly, so rapidly, indeed, that in the large cities there was all but insurrection—and there certainly was no peace—as the clubs marched to and fro. Arms were secreted to evade the search of the police; pikes were openly manufactured. At last the lord-lieutenant issued a proclamation suppressing the clubs. This was on the 18th of July. The council of the confederation assembled at once, and decided by a majority of one that passive resistance only was to be offered to government. On the 21st of July, Lord J. Russell announced his intention to introduce a bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. Next day the "Nation" wrote, "The death struggle between the murderer and his victim has begun! Men of Ireland! Rise as a nation!" A new journal, rejoicing in the name of the "Irish Felon," pointed out that what they had to deal with was, "that forty thousand men, in the livery of the queen, were in occupation of their country, and that the question was how they could best capture or kill these forty thousand men." The Liberals who had been inveighing against those tyrants on the Continent who imprisoned patriots at discretion, and kept them in dungeons untried, must have felt uneasy when they passed an Act empowering the lord-lieutenant to imprison, till the 1st of May, 1849, any person suspected of conspiring against the government! Lord John Russell acknowledged that it was with the greatest reluctance he asked parliament to suspend the constitution; but the opposition gave him every support and the measure was read a first, second, and third, time, carried to the House of Lords, went through all its stages, was added to the statute-book the same day, sent over to Ireland, and put in force at once. On the 26th of July, warrants for the arrest of the chiefs of the Young Ireland party, and proclamations suppressing the clubs were issued by the privy council, and orders given to effect that object. A detachment of police seized the offices of the "Irish Felon" and the "Nation," and carried off the type and printing presses, and a hue and cry was issued against thirteen of the Young Ireland leaders. On the 31st of July, a number of baronies and counties were proclaimed under the Crime and Outrage Act, and on the same day proclamations offering rewards for the arrest of Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Meagher, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Doheny, and others accused of taking up arms against the queen were issued. Smith O'Brien and his followers fled to the south before the Act came into operation, and on the 25th of July they made their appearance in the petty town of Mullinahone, where they called on the people to rise; but a handful of police in their barracks intimidated the adherents of the cause, and the leaders continued their progress to Ballingarry without producing any effect on the population. In a few days, however, they collected a few dozens of very faint-hearted followers in the hills of Tipperary. On the 29th of July a patrol of fifty police, under sub-inspector Trant, retired before a number of armed men to a farmhouse near Ballingarry, and, refusing to give up their arms, were very feebly attacked. They were speedily reinforced by nineteen constables from Callan, and ninety from Killenaule at the end of the fray. The rebels fired a few shots without effect, seven of them were killed by the return fire; and, having made a vain attempt to set fire to the house, they fled and disbanded. This was the episode of the widow Cormack's cottage, but the "cabbage garden" was attached to it by fiction. A few days afterwards Meagher and other leaders were seized, and Mr. O'Brien was arrested on the platform of the station at Thurles, as he was in the act of getting into the train for Limerick. Many arrests were made of suspected persons, but the actual rebellion was, as we have seen, of a very contemptible character although had a little time been given, there is no doubt an extensive rising would have been encountered in the south. The confederate clubs were broken up. On the 21st of September a special court was opened at Clonmel for the trial of W. S. O'Brien, J. F. Meagher, M'Manus, and O'Donoghue, who were found guilty of high treason, and sentenced be to hanged, and then beheaded and quartered. The extreme sentence was commuted to transportation for life, but the condemned men insisted on being executed, or being set free; they were forcibly removed on board ship after the Court of Error had decided against technical objections raised in their behalf, and the national party were left without leaders and without present hope, though not without resolve to continue their efforts.

It was an awful year—at home, starvation, rebellion, religious discord, and a failing revenue—in our foreign possessions, war and rumours of wars—all our royal allies, trembling for their thrones, suppressing insurrection, or flying before it—no land anywhere in sight—tumultuous seas, and the raging of the wind, and not a voice to cry, "Peace! be still." On the 1st of February, 1849, the queen opened parliament. The royal speech made reference to the hostilities in Sicily, "attended by circumstances so revolting that the British and French admirals were impelled by motives of humanity to interfere;" to the war, which had been renewed, in the Punjaub; and to amendments in the navigation laws. It was also announced that the present aspect of affairs had enabled the government to make large reductions in the estimates. The insurrection in Ireland had been suppressed, but there was still a spirit of disaffection existing which called for a continuance of the special powers granted last session. Commerce was reviving, and the revenue in a state of improvement. Amendments were moved in the House of Lords by Lord Stanley, and in the Commons by Mr. Disraeli, but withdrawn without a division. The latter, who succeeded to the lead of the Protectionist party on the retirement of Lord George Bentinck, which was followed by his sudden and much lamented death the previous year, said the new commercial policy had failed, and should be superseded by a system based on reciprocity. He contrasted the warlike condition of Europe with the promised reduction in the estimates, and declared that his party stood there not only to uphold the throne, but the empire, to vindicate the industrial privileges of the working classes, and the reconstruction of the colonial system. "We stand here to uphold the Church, not only assailed now by Appropriation Clauses, but by visored foes, and to maintain the integrity of parliament against the Jacobin manœuvres of Lancashire."

The unsettled state of Ireland, and the extremely destitute condition of its people, rendered the immediate attention of the parliament imperative; consequently, as early in the session as the 6th of February, Sir George Grey moved that the Act proposed last July, for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in certain districts, should be continued for a further period of six months. Leave to bring in the bill was granted by a majority of two hundred and three, and its second reading was moved on the 9th of February. Although a great number of members took part in the debate, it contained but little matter of novelty or interest, the result being a majority of two hundred and forty-two in favour of the bill, which passed through both Houses with little further discussion. The next proposition, which was brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer on the 7th of February, was that a grant of 50,000*l.* should be made to certain distressed unions. The vote, which met with considerable opposition, was finally agreed to, after two nights' debate, by a majority of seventy-seven. The third proposal was the appointment of a select committee on the Irish poor law, which was moved on the 8th of February, and agreed to without a division—a similar motion, by the marquis of Lansdowne, being carried on the following day in the House of Lords; and on the 2nd of March, Lord John Russell moved in committee that for two years a rate of 6*d.* in the pound on each electoral division should be paid by every union in Ireland, to form a general fund for the relief of the poor. The plan met with stubborn opposition, but after a lengthened debate the resolution was agreed to by a majority of one hundred and seventy-two, only thirty-four members voting against it. The second reading of the bill gave rise to a further debate, although the principle of the Rate in Aid scheme had been already so fully discussed. It was, however, carried by one hundred and ninety-three to one hundred and thirty-eight. On the 11th of May, the second reading of the bill was moved by the earl of Carlisle, in the House of Lords, and, after much opposition, was carried by a majority of one. The bill was warmly opposed on its third reading, but finally passed by a majority of eight. Destitution being rapidly on the increase, and the 50,000*l.* being well-nigh exhausted, it became necessary to anticipate the relief intended by the Rate in Aid Act by an immediate advance upon the credit of that measure from the Consolidated Fund. Accordingly, on the 19th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that the treasury should be authorised to advance 100,000*l.* in that manner. Mr. Herbert moved as an amendment that an income and property tax should be substituted for the proposed rate, but the amendment was rejected by one hundred and ninety four to one hundred and forty-six, and the original motion carried by two hundred and one to one hundred and six. On the 26th of April, Lord John Russell brought forward a bill for the amendment of the Irish poor law, which contained several remedial provisions, the most important one for limiting the maximum of rates to be levied off land to 5*s.* in the pound. The clause fixing the maximum rate was rejected by thirty-five to twenty-six. A vote for advances for land improvements and drainage in Ireland was successfully moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Monsell carried his motion for promoting emigration from Ireland by a large majority. A most important measure as regarded the internal condition of that country, producing, in fact, a social revolution, and ousting a great number of old proprietors of the soil, became law, that for facilitating the sale of encumbered estates. Strong convulsions in Ireland always attract the attention of the political doctors in London, and are followed by the application of new and vigorous remedies. The condition of vast masses of the people was a disgrace to the government, to themselves, to everything connected with the country. It is better now, because the population has been reduced by a quarter, and lands are turned to pasture whence cattle, sheep and pigs, and horses are exported to Great Britain; wages are higher because there is more money, and it is in fewer hands. Still, Ireland on the whole, is far behind any European country in the possession of what relates to the comforts and decencies of civilised life. After the famine had completely destroyed whatever there was of independence and self-reliance, and after every estate in the country had suffered severely by new burthens and the aggravation of the pressure of the old, the Encumbered Estates Act was passed, which has had the effect, to a certain extent, of strengthening the national party by enabling small Roman Catholic capitalists to purchase landed property. The necessity for some measure to liberate the land from the law was obvious. The only pity is that it was not applied long before, and that it needed a famine and a rebellion to arouse legislators to deal with the evils which rendered Ireland a sore in the body politic. Receivers under the Court of Chancery administered many estates: many others were laden with mortgages or trammelled by settlements, and the so-called proprietors, either absentees on a pittance or struggling residents without means or influence, could not divest themselves of the name of owners, which was nearly all that remained to them, because there were no legal ways of doing it without recourse to impossible expense. Sir John Romilly, the solicitor-general, moved for liberty to introduce, on the 26th of April, a bill for the creation of a novel court with powers to sell encumbered estates and to give a parliamentary title to the purchasers; the three commissioners who constituted it being empowered to act on the petition of a creditor of the owners or of others interested in the estates affected, and the court then created is now in permanence under the name of the Landed Estates Court, presided over by three judges. From a parliamentary return it appears that within less than a year after the passing of the Act, landed estates of an annual rental of 196,000*l.*, burthened by claims to the amount of more than three millions and a quarter sterling, were brought under the action of the court by their owners, and creditors demanded the sale of estates with an aggregate rental of 655,500*l.* per annum, on which there were mortgages and debts to the extent of 12,000,000*l.* and upwards. It was a healthy Act. The lancet was plunged deep into a festering wound, but the cure was not complete, and agony and pain too deep for words were inflicted on those whose estates were unduly depreciated at the very moment they were forced to part with them by the effect of a long series of miserable catastrophes. It was in principle sound, but in practice it was a measure of confiscation. The bill compelled proprietors whose estates were encumbered to sell them at a period when the rating was excessive, the value of property lowered, and the competition for land reduced to the smallest proportion; and it may be fairly asserted that no government would venture to introduce such a measure for any other part of the empire. The measure appeared to be approved of by the entire House, as it passed through committee unaltered. On the 11th of June, Lord Campbell introduced it in the House of Lords, admitting that the character of the bill was extremely arbitrary, but considering it to be fully justified by the lamentable state of Ireland. The bill passed with alterations, which were accepted by the House of Commons.

But although Ireland had more than her full share of public time in the legislature, there was much discussion of our colonial policy. The cession of Vancouver's Island to the Hudson's Bay Company was denounced by the earl of Lincoln. In the House of Lords, however, it was with difficulty that the Administration of Justice in Vancouver's Island Bill obtained a second reading. Meanwhile the agitation on the continent was becoming daily more violent and widespread.

The first debate on foreign policy had reference to the insurrection in Sicily. Mr. Bankes moved for a return of ordnance stores sent to the insurgents in arms against her majesty's ally the king of the Two Sicilies, which, after a debate in which the foreign secretary, sharply attacked, made very sharp defence, was agreed to by Lord Palmerston with amendments. On the 20th of July, Lord Brougham renewed the discussion, and moved a resolution expressing regret at the unfriendly feeling shown by the government towards the king of Naples, which was rejected. A debate on French interference in the affairs of Rome sufficiently indicated the feeling of the House of Commons as to that intervention. When the pope fled to Gaeta, whence he menaced his subjects with excommunication, he had little idea that the president of the French Republic, who had been suspected of advanced views in Italian politics, would come to his aid; but on the first day of the new year Louis Napoleon expressed to the apostolic nuncio his hope that his holiness would soon be re-established in Rome—"Prima via salutis quod minime rêris, Graiâ pandetur ab urbe." The reply of the Roman Assembly to that expression of good-will was the formal deposition of the pope. A Constituent Assembly was elected, which confirmed the deposition, and proclaimed a republic, with guarantees for the exercise of the pope's spiritual functions in Rome. The pope appealed to the Catholic Powers. Whilst the answer was yet undecided, and their course of action undetermined, the king of Sardinia rashly denounced the armistice which had been agreed on, and threw down the gauntlet to Austria. On the 16th of April the French National Assembly, by a majority of one hundred and twelve, decided for an armed intervention in favour of the Holy See. They struck hard and soon. On the 26th of April the French expedition landed at Civita Vecchia, under the command of General Oudinot. The triumvirs, Mazzini, Saffi, Armellini—for the modern republicans thought that names were the essence of things, and that by calling certain wild men tribunes, others wilder consuls, and the wildest triumvirs, they were restoring the Roman Republic—decreed a levy of fifty thousand men, and prepared for a resistance which did credit to their courage, and the republicans of Rome vindicated their claims to the inheritance of the fighting qualities of their ancestors by the most vigorous and determined repulse of the French. On the 9th of May, Garibaldi attacked the Neapolitans who had come to assist the French, and defeated them utterly at Palestrina. On the night of the 3rd of June, the French, however, surprised the post at the Villa Pamphili, and proceeded to make slow approaches from that vantage-ground, which the Romans tried in vain to recover. On the night of the 30th, Oudinot directed a general assault; this was successful, and on the morning of the 1st of July the tricolor flew inside the walls of Rome, and on the 3rd the French general entered the city in triumph, at the head of his staff. This French intervention nearly led to a revolt in Paris itself, where Ledru Rollin once more tried to excite the people to insurrection, on the ground that the expedition was an outrage to democratic principles. The president recommended the pope to celebrate his return to power by an amnesty, the Code Napoleon, a liberal programme, and the secularisation of the government; and on the 20th of September his holiness proclaimed a Council of State, a Committee of Finances, an extension of the franchise, reforms in the codes of law, and an amnesty with conditions. His government was re-established under the protection of a French garrison in the Eternal City.

We have already seen that the revolution had not spared Austria, and that the people of Vienna had expelled their sovereign, and had established relations with the disaffected Magyars. The rupture between the Hungarians and the House of Hapsburg was completed by the march of the Honveds, or Hungarian militia, upon Vienna to aid the insurgents, who were assailed by the Imperialist armies, aided by the Croats, but they were repulsed. Windischgrätz, the Austrian general, directed his forces against Pesth, aided by the Croats, hereditary enemies of the Magyars, who, under the order of their Ban, Jellachich, entered Buda on the same day (January the 5th) that Pesth, the capital, surrendered. Kossuth and others, the leaders of the Magyar people, retired to Debreczin with Stephen's Iron Crown, and machinery for printing paper money. The emperor, restored to his throne, promulgated a new constitution and a charter for the "one and indivisible empire of Austria." This was most offensive to the pride of the Hungarians, who claimed of historical right a separate national existence. On the 14th of April, Hungary declared itself a free and independent republic, and prepared to make itself so by deeds. The whole of the regiments of Hungarian nationality passed over to the popular side, officers and all. They had at their head men of high military capacity. On the 24th of April they defeated the imperialists at Gran so completely, and had established such an ascendency in the field, that the Austrians were obliged to raise the siege of Komorn and evacuate Pesth. But when the affairs of the House of Hapsburg were reduced to such a state that their hold on Hungary seemed to have been lost for ever, Count Nesselrode announced to Europe that Russia had resolved on a crusade against the Hungarians, and that the czar must protect his Polish and Danubian provinces from a propaganda of anarchy, imbued with a spirit hostile to Russia. On the 1st of May the Russians were directed to march into Transylvania. The British government made no sign and offered no remonstrance to this violent proceeding. The emperors of Austria and Russia met at Warsaw, and laid the basis of a new alliance. The allied troops defeated the Hungarian patriots, and drove them across the Waag, on the 21st of June. On the 2nd of July they were again victorious at Acs, but on the 11th they were subjected to a severe check by the Magyars at Komorn. Three days later began the memorable battle of Waitzen, which was the death-blow to the revolt, and the stroke to the rock from which had flowed the waters of life to Hungary, and but for the result of which she had probably achieved her independence. The battle lasted for three days, but, on the 17th, Görgey, the accomplished general who led the Magyars, with the main body of his horse, broke through the enemy and retired across the Theiss.

The successes of the Austrians, secured by Russian bayonets, were clouded by the extreme severity of their general, Haynau, whose proclamations to the people of Buda and Pesth breathed the most sanguinary spirit, though it may be doubted if the crime alleged against him, of flogging nuns by wholesale, was ever really committed. Public feeling was aroused, and meetings to express sympathy with Hungary were held, at which Mr. Cobden and others spoke. However, expressions of sympathy could not meet troops in the field. Haynau routed the Hungarians at Temeswar on the 10th of August, and next day Görgey with thirty-five thousand men surrendered at Arad to the Russians. He was accused of treachery and of jealousy of Bem; but it was hopeless for Hungary to struggle against Russia and Austria united. Kossuth and Bem fled to Turkey, and the sultan magnanimously refused to surrender them to Austria and Russia, in consequence of which the two powers broke off diplomatic intercourse with the Porte. But, to enable him to resist the demands for their surrender, the sultan asked the refugees to become Mahomedans, and Bem and several others yielded and apostatised. Komorn surrendered on the 28th of September, and on the 6th of October the Austrians were guilty of the cruel error of executing, with circumstances of stupid ferocity, Count Louis Batthyany, a man revered by the Magyar race. The Hungarian cause became popular in England as soon as it was lost; Kossuth, who came over here, was the hero of the hour. But we had our own troubles in India and elsewhere, and we now must take a look at events in the Punjaub.

After the death of Runjeet Sing, the Sikhs remained quiet for some time, to all outward appearance; but our disasters in the Cabul campaign had inspired these turbulent soldiers with a contempt for the British power, and their chiefs fancied that it would be possible to drive us out of India and transfer their capital to Delhi, or even to Benares. The Ranee, or queen-mother, regent of the son of the Lion of Lahore, who little dreamed that he was to become an English squire, a member of fashionable clubs, a crack shot at the covert side, and a brilliant ornament of court circles, was either through fear or prepossession led, it was believed, to encourage these designs, and the principal friend the British had was a chief named Gholab Sing, who possessed some influence, and used it in favour of maintaining the alliance which Runjeet Sing had wisely established. The Sirdar Khan Sing coveted the rule of Mooltan, which was held by Moolraj as governor, and as that chief was suspected of hostile views, Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson were despatched by the government to see that the former was installed in office. Moolraj, who was a brave and resolute man, resisted, and the populace aided him. A rising took place, and the two British emissaries were brutally murdered. The Sikh chief took the field. The

Punjaub became the scene of encounters, in which handfuls of our troops, led by young officers like Lieutenant Edwardes, achieved remarkable success, and a force was assembled under General Whish to reduce the strong fortress of Mooltan and punish Moolraj, who defied our power.

On the 12th of September (1848) Whish, with a force belonging principally to the native army, assisted by Sikh auxiliaries, assaulted the place, but just as he carried the outer intrenchment Shere Sing drew off his three thousand Sikhs, and Whish was compelled to retire. But reinforcements were quickly sent to his assistance, and towards the end of the year he sat down with a force of twenty-five thousand men and proceeded to reduce it by a regular siege. On the last day but one of the year the magazine of Mooltan was blown up by a shell, destroying houses, temples, and many lives. It was an awful explosion. General Whish, relying on its effect, summoned Moolraj to surrender. But, whatever his offences may have been, that man had a heroic soul. He thrust the summons down his largest gun, fired it into Whish's camp, and sent him word that he had powder and shot enough for the next twelve months. He could not make good his boast. On the 2nd of January an assault was made on two faces of the work, and before sunset the town was in the hands of our troops; but the citadel still held out. It was bombarded and approached by sap and parallel. On the 18th the counterscarp was blown into the ditch, the batteries were advanced, breaches were made, but when all was ready to spring the mine under the citadel Moolraj surrendered unconditionally. Whish then moved northwards to join Lord Gough, who was operating against the Sikhs under Shere Sing on the Chenab. In a very strong position, Gough stood fast in front of the enemy with his main body, whilst a force under Thackwell was sent to cross the river and menace their left. This he effected on the 2nd of December (1848), and Gough immediately opened an artillery fire on their front which obliged the Sikhs to retire out of range. A brigade was then sent across the stream to co-operate with Thackwell; but whilst the latter was waiting for the reinforcement, he was attacked by the Sikhs, who tried to turn both his flanks, but, receiving a destructive fire from our artillery, retreated. They abandoned their position in the night, and fell back towards Chuttur Sing, who, having reduced the fort of Attock, was now coming to the aid of Shere Sing, his son. On the 12th of January, Lord Gough advanced eager to overwhelm Shere Sing ere he could make good his junction, and on that day was fought the sanguinary battle of Chillianwallah. Lord Hardinge, in his despatch relating to this action, distinctly charges Lord Gough with indiscretion of the most serious character in attacking the enemy when the day was far spent, the troops wearied, and no time to make proper preparations to avoid unnecessary loss, without any previous reconnaissance, and adds, "his indiscretion cost us dear." Had the result been otherwise, Lord Gough would have been praised for the dash he displayed in attacking the Sikhs, and, in spite of all the above-named disadvantages, for having routed them utterly. The fact is, he came on them rather suddenly, and Lord Hardinge suggests that the Irish blood of the old soldier was irritated by the fire from their artillery as he was reconnoitring. Gough opened a cannonade which lasted an hour and a half, and then moved his left (3rd and 4th Brigades) to flank the enemy. In doing so it was terribly mauled from concealed batteries, and when the troops got up to the guns they retired rapidly. The 5th Brigade, under Mountain, carried the guns in their front, but the Sikh infantry opened such a fire of musketry on their flank and rear that they, too, retreated in haste, but in good order. On the extreme right, Godby's brigade was received with equal firmness, and was outflanked and attacked in rear by the Sikhs. In the mêlée the 2nd Europeans especially distinguished themselves by charging rear rank in front to check the enemy; but the cavalry on the extreme right, under Brigadier Pope, on being ordered to charge the enemy's horse, faced about and left the field, with the exception of a party of the 9th Lancers, who were rallied. The runaways made right for three troops of horse artillery which had been placed in support in their rear (Christie's, Lane's, and Whish's), dashed through them, upsetting waggons and horses, and, scurrying through the hospital tents, pulled up exhausted and discredited, leaving the field of battle far behind. This panic, so unaccountable and unusual, caused a serious loss, for the Sikhs captured six guns, two of which only were retaken, and cut down seventy-three gunners. The British, however, remained masters of the field, but twenty-six officers and seven hundred and thirty-one privates of the European troops were killed; sixty-six officers, and one thousand one hundred and forty-six men were wounded. Four of our guns were taken, and five stands of colours. The Sikhs might well have claimed a victory; but they resolved to march off at night taking with them the guns. When the news of this action reached England there was a loud outcry against Lord Gough, and a demand almost unanimous was raised for his recall, to which the government acceded. The duke of Wellington sent for Sir C. Napier, who announced his readiness to start at once, and he was sent out to India to supersede Lord Gough as commander-in-chief of the forces, and member extraordinary of the council. But ready as he was, the distance to India interposed an obstacle which saved the gallant soldier who was to have been thus disgraced a bitter mortification, and which enabled him to retrieve his fortune, and to deliver a death-blow to his determined enemy. It was necessary for Gough to give his troops rest, to make good the damages and restore confidence to his army, and for nearly a month the British general watched the Sikhs, who manœuvred behind a great cloud of cavalry. On the morning of the 12th of February, the Sikhs evacuated their fortified camp, compelled probably by scarcity of provisions, and marched towards the ford of Wazerabad on the Chenab. Here they were headed by Whish's force from Mooltan, and they then, on the 20th of February, took up a position near Goojerat, between the Chenab and the Jhelum. Chuttur and Shere Sing, now united, had about 60,000 men of all sorts, but only fifty-nine guns. Gough resolved to attack them next day. He had with him about 25,000 men, but on this occasion he had the advantage in ground, as the Sikh artillery were badly placed, and exposed to the superior service and action of the British guns, which far outnumbered them. Gough halted his infantry out of fire and advanced his guns. "The cannonade" he says, "now opened upon the enemy was the most magnificent I ever witnessed, and as terrible in its effects. The Sikh guns were served with their customary rapidity, and the enemy well and resolutely maintained their position; but the terrific force of our fire obliged them, after an obstinate resistance, to fall back. I then deployed the infantry, and directed a general advance, covering the movement by my artillery as before." Penny's brigade of 2nd Europeans, 31st and 70th N.I. carried the key of the position. Part of Hervey's brigade, led by Franks, with her majesty's 10th, broke in upon the centre of the enemy's line, and as Campbell's division came sweeping round the town of Goojerat on one side, and the Bombay troops on the other, the Sikhs gave way, and fled in utter rout, leaving in our hands all their guns but two, and immense quantities of ammunition, &c. This great victory was gained with the loss of five officers killed, and twenty-four wounded; ninety-two killed and six hundred and eighty-two men wounded. The pursuit was vigorous, but the enemy, pouring through the Khoree Pass, succeeded in crossing the Jhelum, and General Gilbert could not succeed in getting over with his light guns till the 5th of March, when the British prisoners of Attock, who had been in the hands of the Sikhs, came into camp to announce that Shere Sing was ready to lay down his arms. On the 14th the Khalsa passed through our lines, unarmed and broken. The immediate consequence was the annexation of the Punjaub. The governor-general issued a proclamation in which he said, "The government of India has no desire for conquest now; but it is bound in its duty to provide fully for its own security, and to guard the interests of those committed to its charge. To that end, and as the only sure mode of protecting the state from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, the governor-general is compelled to resolve upon the entire subjection of a people whom their own government has long been unable to control, and whom (as events have shown) no punishment can deter from violence, and no acts of friendship conciliate to peace." The Maharajah Dhuleep Singh was treated with consideration, but Moolraj, the ex-Dewan of Mooltan, was found guilty of aiding and abetting in the murder of Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. Votes of thanks to the officers and men of the British army, engaged in the campaign in British India, were agreed to by both Houses, and Lord Gough was as much eulogised as he had been censured.

On the 22nd of June Sir Charles Wood made his financial statement, which gave the income at 52,252,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 51,815,064*l.*, his estimates only showing a probable surplus to a small amount for the ensuing year, and announced that he did not propose any reduction of taxation. Thereupon Mr. Hume called for further retrenchment as the best means of enabling the government to lighten the load of the tax-payer. At this period, when all nations were in trouble, a general impression seemed to pervade the public that retrenchment in expenditure was desirable; and on the 26th of February, Mr. Cobden brought forward his scheme for reducing the public expenditure by ten millions, but his motion was negatived by two hundred and seventy-five to seventy-eight. The subject of parliamentary reform was again brought before the notice of the House by Mr. Hume, who, on the 4th of June, moved for liberty to bring in a bill to amend the national representation, but met with signal defeat, his motion being rejected by two hundred and sixty-eight to eighty-two. Mr. Cobden's scheme of international arbitration, as a mode of adjusting national disputes, met a similar fate, the previous question being carried by a majority of one hundred and seventy-six to seventy-nine.

At an early period of the session, on the 19th of February, Lord John Russell renewed his attempt to obtain the admission of Jews into parliament, and moved that the House should go into committee for the purpose of considering the oaths of members of parliament. After a long debate, the second reading of a bill on the subject was carried by two hundred and seventy-eight to one hundred and eighty-five. The third reading was carried by two hundred and seventy-two to two hundred and six, and the bill passed the Commons, but it was defeated in the Lords by a majority of twenty-five. It was supported by the duke of Cleveland, the archbishop of Dublin, the earl of Shrewsbury, the duke of Argyll, and Lord Brougham. It was opposed by the earl of Eglinton, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Exeter and Oxford, the earls of Winchilsea, Desart, and Nelson. A bill for the legalisation of marriages with deceased wives' sisters was introduced by Mr. J. Stuart Wortley, the second reading of which was carried by one hundred and seventy-seven to one hundred and forty-three; but as its further progress was delayed, it was dropped at the end of the session.

Although the corn laws were dead and buried, the controversy between the Freetraders, and Protectionists was maintained by Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Disraeli, and the distressed condition of the agricultural classes was admitted by both sides, but referred to different causes, Mr. Bright in particular beginning the controversy not yet ended by a programme of legislation, which included abolition of primogeniture, restriction on the right of testament to lives in being, registry of property, and security of tenure.

On the 1st of August parliament was prorogued by commission, in a speech couched in terms even more general than usual, and referring to no matters of importance, except the repeal of the navigation laws, and the termination of war in the Punjaub; and on the same day the queen, accompanied by the prince consort and the royal children, left Osborne, on board the royal yacht, escorted by a squadron of men-of-war, and landed at Cove, thenceforth to be known as Queenstown. The first visit of her majesty to Ireland was the occasion of very exuberant expressions of loyalty, but those who could look beneath the surface were not quite content with what they saw. The London press exceeded in their enthusiam even the high-flown descriptions of the loyal Irish papers. There certainly was a great crowd and much noise when the queen went from Queenstown to Cork, and the arrival of the royal party in Kingstown harbour on the 6th evoked all of joy and gladness there was left in men's hearts and women's eyes; but there was too much expected from a people so little accustomed to royal personages and so much accustomed to unrestrained expression of their feelings. "Such a day of jubilee," wrote the "Times," "such a night of rejoicing, has never been beheld in the ancient capital of Ireland since first it arose on the banks of the Liffey. No ovation of olden Rome enriched with the spoils of conquered nations, and illustrated by the wealth of captured kings, was so glorious as the triumphant entry of Queen Victoria into Dublin." The royal *cortége* passed through the streets from the railway station to the Viceregal Lodge amidst great cheering of vast multitudes. A decorated archway was erected, where the lord mayor presented the keys of the city. The queen said: "I am delighted to be in Dublin. I am gratified at the reception I have met with in this the second city of my empire." Next day the royal party visited the Bank, the National Board of Education, and Trinity College. On the 8th her majesty held a levee in the castle, and in reply to the address of the Dublin corporation said: "It affords me sincere pleasure to receive your address in my ancient and loyal city of Dublin, and I gladly avail myself of this occasion to express my grateful acknowledgment for the ardent affection and loyalty with which my arrival has been hailed. . . . I gladly share with you the hope that the heavy visitation with which Providence has recently visited large numbers of people in this country is passing away. I have felt deeply for their sufferings, and it will be a source of heartfelt satisfaction to me if I am permitted to witness the future and lasting prosperity of this portion of the united kingdom." A review in Phœnix Park, and a visit to the duke of Leinster at Carton followed, and then the royal squadron steered for Belfast. On Sunday the ships stood for the Firth of Clyde. On the 13th the royal squadron sailed up Loch Long, and Prince Albert passed across from Arrochar to Loch Lomond, and joined the queen on board the Fairy, in the Clyde. The fleet passed up the river to Glasgow. Here her majesty was received by the corporation of Glasgow and the gentry of the west of Scotland; proceeded to the cathedral and university, and afterwards departed by railway to Balmoral. The queen remained in the Highlands till the 27th of December. Her stay in Scotland was one of pleasure, her visit to Ireland was one of duty. The workhouses were filled, and there was starvation among the people. The traces of famine were everywhere, and the effects of agitation were deeply marked; so that in spite of all she could do Ireland was sad to see, and it is no wonder if the royal travellers turned with delight to the repose and seclusion of their Highland home.

On the 31st of January, 1850, when parliament was opened by commission, the government could congratulate the country under a more prosperous state of affairs than could have been expected, considering the condition of Europe; the revenue returns were favourable; there was nothing in our foreign relations calculated to cause apprehension. The royal speech referred to the amicable settlement of the dispute concerning the Hungarian refugees, between Russia and Austria on the one hand, and Turkey on the other; to the negotiation rendered necessary by the relaxation of our navigation laws; to the loyal welcome received by her majesty in Ireland; and to the complaints of the owners and occupiers of land. With reference to the cholera, "Her majesty is persuaded that we shall best evince our gratitude by vigilant precautions against the more obvious causes of sickness, and an enlightened consideration for those who are most exposed to its attacks." A Protectionist amendment to the address was negatived in the Lords by one hundred and fifty-two to one hundred and three, and in the Commons by three hundred and eleven to one hundred and ninety-two.

The year, indeed, opened with something like another little war for us. One Pacifico, a Jew, who did the queen the honour of owning allegiance, had a claim against the government of Greece for damages done to his property three years before in a riot at Athens, where he resided; and as the government would not satisfy the claim of Don Pacifico, and that of Mr. Finlay, for land taken from him, the British fleet blockaded the Piræus. When parliament met there was a grand onslaught against Lord Palmerston, which gave Mr. Cockburn the opportunity of making the speech which made him solicitor-general, and eventually raised him to be lord chief justice of England.

Lord Stanley took up the matter, and on the 4th of February requested information as to the steps taken by Admiral Sir Hyde Parker in the Piræus. It seemed to be generally supposed that certain demands had been made by England for compensation in regard to an alleged loss sustained by a British subject; that the government of Greece refused to entertain the proposition, and that Admiral Parker was forthwith ordered to blockade the Piræus. It was further rumoured that Russia and France had offered to mediate, but that their interference was declined by England. On the 15th of May, the queen's birthday, the French minister, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, suddenly left London. It was said that this was purely accidental, and that the minister's departure was easy of explanation. General de la Hitte, the war minister, however, made public the fact that his government considered some explanation of our refusal to accept the mediation of France necessary; that the explanation given was unsatisfactory, and that consequently M. Drouyn de Lhuys had been recalled. This statement caused a profound sensation in the country. On the 18th of June Lord Stanley brought forward his motion of a vote of censure for the Greek quarrel, and obtained a majority against government of thirty-seven. The ministerial situation after this division in the Lords was most critical. Mr. Roebuck resolved to invite to their aid the opinion of the Commons, and on the 24th of June brought forward a motion directly vindicating their foreign policy, which, after a lengthened debate, resulted in a majority of forty-six for ministers, the numbers being three hundred and ten to two hundred and sixty-four.

It was during the debate on this motion that Sir Robert Peel addressed the House for the last time, and made a speech in every way worthy of a great statesmen, in which he kindly admonished Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell against their constant meddling, expressing his firm belief that "you will not advance the course of constitutional government by attempting to dictate to other nations." But he declared, too, that "they were all proud of" Lord Palmerston. Next day, about five o'clock in the afternoon, as he was riding up Constitution Hill, his horse shied at some passing object, and threw him over its head. Sir Robert fell on his face, keeping hold of the reins, and the horse came down upon him with its knees between his shoulders. He was conveyed to his house, where a medical examination showed that he had a fracture of the collar-bone, and a severe injury of the shoulder. The bulletin of the 1st of July announced that he had enjoyed refreshing sleep; but in the evening he became slightly delirious. About eleven on the night of the 2nd of July he died. Never did the death of any public man excite more general and genuine sorrow. The queen, Prince Albert, and the most distinguished members of every political party were unceasing in their inquiries; the neighbourhood of his house was thronged by multitudes eager to catch any gleam of hope, and a nation mourned round his tomb. Touching tributes were paid to his memory in both Houses of parliament, by members of all shades of opinion. "Every heart," said Mr. Gladstone, "is much too full to allow us to enter so early upon the consideration of the amount of that calamity with which the country has been visited in, I will say, the premature death of Sir Robert Peel; for although he has died full of years and full of honours, yet it is a death that in human eyes is premature, because we had fondly hoped that, in whatever position Providence might assign to him, by the weight of his ability, by the splendour of his talents, and by the purity of his virtues, he might still have been spared to render us most essential services.

> 'Now is the stately column broke,
> The beacon light is quench'd in smoke,
> The trumpet's silvery sound is still,
> The warder silent on the hill.'

The tribute of respect which we now offer will, I am sure, be all the more valuable—all the more readily received—from the silence which has prevailed, and which has arisen, not from a want, but from an excess of feeling." Mr. Hume, who for so many years had been the bitter political opponent of the deceased baronet, with much feeling moved that the House of Commons should adjourn. In the House of Lords the marquis of Lansdowne paid a high tribute to the memory of the deceased statesman. Lord Brougham eagerly acknowledged his splended merits and conscientious motives. The duke of Wellington spoke with deep emotion of the confidence he at all times reposed in the truth and justice of Sir Robert Peel, the leading characteristic of whose nature was the strongest attachment to truth. The House, influenced by deep anxiety to do every honour to the memory of the great statesman, went into committee on the 12th of July, for the purpose of adopting an address to the queen to sanction a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey. It was the only mode of evincing their sense of his services and regard for his character open to them; a money grant was not required; the family had refused the honour of a public funeral; and Lady Peel had respectfully declined the dignity of a peerage graciously offered by her majesty. So his remains were laid not far from those of Canning in the national walhalla. A distinguished honour was paid to his memory by the National Assembly of France, which, on the motion of President Dupin, caused to be entered on its journals a minute, expressive of the sorrow which was felt by the friends of peace and civilisation throughout the world. The death of the duke of Cambridge followed shortly after that of Sir Robert Peel, and a discussion ensued in the Commons upon the queen's message, recommending a provision for the young duke and his sisters, which was rather distasteful to the members of the royal family. It was proposed to grant the duke 12,000*l.* yearly, 6,000*l.* to the duchess, and 3,000*l.* to each of the duke's sisters. This grant was opposed by Mr. Hume and others, but it subsequently passed.

In the early part of this session, the secretary for Ireland introduced a bill for the extension of the franchise, which was violently opposed in committee; the clause reducing the standard of franchise, from 8*l.* to 5*l.*, was defeated by two hundred and fifty-four to one hundred and eighty-six; but an attempt made in the Lords to raise it from 8*l.* to 15*l.* met a similar fate. A compromise was ultimately agreed to, a valuation of 12*l.* was accepted, and the bill passed. The first attempt on the part of government to abolish the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland was made by the introduction of a bill for that purpose by Lord John Russell, which excited the anger of the Irish members and the remonstrances of the Dublin tradesmen, and it was defeated by a large majority. On the 15th of March, the chancellor of the exchequer was enabled to propose a reduction of stamp duties and of the tax on bricks. Lord Duncan's motion, for the repeal of the window duty, was rejected by eighty to seventy-seven; and Mr. Cayley's, for the repeal of the malt tax, lost by two hundred and forty-seven to one hundred and twenty-three.

Early in June, the bishop of London introduced a bill for the establishment of a new tribunal for ecclesiastical appeals, and the debate gained additional importance from the decision, on the appeal of the Rev. Mr. Gorham, in the judicial committee of privy council, upon the baptismal controversy. The marquis of Lansdowne objected strongly, stating that he viewed the bill with positive alarm, as striking a serious blow at the queen's prerogative: and the bill was ultimately lost by a majority of thirty-three. Mr. Haywood's motion, for a commission of inquiry into the state of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, was opposed by the members for Oxford and Dublin, but the commission was ordered by a majority of twenty-two. The bill to alter the law prohibiting the marrying of the sister of a deceased wife was revived by Mr. Stuart Wortley, and passed, but it was withdrawn in the House of Lords by the earl of St. Germans, who had charge of it, in consequence of the strenuous opposition to the measure. Lord Ashley, whose philanthropy had a strong puritan tinge, carried his motion for discontinuing the delivery of letters on Sunday by ninety-three to sixty-eight. The last important matter of the session was the consideration of the claim of the Baron Lionel Rothschild to take his seat in the House of Commons. The baron, on being tendered the usual oath, said, "I desire to be sworn on the Old Testament;" whereupon Sir R. Inglis said with energy, "I protest against that." The Speaker ordered Baron Rothschild to withdraw. The attorney-general then moved that Baron Rothschild should be heard by counsel at the bar of the House, as in the O'Connell case. This, however, he declined. The Speaker asked Baron Rothschild why he demanded to be sworn on the Old Testament. Baron Rothschild declared he did so because that was the form of swearing which was the most binding on his conscience. Mr. Hume then moved that he be sworn on the Old Testament, and carried that motion by one hundred and thirteen to fifty-nine. On the following day Baron Rothschild approached the table amid cheers from the Liberals. The oaths of allegiance and supremacy being tendered, the baron put on his hat after the Jewish fashion and duly repeated the words, and at the end said, "So help me God." He omitted the words, "Upon the true faith of a Christian," in the oath of adjuration, and passed rapidly on to the "So help me God." He was about to sign the parliamentary test roll, when Sir F. Thesiger rose to protest against it as he had not taken the oath. The Speaker ordered Baron Rothschild to withdraw, because he had not pronounced the words prescribed by the Act. Sir F. Thesiger moved that the clerk of the crown be ordered to issue a new writ for London. Mr. Wood, in a most effective speech, moved as an amendment that the seat was full. The amendment was negatived by two hundred and twenty-one to one hundred and seventeen, as was also the original motion, and the debate stood adjourned. On the 6th of August the attorney-general proposed two resolutions. First, that Baron Rothschild should not take his seat until he took the oath; and second, that the government would at once take measures to relieve persons of the Jewish persuasion from the difficulties caused by the form of the prescribed oaths. The first resolution was carried by one hundred and sixty-six to ninety-two; the second, by one hundred and forty-two to one hundred and six. On the 15th of August parliament was prorogued by the queen in person. In the speech reference was made to the Australian colonies, the improvements as to our merchant naval service, the gradual discontinuance of intramural interments, and the cordial gratification with which the queen had given her assent to the extension of the elective franchise in Ireland. Two months after the prorogation of parliament, England was startled by a Papal Bull, "given at St. Peter's under the seal of the fisherman," dated the 24th of September, constituting an episcopal hierarchy instead of the vicars apostolic, who had hitherto been known in the kingdom. In language most imperious, as though the pope were spiritual lord and master in the kingdom, episcopal sees were created, with names of places hitherto associated with the titles of English prelates, a hierarchy deriving their titles from these sees was nominated. Action was taken on the bull almost immediately, Dr. Wiseman being appointed a cardinal and archbishop of Westminster by papal briefs from Rome. The papal briefs were followed by a bold, aggressive "pastoral" from Cardinal Wiseman, and declarations from Dr. Newman, couched in language still more defiant. England rose *en masse*, and with one mind and one accord denounced this attempt to usurp the queen's prerogative, but the movement was greatly accelerated by the appearance of a very remarkable production by Lord John Russell, dating from "Downing Street." He wrote to the bishop of Durham:—"I agree with you in considering the late aggression of the pope upon our Protestantism as insolent and insidious, and I therefore feel as indignant as you can do upon the subject. I not only promoted to the utmost of my power the claims of the Roman Catholics to all civil rights, but I thought it right, and even desirable, that the ecclesiastical system of the Roman Catholics should be the means of giving instruction to the numerous Irish immigrants in London or elsewhere, who, without such help, would be left in heathen ignorance. There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome, a pretension of supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation as asserted even in the Roman Catholic times. I confess, however, that my alarm is not equal to my indignation. Upon this subject, then, I will only say, that the present state of the law shall be carefully examined, and the propriety of adopting any proceedings with reference to the recent assumption of power deliberately considered. There is a danger, however, which alarms me much more than any aggression of a foreign sovereign. Clergymen of our own church, who have subscribed the thirty-nine articles, and acknowledged in explicit terms the queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks, 'step by step, to the very verge of the precipice.' What then, is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince of no great power, compared to the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the church of England herself? I have little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations will desist from their insidious course. But I rely with confidence on the people of England, and I will not bate a jot of heart or hope, so long as the glorious principles and the immortal martyrs of the reformation shall be held in reverence by the great mass of a nation which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition, and with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul." Meetings were convened in town and country. The strongest resolutions were passed expressive of the anger of the country, and denouncing the pretensions of the see of Rome with much vehemence, and almost to a man the people of the three kingdoms, who were not of the Roman Catholic faith, joined in the demonstration, and proved its national character. The press teemed with pamphlets and books, the journals renewed the discussion every day, and it was considered necessary for the English Catholics to adopt an address to the queen declaring their loyalty and defending the purely ecclesiastical character of the papal usurpation; but the duke of Norfolk declared that he considered ultramontane opinions totally incompatible with allegiance to the sovereign and the constitution, and Lord Beaumont, another Catholic peer, expressed similar views. Oxford and Cambridge laid their addresses at the foot of the throne, and the queen, in reply, assured them she would maintain the rights of her crown and the independence of her people against foreign aggression. No less than six thousand meetings were held in various parts of England to protest against the assumption of authority by the Pope in a country which had uniformly resisted the pretensions of the Holy See to exercise any territorial jurisdiction. At some of these meetings the Tractarians came in for a share of the public indignation. It was believed that the pope would never have ventured on offering such an affront to the crown, if he had not been led to believe there was a large party in England ready to sustain his authority. In the metropolis the excitement was extreme, and when the 5th of November came, the pope and his cardinal were made to take the *rôle* of Guy Fawkes, and were publicly burnt in effigy. The unanimous manner in which the Protestants of England repelled papal aggression had its effect for a while. The storm blew, and the reeds bent to the blast. When it passed they rose erect as ever. There is not a vestige left of the storm in the statute book.

When parliament, met, on the 4th of February, the queen's speech prepared the country for the measure which Lord John Russell introduced three days later to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles, and although his Durham manifesto was powerfully assailed from such opposite quarters as those occupied by Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Disraeli, leave was given to bring in the bill by a vote of three hundred and ninety-five to sixty-three. In three months it was in every word threshed out in committee and passed with much trouble and great heat; it became, not very long after a dead letter. Concurrently with the discussions on this matter, the attempts of Mr. Disraeli to procure compensation to owners and occupiers of land, for injuries inflicted on them by the abolition of protection, occupied the House of Commons, and the proposal of the chancellor of the exchequer, to apply part of the anticipated surplus of nearly 2,000,000*l.* to reduce a part of the national debt, and to make up the deficiency arising from the proposed transfer of the window tax to a house tax, encountered opposition from the agriculturist and the advanced reformers alike. But the state of parties showed it almost inevitable that the Whigs should remain in office. Mr. Locke King, a staunch liberal, defeated the government, in February, on a division of one hundred to fifty-two against his bill to reduce the franchise to 10*l.* in counties.

On the 24th of February, Lord John Russell, adverting to the results of Mr. Disraeli's and Mr. Locke King's motions—the first giving the government a majority of only fourteen upon a vital question, the second leaving them in a minority—said he had come to the conclusion that they were not in a position to conduct satisfactorily the business of the country. He, therefore, tendered their resignation to her majesty, who sent for Lord Stanley. Lord Stanley was not prepared to form a government, and her majesty had asked him to undertake the charge of reconstructing one. Mr. Disraeli expressed his conviction, that in saying Lord Stanley had informed her majesty he was not prepared to form an administration, Lord John Russell had made a statement to the House which, on further consideration, he would acknowledge was not founded upon what had really occurred. A statement similar in substance to Lord John Russell's was made in the House of Lords by the marquis of Lansdowne. On the 28th, Lord Aberdeen justified the reluctance of the Peelites to join Lord John Russell's administration, by their great objection to his Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. Lord John Russell explained the various attempts which had been made to form a ministry, and defended himself from the charge brought against him by Mr. Disraeli by the production of the letters which had passed between Lord Stanley and the queen and Prince Albert. On the 3rd of March it was announced that, and in conformity with the advice of the duke of Wellington, her majesty's former ministers had resumed their places; but the government were in a weak and tottering condition, and were subjected to several defeats and checks, although they defeated Mr. Locke King in his proposal to assimilate the borough and county franchises. The attention of the metropolis and of many portions of the kingdom was diverted from the papal usurpation and political topics by the approach of the time fixed for the opening of the great exhibition in Hyde Park. The general idea of the undertaking might have been suggested to Prince Albert by the "expositions" and "ausstellungen" which have from time to time been common enough on the Continent, but the credit of the full development of that one notion to the grandeur of a national show to which the nations of the world are invited to contribute in friendly rivalry is due to the enlightened and accomplished prince whose labours have left such an impression on the social life of England. After careful elaboration of a project conceived as far back as 1848, he took steps to ascertain the views of those whose opinions were most entitled to respect. These were favourable, and then it became necessary to consider how the undertaking could be carried out. It was resolved that a number of noblemen and gentlemen should be invited to join in the direction of the undertaking.

The committee for the great national exhibition which was suggested by Prince Albert was named in the first week of the year 1850. By a royal warrant of the 3rd of January, 1850, commissioners were appointed for the promotion of "the exhibition of the works of industry of all nations," and on the 15th of August they were incorporated by royal charter.

On the 21st of March the lord mayor of London gave a splendid banquet at the Mansion House to the chief magistrates of the cities, towns, and boroughs of the United Kingdom. The principal object of the banquet was to introduce the guests to Prince Albert, the projector of the undertaking, and to stimulate, by the friendly intercourse of a dinner, their united interests in the great exhibition of 1851. Before it took place his royal highness held a levée in the grand drawing-room of the Mansion House. At its conclusion he addressed the guests in a striking speech, in which the tendencies of the age, the modern developments of art and science, the rapid intercommunication of thought, all realizing the idea of the unity of mankind, were fully appreciated. All the ministers and foreign ambassadors present expressed the high value they attributed to the design, and the country became much interested in the work. As soon as the rumour went abroad that England was about to open a Temple of Peace in her capital, the apostles of peace, who the year before, when all was ablaze, held a meeting at Brussels—notwithstanding the dreadful wars which had agitated Europe, and covered her fields with blood—became confident in their predictions of the near approach of the golden age, when war shall cease for ever.

In October the lord mayor of York gave a return banquet, at which Prince Albert was present and made another effective address. Subscriptions flowed in. A large guarantee fund was signed. An elegant and ingenious application of glass to building purposes, by Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Paxton, recommended itself to the commission as the best material for the building, and all the autumn and winter of 1850 and the spring of 1851 workmen toiled in Hyde Park, and the West End resounded with the sounds of labour, till, with immense energy and redoubled exertions the exhibition was—not ready—but still fit for general purposes. On the 1st of May the opening took place. At nine o'clock the doors were opened for the admission of the purchasers of season tickets, of which about twenty thousand had been sold. At twelve a flourish of trumpets announced the queen's arrival at the north door, and her majesty and consort, leading by the hand the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal, appeared before the vast assemblage of her subjects. "The crystal bow" rang with enthusiastic shouts, overpowering the roar of the cannon. An enthusiastic writer says, "In the midst of the grandest temple ever raised to the peaceful arts, surrounded by thousands of her subjects, and men of all nations, was the ruler of the realm, and its vast dependencies, herself the centre of the undertaking." Her emotion, as she acknowledged the gratulations of the people, was evident. The prince consort having conducted her majesty to the throne, the national anthem was sung by a choir of a thousand voices. Prince Albert then quitted the queen's side, and, at the head of the royal commissioners, delivered the report of the history of their proceedings. Her majesty in replying to the address stated her great satisfaction at its presentation, the interest she had taken in the progress of the proceedings of the royal commissioners, and her sincere gratification at the successful result. The archbishop of Canterbury then approached the throne, and offered up a prayer, at the conclusion of which the majestic Hallelujah burst forth, its strains reverberating through the arched transept and long-drawn aisles. The state procession was then formed, and passed down the northern avenue of the west nave. The spectators were arranged on both sides, and as her majesty passed along, the cheers were taken up in succession by the whole of the long array, her majesty and the prince acknowledging them by continually bowing. The procession returned by the south side, amidst the cheers of the people, the peals of two organs, and the voices of seven hundred choristers, to the eastern division of the nave, where the French organ took up the strain. The brilliant train having at length completed the circuit of the building, her majesty ascended the throne, and pronounced the exhibition opened.

The building was generally regarded as not the least remarkable of the products of art, science, and industry, which the occasion called forth. The exterior presented an appearance at once vast and beautiful; the semicircular end and roof of the great transept rose from its apparent base in majestic proportion, and was carried back into a perspective as unusual as it was pleasing, by the ridge and furrow arrangement of its arched ribs, and glazing; but from this fine centre the nave ran east and west to a length disproportioned both to its width and height. The peculiarity of its form tended greatly to exaggerate this defect, except from a very lofty point of sight; for as the width of the aisles was equal to their height, the outermost ridge or parapet shut off from the eye of a near spectator the whole, or great part, of the rise of the inner aisles and nave. Had the roof of the nave been vaulted in the same manner as the transept, the dis-sight would have been avoided, and the effect vastly improved. The whole exterior was painted in its main lines of a delicate blue upon a white and stone ground; the bays of the lower story were filled in with panel in imitation of a dark oak; on the whole, from the slenderness of the columns, the light and elegant tone of the colouring, and the transparency and reflective qualities of the glass, the general appearance was light and airy, without being tawdry or insufficient. The interior presented the appearance of a cruciform structure, having its naves and transepts of equal width, the former having double aisles of such dimensions as to make the total width equal to the length of the latter. The first object of attraction was the surprising beauty of the transept; passing from it, the eye followed the long lines of perpendicular columns, through a lengthened perspective different from anything that had been hitherto seen in architecture. The decoration of the interior, which had been entrusted to Mr. Owen Jones, was a consummate work of art. The system of primary colours was so successfully adopted, that the aspect of the nave, aisles, and transept was cheerful, well defined, and suitable. The general appearance of the interior, when the products of the industry of all nations were placed under its roof, realized the most sanguine expectations; not the least striking effect being produced by the flood of pure and uninterrupted light, which the transparent roof and sides threw over all the wonders of art and science that lay grouped within the building, and the ever-changing panorama of the spectators. It cost 176,000*l.*, and from the opening day till its close on the 11th of October it was visited by six million one hundred and seventy thousand persons, the greatest number on any one day being one hundred and nine thousand seven hundred and sixty. The receipts exceeded the expenditure by 150,000*l.* It brought to London many hundreds of thousands of foreigners, who experienced there what visitors to the sites of expositions elsewhere have to encounter—a relentless desire to make the most of the occasion, and to throw moderation of price far into the background, if not out of the windows. The evils predicted from it were not realized—nor was all the good either. The activity of parliament seemed to have been diminished by the great attraction out of doors. Lord John Russell, however, successfully renewed his efforts for the admission of Jews into parliament in the Commons, but the bill was rejected in the Lords, and a commission was issued to inquire into the condition of Oxford. There were warm debates on the conduct of Lord Torrington, who was accused of acting with undue severity in quelling some rebellious proceedings in Ceylon in 1848. A great sensation was produced by two letters from Mr. Gladstone, in which he described the state of the political prisoners in Naples, and copies of them were sent by Lord Palmerston to all our ministers. When parliament was prorogued by the queen in person, on the 8th of August, she was able to congratulate the country on an excess of revenue over expenditure, notwithstanding the reduction of taxes, in the abolition of the window duties, and on the success of the Exhibition. The arrival of the great Hungarian orator, Kossuth, in the autumn, gave occasion to a very loud and widely spread display of dislike in this country to the policy of Austria in Hungary, but as Austria was hanging and shooting Hungarian patriots when she could, and executing them in effigy where their persons were not available, it is evident the demonstration caused no great effect. The speeches of Kossuth, aided by exquisite delivery in English, and the effect of a graceful interesting person in a national dress, produced immense emotion, but his appeals to England to interfere in behalf of Hungary fell on dead men's ears. The French government would not permit him to pass from exile through France, so he came to Southampton by sea, and made a royal progress through England, of whose efforts to effect his liberation in Turkey he was quite sensible. The year of the great exhibition had no great influence on home politics, and its course was not disturbed by any warlike operations by our land or sea forces, although in it began a Hottentot revolt and an extension of the Kafir outbreak. The census of the United Kingdom, which was taken in this year, gave England and Wales, 17,922,768; Scotland, 2,870,784; Ireland, 6,515,794 (against 8,175,124 in 1841): and London, 2,361,640 inhabitants.

The condition of France had fixed the attention of politicians all throughout the year, and it was felt that the state of parties in the French Assembly was such that it was impossible to prevent the hostility between the republicans and those who were in favour of personal rule from coming rapidly to a catastrophe.

Louis Napoleon was moving cautiously, for he knew well what fires were beneath his feet, but he felt so strong in the popular affection on his return from a provincial tour, that he permitted M. Thiers and other eminent exiles to come back to France. In a moment of generosity he also liberated Abd-el-Kader, who had been detained in prison in defiance of the pledge given to him on his surrender. Before the year was over, the Senate prayed him to decree the restoration of the Buonaparte dynasty, but the moment had not yet arrived for so bold a measure.

Early in November the president announced that the ministry would introduce a measure to restore universal suffrage, and denounced a demagogical conspiracy which was, he said, organizing itself in Europe for a general explosion. The Assembly rejected the suffrage bill. The presidential press accused them of conspiring against the president with the view of making General Changarnier military dictator. Matters were now in such a state that either the prince-president or the Assembly must perish in the struggle for power. The opposition consisted of many able and patriotic men, of some violent and selfish adventurers, and of feeble theorists. There were a few able soldiers among them. They all suspected the president, but without combination they were powerless to resist him. The minister of war was at the head of the army, the president could give no orders to the troops, but he could change his ministers. St. Arnaud was made minister of war, M. Maupas, minister of police, Magnan was placed in command of the army of Paris, and Löwestine was put at the head of the national guards. These measures indicated the design by which the president prepared to anticipate the action of his enemies, who, with the republican generals at their head, were concocting such measures as they could for the defence of the constitution and the consequent overthrow of Napoleon. The president struck first. On the night of the 1st of December, after a reception at the Elysée, he seized the national printing office, and at dawn the walls of Paris were seen to be covered with a decree announcing the dissolution of the Assembly and Council of State, and the establishment of universal suffrage and of a state of siege.—"In the name of the French people, the president of the

Republic decrees:—Art. 1. The National Assembly is dissolved. 2. Universal suffrage is re-established. 3. The French people is convoked in its elective colleges from the 14th of December to the 21st of December following. 4. The state of siege is decreed throughout the first military division. 5. The Council of State is dissolved. 6. The minister of the interior is charged with the execution of the present decree. (Signed) LOUIS NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE. DE MORNY, the Minister of the Interior, Palace of the Elysée, December 2nd." A third proclamation was addressed to the army. "Vote," the president wrote, "freely as citizens, but do not forget that passive obedience to the orders of the chief of the government is the rigorous duty of the army, from the general down to the soldier. It is for me, who am responsible for my actions before the people and posterity, to adopt the measures most conducive to the public welfare."

The papers were well written, but the acts of violence which were made known very soon could not permit the people to deceive themselves respecting the real intentions of the president. The home office was seized, and ere daybreak representatives, including Changarnier, Cavagnac, Leflo, Lamoricière, and Bedeau, and the chief members of the Assembly, and others, were arrested in their beds and carried to prison. The Hôtel de Ville was guarded by soldiers, but the members of the Assembly who escaped arrest assembled at a mairie, and in the impotence of their anger resolved that the president was deprived of all authority, summoned the high court of justice to try the president, and released citizens from obedience to him. Two commissaries of police appeared at the head of a detachment of troops at the door of the chambers. They seized the president, and then marched off the two hundred and twenty deputies to imprisonment in a barrack—Thiers and Berryer, Dufour, de Tocqueville, Barrot among them—and subsequently carted them off to the forts round Paris. The high court of justice was broken up by force. When the Parisians had recovered their breath they began to think of resistance; some petty barricades were erected during the night. The troops marched against them, shot down Baudin, a representative, and others who sought to reason with them, and occupied the streets near the Elysée and Hotel de Ville, &c. in great force. The agitation increased. The aspect of the city became threatening. On the morning of the 4th the rattle of musketry announced that the garrison of Paris were busy in saving society, and all attempts at armed resistance were soon smothered beneath a heap of dead and dying Frenchmen slain in the streets of their capital by the hands of their brethren. It was stated by de Maupas, the police prefect, that arms, ammunition, red republican and socialist pamphlets found in many houses indicated the preparations for an outbreak, which had thus been happily averted.

The news of the *coup d'étât* produced the most profound impression over Europe, and especially in England. Mingled exclamations of horror and of admiration greeted the principal actor, and although the bloodshed which followed excited indignation and drew much popular invective upon the president, those who remember that he gave eighteen years of peace and prosperity to France, and that on his overthrow was reared the hideous spectre of the Commune, may be inclined, if not to condone his perfidy, at least to admit that he was right in his denunciations of the enemies of all order and society at a time when they were treated as mere pretexts for the tyrannical repression of public opinion.

It was in connection with this event that a remarkable discussion occurred in the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston, on the receipt of the intelligence of the *coup d'étât*, wrote a despatch to Lord Normanby, in which, without consulting the premier or his colleagues, he hastened to express his approbation of the president's conduct. Lord John Russell at once advised her majesty to dismiss Lord Palmerston, and this the queen the more readily acceded to because he had acted in defiance of a certain instruction laid down by her majesty in 1850, for the guidance of her secretary:—"The queen requires, first, that Lord Palmerston will distinctly state what he proposes, in a given case, in order that the queen may know as distinctly to what she is giving her royal sanction. Secondly, having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the minister. Such an act she must consider as failing in sincerity towards the crown, and justly to be visited by the exercise of her constitutional right of dismissing that minister. She expects to be kept informed of what passes between him and the foreign ministers before important decisions are taken based upon that intercourse; to receive the foreign despatches in good time, and to have the drafts for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off." Lord Palmerston was succeeded at the foreign office by Earl Granville, who promised to be a more pliant minister and was not likely to act without the full knowledge of Prince Albert for the benefit of the queen.

The overthrow of a republic which had given no signs of stability and no assurance of peace was not ungrateful to our statesmen, but the actions of the rising Buonaparte were narrowly watched, and created uneasiness. A proclamation was issued, calling on the people to vote by universal suffrage "yes," or "no," for Louis Napoleon and the new constitution. Such men as Montalambert voted "yes," and so did 7,481,231 Frenchmen against 640,737, who had the courage to vote.

When Louis Napoleon accepted the presidency for ten years, it was felt by all "*Actum est de Republicâ.*" His steps were not doubtful. He was the incarnation of the empire, and he struck deep at the roots of constitutional monarchy. He decreed on the very first day of the new year (1852) that the souvenirs of the empire should be adopted, and the imperial eagle restored to the banners of the army. On the 14th of January, 1852, he issued the new constitution. The state had its president ten years, a senate, legislative body, council of state, and high court of justice. The week following, the president decreed the confiscation of the property of the house of Orleans and cancelled the dotation of Louis Philippe in favour of his children, acts which excited anger and disgust in France, and did much to strengthen the hands of the enemy. In a day or two more he restored the titles of nobility. Decree followed decree, and the popular will seemed to justify every act of the imperious president. The birthday of Napoleon I., 15th August, was declared to be the only national holiday in the French republic! The trappings of imperialism were assumed without reserve, and sincere republicans began to inquire whether it would not have been wiser to have borne a constitutional king, and the ills they had, than to have fled to others they could not measure under the prince-president. The count of Chambord, called Henry V. by his followers, the Orleanists, and the republicans, all protested or wrote against these aggressions; but the prince-president had the army and the peasantry on his side. He had not alienated the clergy, and the vast mass of inert opinion which attaches itself to the actual rule of the men or party who guarantee peace was ranged along with them. On the 29th of March the senate and legislative body were sworn in. There were some eminent men who would not bow down and worship. Arago, the great astronomer, refused to take the oath. So did Changarnier, who, in his refusal, styled the president "a perjurer." The president, in scarcely guarded words, warned them of the fulness of the coming danger. "If, by underhand intrigues, parties endeavour to sap the basis of my government; if, in their blindness, they contest the legitimacy of the popular election; if, finally, they endanger by their incessant attacks the future prospects of the country; then, and only then, it may be reasonable to demand from the people, in the name of the repose of France, a new title which will irrevocably fix upon my head the power with which they invested me." This declaration having been brought under the notice of Russia and Prussia, it was represented to the French ministry that it would be a violation of the treaties of 1814 and 1815 for the president to assume the imperial power, inasmuch as these treaties excluded for ever the family of Buonaparte from the throne of France. Russia and Prussia might not, however, be indisposed to recognise him as an elective emperor, enjoying for life a station analogous to that of the old kings of Poland, if such title were conferred on him by a new *plébiscite*. But these representations produced no effect.

On the 3rd of February, 1852, parliament was opened by the queen in person with great state, the royal procession passing for the first time into the House under the great arch of the Victoria Tower. The royal speech announced that bills would be introduced for improving the administration of justice, and for amendments to carry into more complete effect the principles upon which the Reform Act was founded. In the course of the debate on the address in the House of Lords, the duke of Wellington commented severely upon the language of the press with reference to the *coup d'étât*, and on the attacks directed against the emperor, whose success was, he held, a matter of interest to us. In the debate on the address in the House of Commons, Lord John Russell explained the circumstances connected with the resignation of the foreign office by Lord Palmerston in the previous December. In reply Lord Palmerston observed: "It was obvious that if the minister for foreign affairs were never allowed, in easy and familiar conversation with foreign ministers, to express an opinion on foreign events, whether important or not, not as the organ of the government, but as an opinion which he had himself formed at the moment, then such a restriction on the conduct of foreign ministers would be extremely injurious and prejudicial to the public service. It was a misrepresentation of the fact to say that he had given instructions to Lord Normanby inconsistent with the relations of general intercourse between England and France. It was no instruction at all. He did not profess to give the opinion of the government as that of England. It was his own opinion, and, whether right or wrong, it was shared by numbers in France. So far as his conversation with the French ambassador went, he had merely expressed his individual opinion that there had been for some time such an antagonism between the president and the Assembly, that their co-existence had become an impossibility, and that if one or the other side were to prevail, it would be better that it should be the president." The breach between Lord J. Russell and Lord Palmerston was never repaired. A few days later Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill to extend the right of voting, and to amend the laws relating to the representation of the people. Disputing, he said, the right of every man to the suffrage, and seeing that the only object in view ought to be good government, he wished to preserve the balance of county and borough representation, and also the small boroughs, without which many able men would be excluded from parliament. He did not propose to disfranchise any constituency. He proposed to lower the franchise in boroughs to householders rated at 5*l.* instead of 10*l.*; in counties to occupiers of houses rated at 20*l.*, to copyholders and long leaseholders of 5*l.* instead of 10*l.*; and, lastly, to give a vote to persons in counties or boroughs paying assessed or income-tax to the amount of 40*s.* per annum. The bill, which was but coldly received, was read a first time on the 12th February. The ministry were now on the eve of a defeat, which, in suddenness and adroitness of execution, is a curious illustration of the working of party feeling in the House of Commons, on the suggestion of one man, actuated by keen personal animosity, and no small desire for revenge against those who had ill-treated him. The defects of our military organization were admitted on all sides. More especially was the state of the militia a cause of anxiety, for by the constitution it was our sole national force, and was practically our real reserve. The ministry resolved on a measure which they believed would effect an immense improvement in a system which gave no guarantees of usefulness in time of need. On the 16th of February they introduced a bill, providing that the militia should be localized instead of assimilating to regulars. The ballot was to be introduced to fill the ranks, two-thirds of the officers were to be appointed by the lord-lieutenant, and one-third by the crown; the limits subjecting parties to the ballot were to be, in the first year, twenty to twenty-three; in the second, twenty to twenty-five; and in the third, twenty to thirty years of age. The men were to be formed into battalions, and assembled for training, twenty-eight days in the first year, and fourteen in each subsequent year. In the event of danger of invasion, the corps might be embodied and sent to any part of the country; seventy thousand were to be raised the first year, one hundred thousand the second, and one hundred and fifty thousand the third; the final extent to be determined by the crown and parliament. Lord John Russell, who was always ready for any work, explained to the House the principles of the new measure. Four days afterwards Lord Palmerston moved that the word "regular" should be substituted for the word "local." After a hot debate, the amendment was carried by one hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and twenty-six. The result seemed a small matter. There was no great question of party principle involved—the house was not crowded, but the quarter from which the defeat came rendered it inexpressibly mortifying. Lord John Russell had more than once permitted his personal feelings to interfere with his public duties, and he shared the dislike to Lord Palmerston which Earl Grey had manifested so plainly a few years previously when he thwarted the attempts to form a liberal ministry by his opposition to the nomination of Lord Palmerston as foreign secretary. As soon as the result of the division was known, Lord John Russell in hot haste declared that the government, accepting it as a vote of want of confidence, had no course left but to resign. The House adjourned in much excitement. Lord Derby was sent for, and on the 27th of February he announced to the House of Lords that he had accepted office. In a few days more his cabinet was formed. Lord Malmesbury became foreign secretary, Mr. Disraeli, chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Walpole, home secretary; Sir J. Pakington, colonial secretary; Sir E. Sugden, lord chancellor; Lord Eglinton, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Henley went to the board of trade; Mr. W. Beresford to the war-office; the duke of Northumberland became first lord of the admiralty. It is not to the credit of the party leaders of the day that they permitted the consideration of the safety of the country to be influenced by personal feelings and intrigues for place and power. Had the militia been placed on a satisfactory footing, and had any attention been paid to the warnings and remonstrances of the eminent soldiers who were horrified at the miserable state of our armaments, the mortification and failures which followed the early successes of 1854 would assuredly have been averted. We had no reserves. We had scarcely three batteries of artillery ready for service in the whole country. The army consisted of isolated regiments—not of brigades and divisions—and the officers were for the most part without experience in the management of troops. Many of them had never seen two regiments together at a time, or even the whole of those corps to which they belonged. But the spirit which animated them and those they commanded was above all praise, and, in the early part of this year, a dreadful disaster at sea furnished an occasion for the display of discipline and heroism which penetrated to the heart of the nation, and produced the most profound sensation at home and abroad. On the night of the 25th of February, the *Birkenhead*, iron steamship, with six hundred and thirty officers, soldiers, and seamen on board to reinforce the troops at the Cape, was wrecked at Point Danger, fifty miles from Simon's Bay. Only one hundred and ninety-two of her passengers and crew were saved; but, in the words of an officer who survived, "The order and regularity that prevailed on board, from the time the ship struck till she totally disappeared, far exceeded anything that I thought could be effected by the best discipline. Every one did as he was directed, and there was not a murmur nor a cry among them till the vessel made her final plunge." Pity for the fate of these gallant men was almost lost in the admiration created by the accounts of their heroism, and the duke of Wellington, in his speech at the Royal Academy dinner, spoke with unwonted warmth of the conduct of the troops in the luckless transport. The quarrel with the Kaffirs under Macomo was brought to a successful termination this year by Sir H. Smith, but not without hard fighting, in which the "noble savages" showed extraordinary courage and no mean tactical ability. Although quite destitute of artillery, and only partly provided with fire arms, they inflicted severe losses on our troops. This was not our only contest with barbarous races. The Indian government, directed by Lord Dalhousie, felt constrained to declare war against the king of Ava, and an expedition under Commodore Lambert and General Godwin, ascending the Irrawaddy, defeated the Burmese, stormed Rangoon, and declared a peace which deprived the king of the territory of Pegu, which was annexed to the British possessions.

Parliament reassembled on the 12th of March, and on the same day a meeting of liberal members at Lord John Russell's house resolved on obtaining distinct declarations of their financial policy from the new government. On the 16th of March, Mr. Charles Villiers rose in a full house, in accordance with notice, to make inquiries "with a view to obtaining from her majesty's ministers some information of the principles of that policy upon which the government has undertaken to regulate the foreign commerce of this country, and more especially that branch of commerce which relates to the food of the people." The specific question he put was whether the government intended, before the dissolution of parliament, to propose any scheme of commercial or fiscal legislation, in such a way that the question of the principle of protection or a duty on corn should be submitted to the deliberate judgment of the electors? The chancellor of the exchequer replied that it was not the intention of government to do anything of the kind. In the course of his speech he said that her majesty's present ministers believed that very great injustice had been done to the agricultural and other interests in 1846, and that it was desirable for the benefit of all classes that this injustice should be remedied; but they were not pledged to any specific measure, and no proposition could be made till the verdict of the country had been obtained on their policy. The debate was continued by Lord John Russell, Sir J. Graham, and Mr. Walpole, but led to no results. In answer to Lord Beaumont, the earl of Derby made a similar declaration in the House of Lords. "The next election," he said, "must finally decide, at once and for ever, the great question of our commercial policy. He deprecated making an appeal to the country on a single question when the entire general policy of the late government was in dispute." On the 29th of March Mr. Walpole, the home-secretary, moved a bill to amend and consolidate the laws relating to the militia. He proposed to raise, if possible without abandoning the ballot, eighty thousand volunteers, to be drilled and trained under the regulations of the 43rd George III., and to receive bounties of 3*l.* or 4*l.*, either paid at once, or at the rate of 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* per month, as the volunteer might prefer. The number of days' training in the year would be generally twenty-one, but the crown would have the power of increasing them to seven weeks, or limiting them to three days. A few days afterwards he gave notice of a singular clause, providing "that any person who shall serve in the militia for two years shall be entitled to be registered and have a vote for the county in which he resides." This proposal met with strong opposition and much ridicule, Mr. C. Williams declaring that the proposal originated in an after-dinner joke of Lord Derby. Mr. Walpole intimated on the 5th that he did not intend to press the clause. The bill, after a minute discussion in committee, was read a third time on the 7th of June, and passed the House of Lords on the 21st of the same month.

On the 30th of April Mr. Disraeli introduced a budget with a deficiency of 2,180,000*l.* He therefore could make no experiments in reducing taxation. He proposed as a provisional remedy, until other means could be devised, to continue the income-tax for another year. The government were not averse to considering the whole of our financial system, but it was impossible they could have done so hitherto, and he felt strongly that nothing could be more unwise than tampering with the indirect taxation of the country before they had laid down a fixed principle upon which our system of taxation should be based. The expenditure, as arranged by Mr. Disraeli's predecessor, Sir C. Wood, amounted to 51,163,979*l.*, and the income to 48,983,500*l.* The financial scheme of the ministry was generally concurred in by both sides of the House.

In the course of the session a bill was brought in, called the "Surrender of Criminals Bill," which created an extraordinary sensation, and caused the ministry much unpopularity, and Lord Malmesbury withdrew it, not till he had incurred the suspicion that he was unduly subservient to the French government, whose conduct in warning the Paris correspondents of English newspapers that they would be held responsible for the language of the London editors had given no small offence. The scope of the measure seemed simple enough, but it was pointed out that there were recent changes in the law of France which would enable the government of that country to reclaim a criminal from any part of the world, though the offence were not committed on French ground, and though the party committing it were not a Frenchman. The traditions of the empire could not be friendly to us. The president himself declared he represented a cause and a defeat. An invasion of England was already canvassed in some of the Paris newspapers. The alarm was so great, that the suggestion to supplement the means of defence against an invasion by forming rifle clubs was eagerly adopted, and was encouraged by the government. The idea was at first to constitute local societies to buy rifles, and learn how to use them; but the practical sense of the people soon led them to perceive the wisdom of the advice to place themselves under more stringent military rules, and to ask for the assistance of government as recognised armed associations.

On the 10th of May, the Champ de Mars presented a glorious spectacle. The imperial bird was all but hatched. The prince-president distributed to the army the new eagles; and when the golden birds had been handed to the happy soldiery, the president uttered words which, seven years afterwards, he might have repeated with swelling breast; which, eighteen years afterwards, might have been repeated to him in tones of awful reproach: "Soldiers! the history of nations is in a great measure the history of armies. On their success or reverse depends the fate of civilization and of the country. If conquered, the result is invasion or anarchy. If victorious, it is glory or order." Thus nations, like armies, entertain a religious veneration for those emblems of military honour which sum up in themselves a history of past struggles and of trials. The Roman eagle, adopted by the Emperor Napoleon at the commencement of this century, and now restored to the troops of France, as a standard for his battalions, was a most striking signification of the designs of the new and formidable government which was apparently preparing to reassert the predominance of the old empire.

On the 1st of July parliament was prorogued by the queen in a speech of unusual length. The paragraph which referred to the dissolution was framed in words of more than usual seriousness. "It is my intention without delay to dissolve this present parliament; and it is my earnest prayer, that in the exercise of the high functions which according to our free constitution will devolve upon the several constituencies, they may be directed by an all-wise Providence to the selection of representatives whose wisdom and patriotism may aid me in my unceasing endeavours to sustain the honour and dignity of my crown; to uphold the Protestant institutions of the country, and the civil and religious liberty which is their natural result; to extend and improve the national education; to develop and encourage industry, art, and science; and to elevate the moral and social condition, and thereby promote the welfare and happiness of my people."

The general election was characterised by more than usual violence, especially in Ireland. The city of London returned one Conservative (Masterman) and three Liberals (Russell, Duke, and Rothschild).

In the metropolitan boroughs, Shelley and Evans were returned for Westminster; Challis and Duncombe for Finsbury; Clay and Butler for Tower Hamlets; Molesworth and Pellatt for Southwark; and Wilkins and Williams for Lambeth. Gibson and Bright were successful at Manchester, while Liverpool returned two Conservatives, Turner and Mackenzie. Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Dupré were returned unopposed for Buckinghamshire, Mr. Walpole for Midhurst, Lord Palmerston for Tiverton, and Mr. Cobden and Mr. Dennison for the West Riding. Among the Scotch elections, that for Edinburgh excited the greatest interest, and the result was generally received with satisfaction, Mr. Macaulay being returned at the top of the poll. Among the most prominent Liberal defeats were those of Sir G. C. Lewis at Hertford, Sir G. Grey at North Northumberland, Mr. Horsman at Cockermouth, and of Mr. Cardwell at Liverpool. Mr. R. Lowe entered parliament for the first time at this election as member for Kidderminster. Ninety-five petitions were lodged against the return of members. In twenty-four cases the elections were declared void; in three, the members were declared not duly elected; twenty-two were declared duly elected; and forty-five petitions were withdrawn.

In the midst of intense political excitement the nation was shocked by the death of the duke of Wellington. The news fell on the people not altogether unexpectedly, but with an effect which showed all the more strongly how dearly the great warrior and statesman was beloved by the entire people. He died on the afternoon of the 14th of September, at Walmer Castle. "On the previous day he had been able to take his walk in the grounds to look at his horses, and to make preparations for a visit which he intended to make to Dover. He dined with appetite, and retired to rest at his accustomed hour; the next morning he complained of illness, which rapidly developed dangerous symptoms, and at half-past three o'clock he expired with so little suffering that it was some time before his medical attendants were satisfied that his spirit had departed." A spontaneous national mourning ensued. Forts and ships carried their flags half-mast high. Bells tolled. Everywhere reigned a sense of profound grief and the expression of national sorrow. The news reached her majesty in her Highland retreat, and her diary records her feelings—"England's, or rather Britain's pride, her hero, the greatest she had ever produced, was no more! Sad day! Great and irreparable national loss!" And then, after a few words, the narrative continues, in simply natural grief:—"The duke was eighty-three, and it is well for him that he has been taken when still in possession of his great mind, and without a long illness; but what a loss! One cannot think of this country without 'the duke,'—an immortal hero! In him centred almost every earthly honour a subject could possess. His position was the highest a subject ever had; above party, looked up to by all, revered by the whole nation, the friend of the sovereign; and how simply he carried these honours! With what singleness of purpose, what straightforwardness, what courage, were all the motives of his actions guided! The crown never found, and I fear never will, so devoted, loyal, and faithful a subject; so staunch a supporter. To us (who also have lost now so many of our valued and experienced friends) his loss is irreparable; for his readiness to aid and advise, if it could be of use to us, and to overcome any and every difficulty, was unequalled. To Albert he showed the greatest kindness and his utmost confidence. His experience and the knowledge of the past were so great, too; he was a link which connected us with bygone times, with the last century. Not an eye will be dry in the whole country." This eulogium, perhaps the highest ever borne by a sovereign to a subject, was well deserved. The queen countermanded all festive arrangements, and expressed her deep sense of the national misfortune in a general order to the army.

On the 11th of November her majesty met the new parliament, which had chosen Mr. Lefevre as speaker on the 4th. The royal speech dealt with topics of no ordinary interest. First came a becoming reference to the death of the duke of Wellington, and the expression of the queen's desire that steps should be taken by parliament to indicate their sense of the loss sustained by the nation. A great state funeral was ordered, and a select committee was appointed to consider the mode in which the House could best assist at the ceremony. Mr. Walpole brought in a bill to provide that the day of the funeral should be regarded as the Lord's day, so far as the payment of bills, &c., was concerned. On the 10th of November, the remains of the duke were removed to Chelsea Hospital, for the purpose of lying in state. On the day fixed as a special and private occasion for viewing the bier of the illustrious dead, nearly 11,000 persons were present; but so bad were the arrangements, that terrible confusion, resulting in severe injuries to many, and loss of life to a few, ensued. During three successive days, nearly 200,000 persons witnessed the lying-in-state. On the 18th, the public interment took place in St. Paul's, with the most impressive grandeur. All business was suspended; people flocked in crowds on the night previous and in the early morning to secure points of observation, and tenaciously held them in spite of rain and cold. It is supposed that a million-and-a-half spectators were present in the streets. The streets were lined with military, and representatives from the whole army, of which the duke was the greatest pride and glory, and whose reputation he had raised all over the world, attended the funeral procession. The interior of the cathedral presented a wonderful aspect, all that was great in the land—peers and commons, ministers, judges, functionaries, the representatives of foreign states in full uniform, the husband of the queen, and a vast but distinguished crowd assembled around the grave; Lord Derby expressed the emotion of those present when, addressing the House of Lords, he said: "When, amidst solemn and mournful music, slowly and inch by inch the coffin which held the illustrious dead descended into its long resting-place, I was near enough to see the countenances of some of the veterans who were companions of his labours and of his triumphs, and was near enough to hear the suppressed sobs, and see the hardly-checked tears, which would not have disgraced the face of England's greatest warriors, as they looked down for the last time upon all that was mortal of our mighty hero. Honour, my lords, to the people who so well knew how to reverence the illustrious dead! Honour to the friendly visitors—especially to France, the great and friendly nation, that testified by the presence of their representative their respect and veneration for his memory! They regarded him as a foe worthy of their steel. His objects were not fame nor glory, but a lasting peace. We have buried in our greatest hero the man among us who had the the greatest horror of war."

Mr. Disraeli also paid a high tribute to the memory of the duke, and the earl of Derby referred to the temper and patience, not only of the troops and of the police, but of the large masses of the people, as highly satisfactory.

The year that saw the death of the duke of Wellington beheld the elevation to the imperial throne of France of the man, whose uncle Wellington's sword struck from it at Waterloo. The nephew of the man whose family was declared incapable of reigning by a coalition of the sovereigns of Europe sprung up in the midst of them with a crown on his head and a sword by his side. After the events of the 2nd of December, 1851, "the friends of order" clung to him as a necessity. He was "the saviour of society." As the year wore on all eyes were turned on him—some with hatred, some with favour. The language of the Buonapartist press, in reference to the dictator-president, was little short of blasphemous. Even the bishops of the church did not hesitate to style him "the elect of God," "the envoy of God," and the like. The nation showered addresses on him, and at last, yielding to such expressions of the national will, he resolved to act. On the 4th of November, the Senate received a message from the president, convoking them to deliberate on the re-establishment of the empire. Their decision was speedily made. On the 7th of November a *Senatus Consultum* re-established the empire in the person of Napoleon III. and his descendants, and fixed the order of succession. The necessary measures were taken for obtaining the votes of the nation. This was the famous plebiscite which gave for the restoration of the empire "ayes," 7,840,189; "noes," 253,145; nil votes, 63,326. The announcement of the numbers, made in the Corps Legislatif on the 1st of December, astonished those who had not properly estimated the force of the Napoleonic legend, the disgust excited by revolution, and by the ineptitude of republican leaders; the dislike which was aroused by the *bourgeois* respectability of Louis Philippe; the hatred which still animated the people for the legitimate imbecility of Charles X.; and the passionate longing for some strong man to keep the house in peace in France. So far as a popular vote can sanction the acts of the president, he could say he was the elect of the people, and on the 31st of December he met the newly appointed Commission Consultative in all the consciousness of success and as the approved ruler of the French nation. The effect produced by this news all over the world was profound, and in England men's minds were especially agitated by the portent of a new Buonaparte on the imperial throne. Still our domestic affairs were of a nature to command attention. We have seen how the first topic in her majesty's speech was the duke of Wellington's death. Then came the difficulty of the ministry. "It gives me," said the queen, "much pleasure to be enabled, by the blessing of Providence, to congratulate you on the generally improved condition of the working classes. If you should be of opinion that recent legislation, in contributing with other causes to this happy result, has at the same time inflicted unavoidable injury on certain important interests, I recommend you dispassionately to consider how far it may be practicable equitably to mitigate that injury, and to enable the industry of the country to meet successfully that unrestricted competition to which parliament in its wisdom has decided that it should be subjected." A liberal and generous policy towards Ireland, improvements in Oxford and Cambridge, and law reform, were recommended to the House. In the debate on the address Lord Derby intimated that the government did not intend to revive the question of protection:—"On the part of myself and my colleagues, I bow to the decision of the country; and having so bowed, I declare on their part and on mine, that, while desirous to the utmost of our power to mitigate that unavoidable injury which the adoption of the policy to which I refer has inflicted, and must inflict, upon important classes, I do not adopt it with any reserve whatever. I adopt it frankly as the decision of the country, and honestly and fairly I am prepared to carry it out as the decision of the country." In the House of Commons, the chancellor of the exchequer declared: "Neither myself nor any of my colleagues have the slightest intention to propose any policy which would give artificial prices, or attempt to give what hon. gentlemen on the other side have mentioned as compensation, for the losses occasioned by changes in the legislation which has regulated the commercial interests of this country; but what we do say is—and I will state it as distinctly as I can succeed in expressing myself, with none of those cloudy words for which the noble lord has given me credit—that we think those commercial changes have been effected without at the same time a change—a corresponding change—in our financial system; and I say, notwithstanding what the noble lord has asserted, that it is our intention, believing that a proper revision of our taxation has not taken place, to put before this House a policy that will place our financial system more in harmony with our commercial system." Mr. Villiers gave notice of his intention of introducing a free trade resolution as early as possible, to test the sincerity of these declarations, and on the 23rd of November he accordingly moved: "That the improved condition of the country, and particularly of the industrial classes, is mainly the result of recent commercial legislation, and especially of the Act of 1846, which established the free admission of foreign corn, and that the maintenance and further extension of the policy of free trade, as opposed to that of protection, will best enable the property and industry of the nation to bear the burden to which they are exposed, and will most contribute to the general prosperity, welfare, and contentment of the people; and that this House is ready to take into its consideration any measure consistent with the principles of these resolutions which may be laid before it by her majesty's ministers." The chancellor of the exchequer moved an amendment, "That the House acknowledges with satisfaction that the cheapness of provisions occasioned by recent legislation has mainly contributed to improve the condition and increase the comfort of the working classes, and that unrestricted competition having been adopted after due deliberation as the principle of our commercial system, this House is of opinion that it is the duty of the government unreservedly to adhere to that policy in those measures of financial and administrative reform which, under the circumstances of the country, they may deem it their duty to introduce." As the ministry declared that they looked upon the motion in the light of a vote of confidence or no confidence, this amendment was withdrawn in favour of one framed by Lord Palmerston, and introduced on the second night of the debate: "That it is the opinion of this House that the policy of unrestricted competition, firmly maintained and prudently extended, will best enable the industry of the country to bear its burden, and will thereby most surely promote the welfare and contentment of the people; and that the House will be ready to take into consideration any measures consistent with these principles, which, in pursuance of her majesty's gracious speech and recommendation, may be laid before it." The discussion lasted three nights, and finally Mr. Villiers' motion was negatived by a majority of two hundred and fifty-six to two hundred and thirty-six, and Lord Palmerston's amendment was carried by four hundred and sixty-eight votes against fifty-three.

On the 3rd of December Mr. Disraeli made the financial statement, on which the fate of the ministry depended. His main propositions affected—1. The duty on malt, which was to be levied uniformly on all malt. The drawback allowed to spirits distilled from malt in Scotland to be likewise repealed. The loss to the revenue from this reduction was estimated at 2,500,000*l.* Foreign malt to be admitted at a duty of 1*s.* 8*d.* and five per cent. upon a bushel. 2. The excise duty on native hops to be reduced from 2*d.* and five per cent. to 1*d.* and five per cent. per lb. The customs duty on foreign hops to be reduced from 2*l.* 5*s.* to 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt.; or from about 4*d.* to nearly 2*d.* per lb. The loss of revenue by this reduction was estimated at 120,000*l.* 3. The duty on tea to be reduced from 2*s.* 2¼*d.* per lb. by degrees to 1*s.* 4. The tax on inhabited houses—shops, public houses, and farmhouses—to be increased to 1*s.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* in the pound, and to be extended to the annual rent of 10*l.* or upwards. The tax so augmented was estimated to produce 1,723,000*l.* a year. 5. The tax on farmers' profits, schedule B, to be reduced from 3½*d.* to 1¾*d.* in the pound in England, and from 2½*d.* to 1¼*d.* in the pound in Scotland. The tax on schedules D and E (trades, professions, and offices) to be reduced from 7*d.* to 5½*d.* in the pound. The duties in schedules C and E (funds and public offices) to be extended to Ireland. In schedules A and C (land and funds), the minimum to be reduced from incomes of 150*l.* to incomes of 50*l.* a year. In schedules B, D, and E (farmers' profits, trades, professions, and offices), the minimum to be reduced from incomes of 150*l.* to incomes of 100*l.* a year. The income tax, so modified, was estimated to produce 5,421,000*l.*, nearly the same as its present amount. The reduction in all branches would affect the revenue to the extent of over 3,000,000*l.* The income tax was to be extended to property and salaries in Ireland; and a distinction was to be made between permanent and precarious incomes, making the exemptions on industrial incomes commence at 100*l.* a year, and on incomes arising from property at 50*l.* a year. He calculated that there would be 2,500,000*l.* to meet an extra expenditure of 2,100,000*l.* The debates on this bold and interesting budget were prolonged for five nights, but it was evident that the opposition, reinforced by Peelites and protectionists, would reject it, and so turn out Lord Derby's ministry. On a division on the house-tax resolution, a majority of nineteen appeared against the government, the numbers being—for, two hundred and eighty-six; against, three hundred and five. The remaining members of the House were thus accounted for: paired, twenty-eight; absent, Conservatives eight, Liberals eighteen; seats vacant, four; tellers and chairman of committee, five On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, on the announcement of the numbers, the House adjourned at four o'clock on Friday morning, the 17th December, till Monday the 20th. When Parliament met on that day, Lord Derby announced that the ministry had resigned, and that Lord Aberdeen had undertaken the task of forming a government. He declared that his government had fallen before an unprincipled combination of parties in the Lower House, who had leagued themselves together for its destruction from the first moment of the session. The duke of Newcastle averred that the statement was entirely without foundation, and Mr. Gladstone, in a letter to Mr. Phillimore, asserted that it was an entire fiction. The victory of the coalition of votes was however complete. On the 27th of December Lord Aberdeen made a statement as to the policy of the new government, on which subsequent events soon furnished a cruel commentary. He said that he would adhere, with regard to foreign powers, to the principle pursued for the last thirty years, of respecting the rights of all independent states in abstaining from interference in their internal affairs, while at the same time he asserted our own rights and interests. Above all things, his earnest desire would be to secure the general peace of Europe. This policy might be observed without any relaxation of those defensive measures which had been lately undertaken, after, perhaps, too long neglect. At home, the mission of the government would be to maintain and extend free-trade principles, and to pursue the commercial and financial system of the late Sir Robert Peel. A crisis in our financial arrangements would speedily occur by the cessation of a large branch of the revenue, and it would tax the ingenuity of all concerned to readjust our finances according to the principles of justice and equity. The questions of education and legal reform would receive every attention at the hands of the government; nor would an amendment of the representative system, undertaken without haste or rashness, be excluded from its mature consideration. The House adjourned till the 10th of February, and on the first day of the new year (1853) the list of the Aberdeen ministry was complete. The First Lord of the Treasury, earl of Aberdeen; Secretaries of State—Foreign, Lord John Russell; Home, Viscount Palmerston; Colonial, duke of Newcastle; Lord Chancellor, Lord Cranworth; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone; Lord President, Earl Granville; Lord Privy Seal, duke of Argyll; First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir James Graham; Board of Control, Sir C. Wood; Secretary at War, Rt. Hon. Sidney Herbert; First Commissioner of Works, Sir W. Molesworth. In the cabinet, without office, was included the marquis of Lansdowne. Although the greatest general England has produced of late days uttered the dictum that such a great country as England can have no little wars, it is nevertheless the fact that we have generally a little war once a year; and it was only on the very first day of that now opening upon us that the Kaffirs, with whom our troops under Sir Harry Smith, despatched from India to the Cape, had been long engaged in hostilities, made their submission to Colonel Somerset.

The attention of the nation was now forcibly drawn to its own helpless condition by the publication in the 'Morning Chronicle' of a letter addressed by the Great Duke to Sir John Burgoyne. He had, he said, been in vain endeavouring to awaken the attention of successive administrations to the alterations produced by steam in modern warfare. Having examined the whole coast from the North Foreland to Selsey Bill, he declared there was not a spot on it, except under Dover Castle, on which infantry might not be landed at any time. When did any man hear of allies of a country unable to defend itself? Economy and notions of finance induced government to postpone measures necessary for mere defence, forgetting the modern practice of successful armies imposing enormous pecuniary contributions. "I am," he concluded, "bordering upon seventy-seven years of age passed in honour. I hope that the Almighty may protect me from being witness of the tragedy which I cannot persuade my contemporaries to take measures to avert." These words produced a deep sensation. The quarter whence invasion might come was plainly indicated. It was feared that France might seek occasion for war with a country which had not a brigade of artillery fit for service in the field, nor guns, nor munitions in its arsenals, and whose fleet, reduced to scanty proportions, was in a state of transition; but England after a little while became reassured, and was able to regard with an interest, not for a time unmingled with anxiety, the ravages of the great storm which was about to burst over Europe.

On the 10th of February, when parliament reassembled after the adjournment on the 31st of December, Lord John Russell made a statement of the intentions of government and announced measures with respect to the national defences, Jewish disabilities, the clergy reserves of Canada, and other matters, which gave promise of a busy session that was well borne out. One hundred and sixteen bills were introduced, one hundred and four passed, ten were withdrawn, and only two rejected. The year furnished in its close a strong contrast to its opening promise. Then the necessaries of life were cheap and abundant, commerce had extended, the working classes were prosperous, and agricultural interests were flourishing. But the harvest had proved a partial failure, many crops were short, while at the same time the pernicious system of sudden strikes sprung up and threatened wide-spread ruin to industry. Deep anxiety caused by the complications hourly increasing of diplomatic difficulties in the East was manifested throughout England, and, notwithstanding the confidence which was reposed in the government, the gravest apprehensions were entertained.

Almost as soon as parliament met, Mr. Disraeli called attention to the language used by the secretary of the board of control to his constituents, respecting the government of France. At that time there was certainly no idea in the minds of any of our statesmen that the march of events would compel us to appear allied with France, to resist the aggressions of Russia in the field. If the czar were indeed to have taken his opinion of English sentiment from the language of the press, he might well have derived encouragement in his designs against Turkey. One of the greatest of English newspapers, at the very time of the Menschikoff mission, wrote, "that the time is fast approaching when the maintenance of the Ottoman empire in its present form will be found to be impracticable, and acknowledged to be undesirable; we feel no anxiety for the maintenance of the empire which bears the stamp of a tyrannical past, a worthless present, and an extinct future."

The causes of the war with Russia may be traced back as far as the fancy or theories of politicians may lead them into the labyrinth wherein dwells what is called the Eastern question, surrounded in its gloom by a whole progeny of little Eastern questions, one of which slips out now and then, utters a shrill cry, and having thrown Eastern and Western Europe into convulsions, and caused each military monarch to clap his hand on his sword, darts back to its native obscurity, and is absorbed in the unknown. But certain it is that long before the Prince Louis Napoleon became emperor of France, the Emperor Nicholas was watching for some pretext to give a shake to the Grand Turk, which would lead to his immediate dissolution. When the czar visited England, in 1844, he spoke freely on the subject to Lord Aberdeen, Sir R. Peel, and the duke of Wellington, and sought to gain acquiescence in his schemes. Not unnaturally. The Russian believes that he is, somehow or other, the inheritor of the traditions of the Greek empire, and destined to be the restorer of its glories; nay, the extender of its sway over all the Eastern world. The Turk is an interloper, his existence an anachronism. Western Christendom failed in the Crusades. But holy Russia has won great victories, and wrested large provinces from the Infidel. The Latin Church is to her an abominable heretical enemy, and the support of Lutheran powers to its pretensions a mark of unjustifiable jealousy and ill-covered enmity to her unity and greatness. It is bad enough for Christendom to leave the birthplace and the tomb of our Saviour in the hands of the Infidel, but when the Frank makes the Holy City a centre of political intrigue, in virtue of an alleged right of protectorate over shrines, the possession of which he has failed to obtain by arms, and claims privileges which can only be his by virtue of the indulgence of the Mahomedan unbeliever, the anger of the Muscovite Christian is kindled to exceeding fierceness. If the Turk were to die in his bed, or fall in the field, the best parts of his dominions might be transferred to the czar; and even if the latter failed to secure the immense prestige of ruling the land of the chosen people, and lording it over Jerusalem, he had fair expectancy of directing the commerce of the Danube, making the Black Sea a Russian lake, and sapping up to the gates of Stamboul. The infatuation which leads any Christian power to tolerate a Mahomedan state in Europe, when it can be destroyed, is incomprehensible to a Russian. All his history is impregnated with the spirit of a holy war. Whilst England and France made treaties with the porte for the interests of trade and commerce, or for political influence, Russia sought, at the end of each war, to extend her religious control over the subjects of the sultan, feeling assured that if she was mistress of their minds the better part of their allegiance was gained; and we see her steadily keeping that object in view, and contending for Christianity and religious toleration, even when she is renouncing the territorial fruits of conquest.

When Catherine's victorious lieutenant, Romanzoff, made the treaty of Rustchuk-Kainardji in 1774, after providing that the Tartar races of the Crimea and adjacent regions should be independent of Russia and of Turkey, under the rule of their khans of the family of Genghis, he retained indeed Kinburn, Azoff, Kertch, and Yenikale, but he restored the islands of the Archipelago, Oczakoff, Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia to the sultan, on condition that the exercise of Christian religion should not be obstructed, and that the property of their religious houses should be restored. The treaty bound the sublime porte to protect the Russian Church to be established in Pera, to allow full liberty to Russians to visit Jerusalem without let, hindrance, or impost of any kind, to provide for their safety, and to permit the minister of Russia at all times to make such representations as he deemed necessary for the interests of his co-religionists. It is a curious sign of the times that in that treaty, not quite one hundred years ago, the victorious Muscovite general stipulates that the precedence of the Russian envoy at Stamboul is to be "after the ambassador of Holland, or, in his absence, after the ambassador of Venice." The princes of Moldavia and Wallachia were to have chargé d'affaires of the Greek *culte* under the *ægis* of the Russian minister. There were conditions imposed and stipulations made for the extension of commerce and navigation, but the great object of the empress was to secure a position as protectress of the Christians in the dominions of the sultan. By the treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, Moldavia and Wallachia were restored to Turkey. The Pruth was fixed on as the boundary between the empires, but Turkey ceded the islands and mouths of the Danube, retained only the right bank of the southernmost branch, and gave up a slice of territory of Asia in contiguity to Georgia and Mingrelia, which were Russian provinces.

In reference to this treaty of Adrianople, our government, which then took a deep interest in foreign affairs, reminded Count Nesselrode that they had beforehand "expressed their conviction that the most complete success in the justest cause would not entitle the stronger party to demand from the weaker sacrifices which would affect its political existence, or would infringe on that state of territorial possession upon which the general peace had rested." In language which no recent foreign minister would dream of using to any second-rate power, Lord Aberdeen taunted the czar with hypocritical disclaimers of any desire of conquest, or extension of the limits of his dominions, and charged him with harbouring designs to do a vital injury to the present strength and future independence of the Ottoman empire. If the despatch, which is animated by an honest and fiery indignation against the assumptions of good intentions towards, and the simultaneous infliction of the deepest injuries on Turkey, had been in any way productive of beneficial results, we might be proud of the masterly way in which Lord Aberdeen laid bare the impudent knavery of the Russian diplomatists. But it was a mere thesis—there was no menace of any kind, except that of a dissolution of Turkey as the result of the extortions of the treaty. It is now well known that Lord Aberdeen not only never dreamt of war, but when it was imminent would not admit of its possibility. Before the alliance of the wolf and the lamb led, in 1833, to the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, by which vessels of war were forbidden to enter the Dardanelles, the porte had engaged itself to adhere to the treaty of London, and accepted the convention of St. Petersburg and the arrangements concerning Greece concluded at Constantinople in 1832. A secret memorandum, which was signed in 1844 by the czar, Lord Aberdeen, the duke of Wellington, and Sir R. Peel, only points to the fact that English statesmen were then so angry with France, that they readily entertained proposals for eliminating her from the list of the great powers in any settlement of the Eastern question. The document is still in the Foreign Office a secret and sacred deposit. It was transferred to the custody of Lord Malmesbury by Lord Granville in 1852, and the terms of it merely confirm an understanding that, in event of unforeseen occurrences rendering action in Turkey necessary, England and Russia will act together without consulting France. Naturally, therefore, the czar was very much surprised, in 1854, when he found that England and France were about to co-operate in resisting his demonstrations against Turkey; and the French ambassador was at his wits' end to reconcile the pacific language of Lord Aberdeen with the warlike sayings of Viscount Palmerston. What is quite certain in the matter is, that the Emperor Nicholas never would have gone to the lengths which led to the coalition, had he encountered, when he came to London, plain outspoken hostility to his plans for the dismemberment of Turkey on the part of our statesmen. When he was in London, in June 1844, the emperor of Russia declared to Lord Aberdeen that he believed "Turkey is a dying man. We may endeavour to keep him alive, but we shall not succeed. He will —he must—die. That will be a critical moment. I shall have to put my armies in motion, and Austria must do the same. I fear nobody in the matter but France. What will she require? I fear much—in Africa, in the Mediterranean, or the East itself." He then suggested possible French expeditions. "In such a case must not England be on the spot with the whole of her maritime forces? So many powder barrels close to the fire!" To Sir R. Peel he said, "I do not claim one inch of Turkish soil, but neither will I allow that any other shall have an inch of it." The object of the czar was to prevent France and England acting in concert on the Eastern question; as in other directions he worked to prevent the success of constitutional movements which would give limited monarchies to Austria, Prussia, and Germany. After the czar left England, in 1844, Count Nesselrode communicated a memorandum, founded on the czar's views, to the British government, which may be usefully referred to as a proof of the small dependence to be placed on official documents, when interest or ambition run counter to their sense. It stated "Russia and England were mutually penetrated with the conviction that it was for their common interest the Ottoman empire should be maintained in its state of independence, and with its territories intact, and should unite their efforts to that end. To do so, the essential point was to leave the porte in repose, without needless disturbance by diplomatic bickerings and interference in its internal affairs. But as the porte had a tendency to break its engagements, reckoning on the jealousy of the cabinets, the czar proposed that in such cases all the powers should combine to exhort the porte to do justice to the aggrieved state. It was proposed to make the Ottoman ministers sensible of the fact, that they could only reckon on the goodwill of the great powers by treating the Christians properly; these powers exerting their influence to maintain the authority of the porte over these populations by unanimous action. But the czar pointed out the elements of dissolution which might, at any time, cause the fall of the empire without its being in the power of friendly cabinets to help it. In that case England and Russia should have such a common understanding to guide their action, as existed between the latter power and Austria. It had been already agreed in London, that, if any unforeseen event occurred, Russia and England should concert as to their common course. So long as the political combination called the Ottoman empire was to be maintained, well and good, but if it was foreseen that it must crumble to pieces, then to agree as to the establishment of the new order of things without injury to the interests of each other; and if England thus joined Austria and Russia, France would find herself obliged to act in conformity with the course they proposed."

Our Saviour's life and passion cause all Christians to turn with loving interest to the Holy Land. But the age of crusades has long gone by. Christendom has resigned to the Infidel authority over the places the Saviour's footsteps sanctified. Diplomacy has sought to effect what the sword could not accomplish. For centuries the Turk connived at furtive pilgrimages and gatherings of the faithful in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, where, at times, much oppressed and always living in fear and trembling, they erected shrines, invented sites, and knelt and prayed under the shadow of the triumphant crescent. By the capitulations concluded with Francis I. by the porte, the guardianship of these shrines, and of the priests and monks in attendance on them, was given to France, but by degrees the Greeks of both branches of the Eastern Church, chiefly through Russian influence, obtained firmans, which enabled them to dispute the rights of the Latins to exclusive access to the shrines, and finally to claim part proprietorship. The porte did not consider these controversies of any moment, and regarded the disputants as contemptible fanatics, till riots, on the occasion of the sacred festivals, became of annual occurrence in Jerusalem; and at last, after a dreadful tumult, in which blood flowed freely, and lives were lost, the scandalised sultan issued a Hatti-sheriff, expelling the Latins from the church of the Tomb of the Virgin and the church of Bethlehem, and placing the Holy Sepulchre itself, and various other shrines, under the guardianship of Greek priests. This was more than one hundred years ago, and when, in 1808, the church of the Holy Sepulchre was injured by fire, the Greeks received permission to rebuild it. The Latins, however, never desisted from asserting their privileges, and in 1809 envoys were sent from France and Russia to report on the questions in dispute, and to devise means for terminating the disorders and violence which disgraced Christianity in the very land where its doctrines were preached by its Divine founder. The Greek revolution, however, prevented the negotiators coming to any result. The controversies between Latin and Greek, particularly in reference to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, waxed fiercer. In 1850 General Aupick, the French representative at Constantinople, instructed by the newly-established government in Paris to assert the rights of the Latins, made definite demands on the porte, which were more warmly pressed by his successor, M. de Lavalette, and were resisted by M. Titoff, the Russian envoy. The distracted sultan proposed that the matters in dispute should be referred to the Turkish council of state, and on their report a firman was issued in March 1854, by which the Latins were declared to have no right to the exclusive possession of the Tomb of the Virgin, of the cupolas of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, of the great church of Bethlehem, or of the Holy Manger, and that the arrangement by which Greek, Latin, and Arminian had each a key to the two gates of the great church at Bethlehem, and of the Holy Manger, should continue. The Russian envoy, however, did not wish the Latins to have any key, and the French envoy was discredited by the failure of his demands. The czar looked on the newly-made French republic with extreme dislike. His minister was instructed to remind the porte that the treaty of Kainardji gave Russia a right to protect the Greek Church in Turkey; and the influence of the French envoy was exerted to prevent the proclamation of the firman above mentioned in Jerusalem. The delay was regarded as a triumph of French diplomacy, which irritated the Russian government exceedingly, and their anger became intense when a key of the church of Bethlehem was given to the Latins. While M. de Lavalette and M. Titoff were fighting over the *corpus vile* of Turkish independence—the one threatening the sultan with the presence of the French fleet in the Golden Horn to enforce his demands, the other menacing him with a rupture of official relations—the czar directed the troops in White Russia to concentrate in Bessarabia, which is separated from the Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia by the Pruth. Late in February 1853, Prince Menschikoff, who, according to Mr. Kinglake, had strong personal reasons for hating the Turks, was despatched as ambassador to Constantinople, and arrived there with a large retinue of officers. He refused to call on Fuad Effendi, the foreign minister, "because he had been guilty of a breach of faith," and used language which left no doubt of his ultimate intentions if the porte did not yield to his peremptory demands. Fuad resigned, and was succeeded by Rifaat. Whether Prince Menschikoff believed that the Turks would, if pressed, yield to his demands, or that they could be really detached from the Western alliance, we cannot say, but it is clear that he made overtures to Rifaat to conceal from Lord Stratford and M. de la Cour, the French ambassador, the nature of his mission and of his demands. On the 19th of April he delivered specific requisitions, couched in the language of a dictator, for a firman confirming the right of the Greeks in the matter of the key and Star of the Nativity; the possession of the Grotto of Gethsemane; the repair of the Temple of the Sepulchre, the demolition of certain overlooking harems; a convention to guarantee strict observance of privileges, &c. Two firmans accordingly were issued on the 2nd of May, declaring that the key of the Great Church, and that of each of the two gates of the Grotto, should remain as of old in the hands of the Latins, but that the porte would repair the cupola with the approval of the Greek patriarch. This concession had the effect of causing Prince Menschikoff to play his last card, and to claim what was in effect the transfer of the allegiance from the sultan to the czar of the Greek Christians. On the 8th of May the porte was required to sign within five days the draught of a convention, by which guarantees for the future enjoyment of all their privileges enjoyed, *ab antiquo*, by the members of the orthodox Eastern religion were secured, and a series of large and vague propositions, establishing literally a Russian protectorate over the orthodox Greeks, were to be accepted. The Turkish Council replied that it would be contrary to international usage to sign a treaty affecting the independence of the empire. Prince Menschikoff demanded and obtained a personal interview with the sultan, in which he accused his foreign minister of tortuous dealings. He purposely broke an appointment made by the grand vizier at his own request, and thus caused the resignation of that officer and a change of ministry. On the 15th of May Prince Menschikoff demanded an explicit answer to his note, and on the Council of State declining by forty-two voices to three to accede to the proposed convention, he announced his departure to the envoys of the foreign powers in a note, in which he stated that any declaration or act which, "though it might preserve the integrity of the purely spiritual rights of the orthodox Eastern Church, tended to invalidate the other rights, privileges, and immunities accorded to her religion and clergy, would be considered an act of hostility to Russia." He quitted Constantinople with his mission on 21st of May. The porte, however, issued firmans which seemed in most respects to afford the required guarantees to the Greeks for the enjoyment of their religious privileges. The French fleet sailed from Toulon to the scene of action. Admiral Dundas, who had received instructions from his government, which indicated their settled intention to resist the attempt to coerce the sultan, did not heed the request of Colonel Rose, now Lord Strathnairn, acting as chargé in Lord Stratford's absence, to leave Malta for the Dardanelles, and thus gave rise to some rumour of want of good understanding between France and England. The quantity of ink which was poured out of diplomatic pens for some weeks was, after all, but an opening of the fountains which poured out a sea of blood. When the question of the "Holy Places" became somewhat heated, the czar held some very interesting conversations with Sir H. Seymour, which, reported in private and confidential despatches, were subsequently, to the injury of our diplomatic reputation, published by order of parliament. The purport was very much the same as that of the memorandum of 1844—"Turkey was sick—might die at any moment—and it was most desirable to have an honourable understanding as to the assets. The czar would not hear of France or England having Constantinople, nor would he take it himself *en proprietaire*; but *en depositaire* (whatever that may mean) he didn't say no. Bulgaria, the Danubian provinces, and Servia, might be quasi-independent states under Russian protection; England might have Egypt if she liked, and even Candia." Our ministers declared they thought Turkey was not going to die, and that they did not consider it proper to forestall the march of events; but Lord John Russell, with his usual curious infelicity of phrase, absolutely conceded the point which was the very cause of quarrel—the right of the czar to the protectorate over the Greek subjects of the porte. The Turkish government would have accepted Prince Menschikoff's convention at once, but for the creation of the protecting or interfering right which they perceived under the cover of it. That the Christian populations in Turkey did need help cannot be denied; those who have seen the most violent excesses of religious illiberality to a minority of a different faith can form but a faint idea of the conduct of Mahomedans to Christians in Europe or Asia. But the logic of accomplished facts settles all disputes, and whilst the foreign offices of all the great powers were scribbling despatches with indefatigable energy, the czar issued a manifesto, dated the 26th of June, announcing his intention to act. On the 2nd and 3rd of July Prince Gortschakoff set his army in motion and crossed the Pruth with thirty-two thousand men, and issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Wallachia and Moldavia, announcing a provisional occupation, in order to obtain reparation for the past and material guarantees for the future. The Russian cabinet maintained that this decisive step was justified by the approach of the French and English fleets to the Dardanelles; but before the admirals were ordered to move from Malta and Greek waters, Count Nesselrode threatened Redschid Pasha that it would be adopted. Such a step, however, by no means meant inevitable war if it were not desired, or if it was ardently deprecated by the powers. The porte issued a protest against the invasion of its dependencies, but reiterated the expressions of its desire to satisfy Russia, and of its readiness to fulfil its engagements, and to send an ambassador extraordinary to St. Petersburg; and declared that, although the invasion and occupation were acts of war, it would abstain from any hostile act. Even yet there were hopes that peace would not be broken—nay, more, confidence that it would be maintained, for in spite of the high-handed proceedings of the czar, France and England were disposed to any reasonable compromise; Prussia was animated by the most friendly feelings towards Russia, and Austria had too lively a recollection of the crises and troubles of her civil war to aid in letting loose the lions so near her frontier. Hence came the idea of the Vienna conference of the ambassadors of the great powers—hence came the famous note prepared there, which was bandied to and fro for weary weeks between Paris, London, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople, whilst we were drifting into war.

This note, which the Vienna conference proposed to be addressed by the porte to Russia, begins by a statement "that the sultan having no wish dearer to his heart than the re-establishing neighbourly relations and perfect understanding with the czar, had carefully sought the means of effacing the traces of recent complications. If the czars have always shown this active solicitude for the privileges and immunities of the Greek Church, the sultans have never refused to consecrate them by solemn acts which attest their constant goodwill towards their Christian subjects. Abdul Medjid has taken into serious consideration the representations of Prince Menschikoff, and declares he will remain faithful to the treaties of Kainardji and Adrianople, and regards it of his honour to maintain, inviolate, the privileges accorded to the orthodox Church of the East, and to allow the Greek rite to participate in the advantages accorded to other Christian rites by special convention. The firman which was about to be given to the patriarch and Greek clergy would dissipate all fear on that point. The Hatti Humayoun of February 1852, as to Jerusalem, would be executed unalterably, and no change would be made without previous understanding with the courts of France and Russia. If the imperial court demanded it, a proper place would be assigned for the erection of a Greek church, and of a hospice for sick and poor pilgrims in Jerusalem, under the surveillance of the Russian consul-general."

The czar accepted this note at once. But the councillors of the Ottoman Porte, with greater acumen than the Christian diplomatists, detected dangers in the wording, to which they took formal exception, and returned the note. Here was an unhappy *contretemps*. Austria, England, and France saw that the modifications were just, and hoped that they would be adopted; but France thought they did not alter the sense of the original note. The porte showed, however, that the clauses would really give to Russia a right of surveillance and intervention, but declared that it would accept the note in case the modifications were made. The Russian chancellor evinced great dexterity and ability in the diplomatic discussions which ensued. Writing on the 7th of September to Lord Clarendon, Count Nesselrode remarked that, in accepting the note, Russia did so on the understanding that she would not be called on to discuss modifications or new drafts drawn up at Constantinople, under bellicose inspirations, and asked if the czar could allow the sultan a power he had denied to himself? He suggested that, instead of the drafts and modifications, the powers should inform the porte that, having vainly opened the way to re-establish relations with Russia, they would now leave it to its own devices. Russia had retired from the position taken up in the Menschikoff note, and had accepted the Vienna note. If the modifications introduced by the porte were serious, Russia could not accept them; if unimportant, why should the porte insist on them? If the Vienna note were brought to St. Petersburg by a Turkish ambassador without alterations, it would be accepted, and the Russian troops would be at once recalled from the Principalities. The Vienna note placed Russia in the position of an injured power, whilst it proposed to yield to her the very advantages which the porte maintained it would be fatal to the independence of Turkey to grant. From the end of July till the middle of August negotiations were continued. Rejoinders and sur-rejoinders, rebutters and sur-rebutters, but led deeper and deeper into the slough of a great diplomatic muddle. The fanaticism of Russia and of Turkey was at work. The orthodox Greek, and the orthodox Mahomedan were dying for a war of the faith, and the holy men on both sides did their best to encourage the passion. In Constantinople there was dangerous enthusiasm. Riots occurred in the streets. War was at last declared by the porte on the 5th of October; but the great powers did not yet desist from their amicable efforts to avert hostilities. When Omar Pasha received the declaration of war, he was at Shumla, where he was watching the line of the Danube with eighty thousand men. He at once addressed Prince Gortschakoff, requiring him to evacuate the Danubian provinces to him in fifteen days. The Prince replied that he had no orders either to begin hostilities, to conclude peace, or to evacuate the Principalities. On the 28th of October the Turks crossed the Danube, and occupied Kalafat, Giurgevo, and Oltenitza. The fleets of France and England entered the Dardanelles on the 14th of October.

On the 31st of October Count Nesselrode issued a circular, in which he observed that whilst the czar was at Olmutz offering facilities to the Austrian cabinet to clear up the misunderstandings connected with the reasons given by Russia for rejecting the modifications of the Vienna note, the sultan, yielding to the impulse of bellicose passions, had, in spite of the representations of the foreign powers, declared war. The Russian minister declared that this had made no change in the pacific dispositions of the czar, as set forth in the circular of 2nd July, wherein he explained that he occupied the Principalities merely as a substantive pledge for obtaining the satisfaction he required, and that he would continue to occupy them on the defensive, leaving the Turks to attack, so that no obstacle would be offered to carrying on negotiations. On the following day, the 1st of November, the czar, however, declared war against Turkey in a proclamation from Czarskoa-Selo, ending "In te speravi, Domine; non confundar in æternum." The Turks were attacked on the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of November at Kalafat and Oltenitza by the Russian corps, under Pauloff and Dannenberg, and actions of singular severity were fought. The gallantry of the Turks was auspicious in the battle of Oltenitza, and it is curious to learn, from recent publications, that Gortschakoff was so discredited in the czar's eyes by the result, that he was only maintained in the chief command in the Crimea by the representations of Prince Paskiewitch, which that veteran afterwards much regretted. The anger produced by the success of the Ottoman troops can be only explicable on the supposition that the Russians held the same opinion of the Turks as that which was unfortunately entertained of them by the allied generals later in the war. Oltenitza was eventually abandoned, but the Turks held Kalafat. The preparations in Russia gave just cause for the apprehension that the line of the Danube would be forced, and Bulgaria would be overrun, if the porte were left to sustain the struggle single-handed. The French emperor sent General Baraguay d'Hilliers to the sultan with assurances of support; but there did not seem much likelihood of the allied powers being induced to expend anything but ink and paper, when they were startled by terrible intelligence. Nachimoff, a pupil of Nelson, was cruising with the Sebastopol squadron in the Black Sea one October day, when he perceived the Turkish fleet, consisting of seven frigates, one sloop, two corvettes, and two steamers, under Osman Pasha, lying in the roadstead of Sinope. He sent to Sebastopol, whence he was reinforced by three three-deckers; and on the 30th of November, bearing down in a fog with a favourable wind, he took the Turks by surprise, and swooped down on the panic-struck fleet, manned by gallant, but ill-disciplined, sailors and soldiers. They, however, aided by shore batteries, opened fire. The Russians replied with tremendous effect, blowing up ships and batteries with their heavier and better-served guns. In a few hours three Turkish frigates were burning; two were on shore; two transports had sunk; Sinope in flames; four thousand men killed or drowned—in a word, the blow was complete, and almost without parallel. This catastrophe rendered war inevitable.

Lord Stratford at once telegraphed home that Russia spoke of peace, but carried on war, recounted the story of the disaster, and informed Lord Clarendon that he was sending to Sinope and Varna for information. The excitement in England was intense. In fact, Europe was now in the face of a very unpleasant and startling manifestation of Russian vigour.

When the Emperor Napoleon received the news of the calamity at Sinope, he was much affected. On the 12th of December Lord Cowley was informed by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, that he was of opinion that the English and French fleets would have been justified in helping the Turkish squadron, had they been near; but that as they were not, he did not see what could be done. It was supposed that Russia would be as good as her word, and would use her fleet at most to protect her Asiatic coast, and provision her garrisons, in which case the allies would not have interfered. On the 15th of December M. Drouyn de Lhuys wrote another despatch to Lord Clarendon, in which he gave lively indications of the anger and surprise caused to France by the affair, and proposed that the admirals should be ordered to enter the Black Sea, and invite every Russian man-of-war they met to return to harbour. As an excuse for the hesitation in moving the fleet to the Bosphorus at an earlier period, he stated that, by the last information from St. Petersburg, they had been led to think Russia was still disposed to treat. This was surely a very timorous plea. In another sentence he was obliged to admit there was a state of war, and that the capital of Turkey itself would be in danger. M. de Lhuys persuaded himself that the occupation of the Black Sea would be more than a compensation for the occupation of the Principalities by the Russians. When the most efficient squadron the Turks possessed was annihilated, the French cabinet proposed to prevent a repetition of Sinope. On the 24th of December Lord Clarendon replied that the views of the English government were in entire accordance with those of the French government, and that they had issued instructions to the English admiral to enter the Black Sea, protect the Ottoman flag, and order all Russian vessels back to Sebastopol. No naval operation was to be undertaken by the Turkish fleet without the knowledge and sanction of the allied admirals, so that they who were not yet belligerents were actually to superintend the warlike operations of those who were at war. A more monstrous proposition was never laid down for the guidance of fleets or armies. If the allies were at war with Russia, well and good. But they were not. Lord Clarendon, indeed, went on to say the government did not disguise from itself that the course they were pursuing might, at no distant period, involve the two governments in war with Russia; but that they should be prepared, in case the answer to the proposal from Vienna were unsatisfactory, to negotiate a treaty of peace, on the understanding that nothing to which Turkey had objected should be proposed in it.

The march of events was clearly in the direction of war. But there were many who hoped and believed such a calamity might be averted. Between the receipt of M. de Lhuys' note by Lord Clarendon, and the despatch of his reply, Lord Palmerston resigned office for a week, and it was believed that he did so on account of timid councils in the cabinet.

A protocol of a conference of the four powers at Vienna, on the 5th of December, was meantime drawn up, to the effect that the assurances given by the czar excluded the idea that he wished to assail the integrity of Turkey, which was one of the necessary conditions of the balance of power, and that it was satisfactory to know the existing war could not in any case lead to territorial modifications. The czar had declared he only desired that the obligations of the treaties of Rustchuk-Kainardji and Adrianople should be carried out, whilst the sultan had declared he was prepared to recognise them, and to allow for the interest felt by the czar in the Greek Christians; the four powers therefore proposed a joint communication to the porte to enable it to make known the conditions on which it would treat. The porte, however, was very far from being in a yielding mood.

On the 17th of December, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe reported that even a modified note and declaration would not be acceptable to the porte, and that he had tried in vain to induce the Turkish minister to take a common-sense view of the question. The representatives of the four great powers then prepared a new memorandum as a basis for negotiations: 1st. That Russia had given assurances of her wish for peace, to which the porte would reply by a similar declaration. 2nd. That the evacuation of the Principalities should occur as soon as possible, the renewal of treaties and firmans, with suitable assurances as to spiritual privilege, to be sent to all the powers, and arrangements for the holy places to be definitely adopted. 3rd. That the porte would declare it was ready to name a plenipotentiary, establish an armistice, and negotiate; the principles established in 1840–41 to be confirmed, and the state to engage to develop internal improvements. An identic note, as it was termed, was presented to Redschid Pasha on the 15th of December. Redschid Pasha replied on the 31st of December, accepting the proposals for a negotiation, in a note, which Lord Stratford de Redcliffe thought, if Russia was sincere in her professions, should terminate the matter in an early peace. The Turkish minister claimed admission for the Ottoman empire within the European union, and called on the powers to complete in that sense the treaty of 1841. A conference of the representatives of the four powers was held at Vienna on the 13th of January, whereat this note was considered, and a protocol was drawn up, declaring that the conditions it proposed were in conformity with the wishes of their governments, and proper to be communicated to Russia, and expressing their confidence that Russia would resume negotiations on this basis. Forty days were allowed for the answer of Russia. This document, signed by the agents of the four powers, was sent to St. Petersburg by Count Buol, and presented to the czar on the 20th of January, but ere these diplomatic measures had been adopted, the Western powers had resolved on the step which seems to have rendered war almost unavoidable.

On the 13th of January, Sir H. Seymour visited Count Nesselrode and communicated the intention of the allied governments to order the entry of their fleets into the Black Sea. The Russian chancellor deplored that such decided measures should be adopted at the time when strenuous efforts were being made to arrange a peace at Vienna. He asserted that the Turkish fleet destroyed at Sinope was intended to create a diversion in Circassia, and he asked if the powers thought Russia was to be denied the right of offensive action? In order to divest the entry of the fleets into the Black Sea of the appearance of flagrant hostility, the Turkish fleet should be restrained from aggression. The state of tension in the East was due to the system of pressure adopted by the maritime powers towards Russia, which encouraged the porte to push matters to extremities. He entered a protest against the entry of the fleets into the Black Sea as illegal. It may, indeed, be doubted if there was any wisdom in the orders given to the admirals at such a juncture. To constrain the Russians to remain in port was a most offensive proceeding, unless it was also proposed to prevent the Turkish fleet from engaging in active operations, and such conduct on the part of non-belligerents was almost a declaration of war.

On the 6th of January, H.M.S. *Retribution*, Captain Drummond, delivered the formal notice to the Russian authorities at Sebastopol. Prince Menschikoff was absent, and the only answer was an acknowledgment of the receipt of the letters from the captain of the port, and a request that the ship should go away at once.

The czar was irritated beyond measure by the intelligence that an English man-of-war had steamed into the harbour of Sebastopol, and had served notice on the naval authorities that his fleet would not be allowed to quit the port. The successes of the Turks, who not only held in check, but defeated his troops on the Danube in several engagements, added to His Imperial Majesty's anger; and the answers which he received from Paris and London, to demands for explanations of the entry of the fleets into the Black Sea, were not calculated to allay his excitement. The Sixth Army Corps was ordered to march to the south, to strengthen the forces on the Black Sea, and the czar now bethought him of sending a special emissary to endeavour to detach the central states from the alliance against him, whilst he resolved not to recede from the position taken up in his last demands. With that idea Count Orloff was despatched to Vienna in order to break up, if possible, the *entente cordiale* between the four powers, and induce Austria either to make common cause with Russia, or to remain neutral. In that mission Count Orloff signally failed.

The rejection of the Russian proposals by the Vienna conference, which occurred before the arrival of this confidential envoy in the Austrian capital, left but scant materials to work with in the interests of peace, and the only chance for Russia was to break up the alliance. So far it was incomplete. France and England alone were ready to go to war for Turkey. Austria would only do so in case certain circumstances occurred. Prussia, although agreeing with her that Russia had done wrong in invading the Principalities, resolved to abstainfrom action and watch the course of events.

On the 18th of February, the Vienna conference was opened once more. Count Orloff proposed that the emperor of Austria and king of Prussia should engage to remain neutral. Count Buol replied that it was impossible to accept such a proposal, as Austria was bound to maintain the independence and integrity of Turkey, and read the despatches sent to Count Esterhazy for Count Nesselrode's perusal, which satisfied the Russian representative as to the attitude of Austria. Count Buol made a suggestion that if the czar would accept the Turkish proposals, and would send to Vienna the form of preliminaries he could agree to, they might, if approved by the conference, be sent to Constantinople, and if accepted there, Prince Gortschakoff might be instructed to conclude an armistice as proposed by the Turkish commander-in-chief. When the acceptance of the preliminaries by the Porte arrived at Vienna, the war was to be considered at an end; the evacuation of the Principalities would begin, and the fleets should be ordered to quit the Black Sea. The suggestion, however, was rejected.

The demand for explanations in Paris and London already alluded to produced a state of feeling which rendered the well-meant attempts of diplomatists, and the ingenuity they displayed in framing their infinite proposals, of no avail. The czar's tone and demeanour became more peremptory and unconciliatory. The proceedings of the Emperor Napoleon were particularly distasteful to the autocrat; and the language used on both sides, though polished to the last degree in form at first, betrayed in every line the angry feelings which were growing stronger in the hearts of the disputants. Baron Brunnow, the Russian ambassador in London, demanded that liberty should be given to Russian vessels to go to and fro between Russian ports in the Black Sea. Lord Clarendon replied, that the entry of the allied fleets into the Black Sea was intended to prevent the recurrence of another disaster there; and that the allied admirals would require every Russian man-of-war to return to port, and that they would enforce the summons if necessary. He all the time indulged in the usual language as to hopes of peace, by which the powers, great and small, were throwing, or trying to throw, dust in each other's eyes; but on the same day (January 31) he addressed a despatch to Sir H. Seymour, in which he recapitulated the events which stamped Russia as "the disturber of the general tranquillity," and described the demands of Prince Menschikoff for a new and large interpretation of the treaty of Kainardji, after the only cause of quarrel had been terminated by the offers of the porte; the departure of the prince; the demand of Count Nesselrode that the porte should, in eight days, sign the note, which the sultan had declared would be fatal to his independence; the threats, and the occupation of the provinces in time of peace, as full justification of his words.

On the 4th of February Baron Brunnow, in a despatch, of which every line is full of resentment, declared that Lord Clarendon's reply did not satisfy the conditions of fair reciprocity on which he was ordered to insist. He could not admit that the British government, at peace with Russia, should assume the right to impede the freedom of the Russian marine, whilst, in defiance of public law, Turkish ships, under British protection, conveyed troops from one Ottoman port to another. Three days afterwards, Lord Clarendon directed Sir H. Seymour to withdraw at once from St. Petersburg, with every member of the mission; and, on the 5th of February, M. de Kisseleff announced to M. Drouyn de Lhuys his retirement from the Russian embassy at Paris.

Before the announcement of his recall had been made by the Russian ambassador at Paris to the minister for foreign affairs, the emperor of the French asserted his originality and his right to create precedents in virtue of his position, and its accidents, by an autographic letter direct to the czar, which was, however, rather interesting than able, and which enabled Nicholas, in reply, to offer a provocation, which Frenchmen did not despise, in the assurance that "Russia would prove herself, in 1857, what she was in 1812." The letter of the Emperor Napoleon caused much bitterness in Russia, and the style of "your good friend," with which it concluded, was considered to be insulting, although it is that which is usual in the correspondence of crowned heads.

Many writers in England also severely criticised the manner and substance of the emperor's letter, and excepted to the introduction of the queen of England's name into it, but whatever the effect or object of the communication, it was full of excellent counsels, and if only the czar would have listened to them, war might have been averted. But they were worse than utopian—they were too late.

When the queen opened parliament on the 1st of February, there was a strong belief abroad that war was inevitable, and the words of the royal speech did not tend to shake it. Her majesty was made to express her regret at the war between Russia and Turkey, and to admit her efforts to restore peace had been unsuccessful. But Lord Aberdeen made the curious remark, that "we cannot prove there is danger to this country in the war between Russia and Turkey (although the queen had demanded an augmentation of the naval and military forces), 'as the continuance of the war may deeply affect the interests of this country.'"

The military and naval supplies were cheerfully voted, and, although the wisdom and conduct of ministers were questioned, the parliament, in the main, lent them a firm support, and the country highly approved of the leader of the opposition's declaration, that they would sacrifice the interests of party to the duties of patriots.

There were certain persons who, for ends not easily to be ascertained, spread far and wide the story that Prince Albert had been using his influence on the side of Russia, and Lord Aberdeen had to notice those "scandalous and groundless imputations" in parliament. On the same occasion, as an answer to the miserable calumnies respecting the prince's interference, he related how the duke of Wellington had desired Prince Albert to succeed him at the Horse Guards, and how the prince had declined; and the result of the discussion of this matter in the debate on the address was very satisfactory to the queen and prince consort. These attacks on Prince Albert were found in the advanced Liberal papers, and Lord Derby utterly repudiated, on behalf of his party, any participation in these unworthy misrepresentations.

The English and French ambassadors left St. Petersburg a few days after the announcement made to them by Count Nesselrode, on the 13th of February, that the Russian ambassadors had quitted Paris and London. Russia did not declare war; only diplomatic relations were suspended. But she called out her levies, and set her armies in motion towards the shores of the Black Sea, where the allies might be expected to operate when hostilities commenced, and towards the Danube, where she hoped to overwhelm the Turks, under Omar Pasha. The onus of a formal declaration of war was cast on the allied powers.

On the 27th of February Lord Clarendon addressed Count Nesselrode. The despatch was brief. It stated that if Russia did not by return messenger announce her intention of recrossing the Pruth, so as to clear out of the Principalities by the 30th of April, her refusal or silence must be taken as a declaration of war; and the queen's messenger was instructed not to wait more than six days in St. Petersburg for the answer. This note was approved of by Austria; Prussia expressed approval of the decided policy Austria was about to take in the interests of "Germany on the Danube," and declared she was ready to join in a summons to Russia but without taking part in active hostilities. As the messenger was on his way from London to the Austrian capital, a special courier was hastening with new proposals, which were to be sent to Constantinople, if approved of, from Count Nesselrode to Count Buol; and on the 4th of March the Vienna conference reassembled, to consider the preliminaries. The evacuation of the Principalities was to take place on the departure of the allied fleets from the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, after the preliminaries had been signed, and instead of the guarantees as to the Greek Church being made to the five powers, the assurance was to be given as between Russia and Turkey. These terms differed so far from those of the 13th of January, that the conference at once decided they could not accept them.

The queen's messenger continued his journey from Vienna to St. Petersburg, and waited till the morning of the sixth day, when the czar returned from Finland, and received the despatches. He at once instructed Count Nesselrode to send for the English consul, Mr. Michele, to whom his excellency made the following communication: "I have taken his imperial majesty's commands as to Lord Clarendon's note. The emperor does not think it becoming to give any reply to the letter of Lord Clarendon." And so the British consul retired; and it was to Great Britain alone the czar was enabled to offer such a rebuff, for Count Nesselrode declined to receive the consul of France at all.

A fortnight afterwards the czar issued a manifesto, not destitute of dignity, and certainly replete with passion. The central European powers, however irritated against Russia, had reasons for not directly engaging in war, though Austria justified the boast of one of her statesmen, that she would astonish the world by the ingratitude she would evince towards Russia, and refused to make any pledge that she would preserve neutrality in the impending conflict. But Prussia showed some sympathy for the Sclave empire, and gave proof of feeling not to be wondered at, if it be admitted that brothers-in-law should be friends. Both sides prepared for the great contest. In a speech to the Senate on the 2nd of March, 1854, the emperor pronounced a sentence which he was doomed to see falsified cruelly in 1870. "The period of conquests was past never to return." The French Chambers hailed the announcement of hostilities against Russia with rapturous cheering, and although some distinguished teachers in the Manchester school did not hesitate to oppose it, beyond all doubt the war was most popular in England. The press generally was "rabid" against Russia, and treated with lightness of heart the chances of a war which made statesmen look grave, and soldiers apprehensive of calamity. On the 27th of March, France declared war. Next day Queen Victoria issued a proclamation which announced that she was "called upon to take up arms for the defence of the sultan." The convention for the action of the land forces of the allies was signed a fortnight earlier. The idea that war with Russia was possible had adumbrated the minds of ministers in the winter of 1853, long before

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the actual declaration. The selection of Lord Raglan, as commander-in-chief, was already made, and Sir John Burgoyne was giving his advice on the best way of securing Constantinople, and creating new lines of Torres Vedras on the Dardanelles, and a diversion in Georgia. A colonel of engineers was sent to the East in January, 1854. Sir James Graham pushed on the naval preparations with might and main; but even as late as the end of January, the cabinet were not assured but that "France might refuse in the end to send a soldier to the East." In fact, the Crimean expedition may be said to have grown out of an offer of Sir John Burgoyne to go to Constantinople and see what could be done for the defence of the capital of Turkey. The offer was accepted, and the cabinet proposed that the veteran engineer should take Paris on his way. There he was presented to the emperor by Lord Cowley, urged his views with much energy, and by his "new lights" threw on the co-operation of the allied forces a fresh complexion, and made it appear possible, by entrenching a position that should secure the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, to checkmate the Russians in any attempt to turn Constantinople, and by a march over the Balkans to come down on the Dardanelles. The assistance of a body of troops, to hold the proposed entrenchments, was suggested as the best step for the allied powers to take towards the aid of the sultan. It appears that though the assistance of French troops had been formally demanded at Paris by the porte, no such request was addressed to ourselves. At first it was proposed "the English should send five thousand men; and then," said the Emperor, "I will send ten thousand." Then it was suggested that the force should be raised to ten thousand English, and fifteen thousand French, and eventually the numbers were nearly doubled.

There is something very heating to our race in the aspect of an unequal struggle, in which the strong oppress the weak. If it should so happen that those who appear feeble and sickly make good head against the oppressor, there is apt to be an unreasoning enthusiasm for their cause created amongst us. England had not hesitated to place the great stress of her power on Turkey, when she sent her fleet, under Sir John Duckworth, to force the Dardanelles and overawe Constantinople, nor had she, in her zeal for Hellenic independence, refrained from striking a blow at the power of Turkey, which had well nigh proved fatal, in the Bay of Navarino. Had the Turks just now been allowed to suffer the penalties of protocols, and to endure nothing worse than diplomatic tyranny, we might have remained quiescent, but the occupation of the Principalities was followed by the remarkable operations on the Danube, to which we must turn for a moment, and the grand catastrophe at Sinope fairly set the blood of the people on fire. There is a strong disposition among all nations to think that their own generals are the best in the world, as compared with other generals with whom they are not fighting, and at the same time to vilipend the successes of military leaders and of armies in which they are not interested, but give these nations a *point d'appui*, in a national sense, and let a few of their own country people be engaged in the business, and they are prone to become eager and deeply occupied in the matter. The fact of Butler and Nasmyth being in Silistria no doubt gave for millions a complexion of warm regard for the work which no courage of the Turks would have won. When the czar ordered the occupation of the Principalities, the Turkish troops, ill-clothed, ill-armed, and ill-fed, were disposed in garrison from Widdin to the sea, with a few small corps in reserve, under the command of the Croat renegade, Omar Pasha, an ex-sub-officer in the Austrian service. An ignorant and unlettered man, his manners were charming, and his presence agreeable. He spoke—in addition to his native Sclave, and acquired Turkish—German, a little French; knew no books, read little; but he was a man of singular quickness in the field, and he had a wonderful knowledge of character, which enabled him to gain the confidence of his officers, and to pick out the best of them, whilst he retained the regard of others, and he could always inspire those under him with part of his own military gifts in action. He had no military training, except such as could be gained in his position in a frontier regiment. The moment the fifteen days which were given by the porte to the Russian general to retire from the Principalities had run out, Omar Pasha, who had concentrated about thirty thousand men near Turtakai, opposite an island in the Danube, resolved to strike the first blow. He crossed the river from the right bank at Widdin on the 28th of October, and entrenched himself with part of his troops at a place called Kalafat. Three days later, he seized on the island, and opened fire on the Russians on the left bank, and landed under his guns a force at Oltenitza, which set to work to entrench themselves, and to put guns, which were carried over in boats, in battery. He was thus enabled to construct a bridge over the Danube, and *à tête de pont* in a manner any French or English general might have been glad to have imitated. He had now established himself on the right flank of the Russian army of occupation. He challenged their hold of the provinces. As soon as Prince Gortschakoff heard of this movement, he ordered General Pauloff to march with twelve thousand horse and foot and four batteries, and drive the Turks into the Danube. On the 4th of November, Pauloff attacked the Turkish entrenchments, but he encountered a resistance on which he had little calculated. The repeated attacks of the Russians on the works and batteries were steadily repulsed. The Russians exhibited that embittered courage which they show in face of their hereditary enemies. The latter were not at all inferior in energy and hate. Again and again their columns reformed—charged under cover of the fire of their guns—leaped at the entrenchments—fought on the parapets—got into the embrasures, and crossed bayonets with the Moslem—but each time they were obliged to retire, leaving the ground covered with dead and dying. At last Pauloff, having lost as many men as we did subsequently at the Alma, desisted from the assault, and withdrew his beaten troops from the front of Oltenitza. The news of this event produced great anger in Russia, great joy in Turkey, and immense enthusiasm in England. But it became clear, too, that it put a bloody seal to the testament of war, and that the czar could not make peace till he had recovered the laurels which had been by the Infidel torn from Holy Russia. Winter was setting in; the Danube rose daily; the armies were unhealthy, and the Russians were not yet in sufficient force to oust the Turks from "the material guarantee." Omar Pasha, who received no aid, was obliged to remain in a defensive attitude watching his enemies, and still holding his prize at Kalafat.

It was during this forced inaction that the battle of Sinope was fought, or suffered; a great balm to the wounds of the czar, a terrible cautery to the anger of the Western Powers and to the resentments of the porte. The czar, who was now bent on striking hard and soon, despatched Prince Paskiewitch to the Principalities, and poured in reinforcements, which raised his forces to the number of one hundred and forty-five thousand horse and foot, and sixty-five batteries, with the object, it would seem, of repeating the famous movement of Diebitsch ere the allies could move hand or foot to save the sultan, of forcing the line of the Danube, marching on the Balkans, and coming down on Constantinople to dictate peace under the walls. Indeed it was feared that the Russians might aim at still greater ends, and that by moving past Adrianople to the Isthmus on the western shores of the Dardanelles, they might catch the fleets in a trap, and effectually prevent any supplies or reinforcements reaching Constantinople. It was to counteract such designs, Sir J. Burgoyne and Colonel Ardent went to Turkey in the winter of 1853, to see what could be done in the way of fortifications, but it was plain that some more material help than mere plans and sections was needed if the Sick Man was not to be left to the mercy of his doctor. The press and public opinion urged on a hesitating government; and yet it seems that neither the one nor the other well knew what they would have the government do. There was a vague idea that if France and England combined to show they were in earnest, the czar would pocket his affronts and his beatings, and abandon the Principalities and make his peace. So the government set to work to show it was in earnest. The dockyards were busy, and, for the first time since the war with Napoleon, the Horse Guards, presided over by Lord Hardinge, was occupied with the creation of a staff and with the composition of a rudimentary expedition. The deliberations of the Ministry and the efforts of the Colonial Office, which then managed the belligerent operations of the Horse Guards, ultimately resulted in the creation of an army consisting of Five Divisions of Infantry, each of two brigades of three battalions each, and of one Division of Cavalry, with a proportion of field and horse artillery calculated on a very low basis, but for some weeks after the Guards landed in Malta, there was not a single division complete. The Guards, under Brigadier Bentinck, formed the First Brigade of the First Division, which was under the Duke of Cambridge, but Brigadier Colin Campbell, who commanded the Second or Highland Brigade, formed by the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd, was regarded as the *tête forte* of the division. The Light Division, to which a battalion of the Rifle Brigade was attached, was composed of the 7th Fusiliers, 23rd Fusiliers, 33rd (1st Brigade), and of the 19th, 77th, 88th (2nd Brigade). It was with no small excitement in England that, early in 1854, the intelligence was heard that "the Guards were under orders for Malta." There were many, who ought to have been better acquainted with the pride and force of the czar, sanguine enough to believe that the Household Troops would never move farther towards the East, than that this fact would coerce Russia to desist. On the 23rd of February the Guards left Southampton, embarked on board several large merchant steamers for Malta, where they were detained for several weeks. Meantime, before the English Government had quite made up its mind as to the point of debarkation or action, the French, from Marseilles and Algiers, touching at Malta, went on and established themselves at Gallipoli. On the 6th of April Sir George Brown and part of the Rifle Brigade landed at Gallipoli. Soon afterwards the troops began the lines at Bulair, designed by the engineers to arrest the march of the Russians to the Dardanelles. It was a far-sighted idea. The only fault to be found with it was that it provided not only for what never occurred, but for what could not have occurred very well without the fall of Constantinople antecedently. But the Russians were by this time so very demonstrative on the Danube, that it became clear the allies would have to move nearer to the scene of action, and give much needed help to Omar Pasha. Lord Raglan arrived at Scutari, opposite Constantinople, on the 29th of April, and for some time the head-quarters of the British army were at that place; Marshal St. Arnaud, who appeared on the scene a week later, took up his residence at Constantinople. The Guards and Highlanders encamped near Scutari. The Light Division head-quarters and part of the First Brigade arrived off the Golden Horn on 1st May. The great resources of the English mercantile marine enabled the government to despatch regiments as fast as they were ready, in a continuous stream to the shores of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, and at the end of the first week in May upwards of 20,000 infantry had been conveyed in safety to Turkey. That was a scanty force to pit against the legions of the czar, and in no sense could these troops be considered an army, for they had as yet no cavalry, few guns, and a very imperfect staff. The French had no such steamers as the British could engage at hand, but by using their men-of-war steamers, and stowing small sailing vessels with soldiers as close as they could pack, they disembarked about 36,500 men and 5100 horses at Gallipoli before the end of May. Meantime Paskiewitch had collected his army opposite the Dobrudscha. The corps under Luders began operations in the middle of March by crossing the Danube and sweeping the Turks under Mustapha Pasha clean out of the district; Luders advancing southwards, as if he meant to seize upon Varna, obliged the Turkish garrisons to evacuate their posts on the right bank as far as Silistria and Shumla, where Omar Pasha concentrated his troops to bar a march on the Balkans. Liprandi, in command of the Russians observing Kalafat, on the right of the line, had in vain attempted to carry the entrenchments on several occasions. Paskiewitch, abandoning further attempts on that post, resolved to draw in his outlying forces, and set down seriously to make himself master of Silistria. His plans must have been much influenced by the news that Austria and Prussia had agreed to take active measures to prevent the Russians overrunning Bulgaria and crossing the Balkans, and that a considerable force of Austrians were already on his flank in Galicia. As Liprandi fell back behind the Aluta, the Turks followed hard after, and engaged him at Turna and Krajova, but did not gain more by the movement than the merit of activity and courage. They were obliged to halt on the Aluta, behind which Liprandi united his corps with that of Soimonoff, and faced westwards with his left on the Danube, so as to cover the left of the army which was now about to make a great effort to break the Turkish centre. Silistria was garrisoned by about 10,000 Egyptian and Turkish troops, under Moussa Pasha, and was in a poor state to resist the attack which Paskiewitch meditated. The Russians threw a solid bridge across the river, established batteries, between the 24th of April and the 4th of May, and proceeded to invest the place with seventy thousand men, but they never at any time quite cut off the communications of the garrison. Silistria could not be defended if an enemy were on the high ground and hills which commanded it. The Turks had fortunately been warned by previous sieges, and had constructed redoubts, connected by lines of trench, on these positions, at some distance from the outer walls. The Russians began their siege-works at a ridiculous distance. They indeed had not a Todleben before Silistria, and the Egyptians and Turks were enabled to profit by the skill and courage of two English officers, Lieutenant Butler and Lieutenant Nasmyth, who volunteered for the defence. It would be ridiculous to say that the Turks, who repulsed the Russians in 1829, without any English officers to help them, were enabled to do so because they had two British officers to encourage them in 1854, but doubtless the latter did good service—probably as much at least as the gallant Britons who, as Byron records in *Don Juan*, fell in the storm of Ismail. When the enemy had pushed their batteries within a few hundred yards of the Egyptian redoubt ("Arab Tabia") they had opened fire for some days, and then they made an assault which was bravely repulsed. Three attempts to take the works by storm were made in one day, but after a sanguinary defeat on the 25th of May, the Russians abandoned the idea of *vive force*, and set to work to reduce Arab Tabia by regular approaches. A hail of shells and shot soon began to fall into the town and earthworks. The Turks endured sixteen days' bombarding without flinching. Assaults renewed by weightier columns from shorter distances, as the parallels were drawn closer to the ditch, were met as before, and failed one after the other. Each defeat added to the confidence of the Moslems and the discouragement of the Russians; but after the seventh assault, in which the gallant Moussa Pasha fell, the Russians had had enough of rushes across the open, and began to sap up to the ditch. Several mines were sprung without effect. But the fate of a strong place regularly attacked is a matter of no uncertainty. The days of a fortress are numbered from the time that the enemy without let or hindrance opens his first parallel, unless help comes from outside. The Russians worked on steadily, and gained ground, despite the efforts of the besieged. Omar Pasha knew well that Silistria must fall as soon as the outer works were gained, and he was equally aware that Arab Tabia could not hold out for ever. He heard that France and England had sent an army to help the sultan, but he saw no signs of their presence where they were most needed. He set out for Varna. Lord Raglan, Marshal St. Arnaud, and Riza Pasha, the Turkish minister of war, left Constantinople for Varna, on the 19th of May, to meet Omar Pasha. They accompanied him to Shumla, but, although they undertook to move a large force up to Varna, they would not listen to his urgent representations for an active demonstration against the Russians on the Danube, and they left Silistria to take care of itself in Turkish hands. The Pasha said he could answer for Silistria till the end of June. St. Arnaud now resolved to move the bulk of his army from Gallipoli to Varna by land, which caused serious delays, and hampered the English general, who did not wish to anticipate his allies by displaying any great superiority of forces. The Light Division landed at Varna on the 30th of May, and it was speedily followed by the Guards, Highlanders, 2nd Division, 3rd Division, part of the 4th Division, and part of the cavalry, but it was not till the end of July that the French army could be placed in position with their allies, who had now stretched out in the road to Shumla. In the meantime Paskiewitch was wounded before Silistria, and was obliged to abandon the command of the army to Gortschakoff. The Austrians, according to treaty, entered the Principalities on the 14th of June. The appearance of the allies at Varna was not the only embarrassment to the Russians. It was plain that if the Russians took Silistria, and moved southward, they would have the Austrians on the right, the French and English on the left, and the Turks around them. On the 23rd of June, after Silistria had been besieged for five weeks, the Russians recrossed the Danube. Had the men who defended it been Englishmen, we should have known most of their names—as it is we only are acquainted with those of Cannon, Ogilvie, Butler, Nasmyth, Moussa Pasha, and a few others. The tidings was conveyed to Lord Raglan, on the 24th of June, three days after his arrival at Varna. The news caused him some perplexity, for he could not invade Russia, and there seemed no need of British troops at Varna any longer. In order to do something, Lord Cardigan was ordered to make a reconnaissance up to the Danube with three squadrons of the Light Cavalry Brigade, which caused many sore backs to the horses, and answered no good purpose. Omar Pasha came down to Varna once more, and several councils of war were held. The Turkish generalissimo must have felt proud of his ragged rascals when he discovered that the fine French and English troops whom he reviewed were not an army at all, and that they could not, to save their lives or Turkey, undertake a march of fifty miles. He returned to Shumla to await events. In his absence, the Turks at Rustchuk, under Hassan Pasha, believing that the Russians under Soimonoff were leaving the place, made an attempt to seize Giurgevo on the opposite bank. A very obstinate conflict ensued, in which Lieut. Burke, R.E., Lieut. Meynell 75th, Lieut. Arnold, H.E.I.S.C. Service, and many Turks whom they encouraged by their noble example, were killed, but, in the end, the latter made good their grip of the left bank, and defied the Russians to wrest it from them. Beaten in the field, and, menaced by a formidable political combination, now that Austria had announced the intention of entering the Principalities, Prince Gortschakoff recrossed the Pruth, and on the 6th of August the Turks entered Bucharest. The Russians had not only suffered great losses in the actions from Kalafat to Giurgevo and in the assaults against Silistria, but had been afflicted by fever, dysentery, and cholera. They lost thousands of men in the Dobrudscha alone. That terrible scourge from which their armies had suffered so much was soon to make itself felt in the ranks of the allies, and even in the fleets at sea. As the Russians retired, the difficulty of the Western Powers increased. What were they to do in order to secure the object of the war, which was the absolute overthrow of Russian predominance over Turkey, and the safety of Turkey as an integral part of that European confederacy to which she demanded admission? In fact, the allies could not make themselves ridiculous by accepting the withdrawal of the Russians from the Principalities as a sufficient satisfaction of their aims. The invasion of Russia did not recommend itself to those who remembered history, and who counted the cost and the means of such an enterprise. And yet something must be done. Popular intelligence out-running the slow processes of cabinet councils, and absolutely astounding the cautious soldiers who saw more responsibility than chances of glory in the undertaking, seized on the idea of a descent on the Crimea in order to destroy Sebastopol. The cholera, which had early visited the Russian troops, and had followed them and the Turks since the beginning of the campaign on the Danube, now made a sudden and alarming descent upon the allies in Bulgaria, and wasted the camps from Devno to Varna. It made its first appearance among the British in the camp of the Light Division, at the former of these places, on the 23rd of July, but it had been felt in the French camp some few days previously. As it was reported that there were Russian troops still lingering in the Dobrudscha, St. Arnaud resolved to clear them out as a diversion to his soldiers, and on the 21st of July the first two Brigades, under Espinasse and Forey, and 3000 irregular cavalry under Yusuf, marched for Kostendji and Bajardik, the division under Prince Napoleon being moved as support in case of need. The country had been laid waste, and after a skirmish with the Cossacks on the 28th of July, the French were attacked by an outbreak of cholera so awful, that they were filled with the belief that the Russians had poisoned the wells. They died by hundreds. On the 31st of July Yusuf fell back to Kostendji. Next day General Canrobert, arriving at the latter place to superintend operations, was horrified to find his division a great hospital, in which the living could scarce bury the dead. The details of this disastrous expedition will probably never be fully known, but at the lowest computation, the French must have lost 7000 men ere they returned to Varna. There the pestilence soon raged, sparing none, foreigners or natives. The spirits of the allies were exceedingly dejected. The rations were increased from 1lb. to 1½lb. of meat, and rum was issued to the troops. Their stocks were discarded, and they were allowed to grow moustaches. But there could be no doubt that the army was not in trim, in *physique* or *morale*, for an arduous campaign, and the positive instructions which Lord Raglan received from the government to make an attack on Sebastopol, could not but cause much anxiety to him and his colleagues. Marshal St. Arnaud was in favour of a larger strategical operation; the two Admirals-in-Chief, Dundas and Hamelin, were opposed to the project altogether; Sir George Brown was not warmly in its favour; but the Vice-Admirals Lyons and Bruat were, as is usual in such cases, quite opposed to their chiefs. The cholera speedily visited the fleets, which were sent to sea for a cruise. Thus at the very time the British cabinet was most urgent for action, the army and the navy were rendered incapable of any serious combined operation. There was but little if any accurate knowledge of the strength of Sebastopol itself, but because it was believed that the naval and military establishment there was designed as "an eye to watch, and an arm to strike,"[1] an attack on the port and arsenal was urged by the press and public opinion. It was from Sebastopol that the fleet which wrought the bloody work of Sinope had come forth; it was from Sebastopol a Russian fleet might issue again, to lay Constantinople in ashes; it was in Sebastopol that the guarantees of Russian supremacy in the Black Sea, and the levers by which she moved the fabric of the Ottoman Empire from its base, were to be found. In both Houses of Parliament there was but one cry, "Delenda est Sebastopol." Lord Raglan had no choice but to obey or to resign his command if he did not approve of the expedition. He informed the home government, in language which could scarcely have been very comforting to them, that he accepted the task imposed upon him more in deference to the views of government, and to the support of the emperor, than in consequence of any opinion of his own, because he had no information respecting the military position of the Russians in the Crimea. The French emperor had no dread of parliamentary crises, and was not driven into action by the necessity of doing something decisive. He was not so eager for an instant dash at Sebastopol, but meditated larger schemes, and planned strategical movements. St. Arnaud had the emperor's orders to co-operate with the English in an expedition to the Crimea, if a council of war approved of the project. The council, which sat at Varna on the 16th of June, resolved on the attempt. French and English officers reconnoitred the vicinity of Sebastopol from the deck of the *Furious* on the 20th of July, and decided on making the descent at the mouth of the Katcha river, north of Sebastopol. Neither Lord Raglan, nor St. Arnaud, nor any one else, could obtain satisfactory information respecting the forces at the disposal of Prince Menschikoff, who commanded in the Crimea, but it was believed on the best authority that he had not 100,000 men in all, and, in truth, at first he had less than 70,000. There were many reasons to disquiet a general of the most ordinary prudence in considering the position of an army suffering much from sickness and quite destitute of transport, which would have to operate against a great fortified city from such an uncertain base as a fleet; but assuming that the allies could throw some 60,000 men, and a field artillery in proportion, on the shores of the Crimea, north of Sebastopol, within a couple of marches of it, and defeat the Russians who could be assembled in the field to resist them, there was fair ground to think that the city, shut in by the fleet, and unable to keep open communications, would surrender without further trouble to the pleasure of the victors.

All the latter part of July was devoted to preparations for the projected expedition. Contracts were made for transport. Gabions and fascines were prepared by the soldiers. A siege train arrived in Varna. Generals and admirals went down to Constantinople to superintend and order *materiel.* Boats and chaloupes for landing troops were bought or made. On the 10th of August a great fire destroyed prodigious quantities of stores, principally French, and laid waste a large part of the town of Varna. Fourteen days later, the die was cast, at one of the many councils of war which were held by the allied generals, and it was decided to launch the expedition at the Crimea. That council was held under his presidency, at St. Arnaud's quarters, and there were present Lord Raglan, Admirals Hamelin and Dundas, Vice-Admirals Lyons and Bruat, Sir G. Brown, General Canrobert, Sir J. Burgoyne, and others. The English engineer had only arrived that morning, and his opinions were not quite in unison with those of the officers who had inspected the coast, and who thought that the mouth of the Katcha was the best place for the descent. On the 25th of August, St. Arnaud issued a "general order," in which he announced to the army that "the hour had come to fight and conquer. They had given a beautiful spectacle of perseverance, calm and energy in the midst of the mournful circumstances which must be forgotten. The Russians had not waited for them on the Danube. It was Providence which called them to the Crimea, a country as healthy as their own, and to Sebastopol, the seat of Russian power, where they would go to seek the guarantees of peace, and of a return to their homes." It was a very spirited and well-written order, and could not but have had an inspiriting effect on those to whom it was addressed. As there is a prejudice, for which there is no foundation, that the British soldier has no sentiment, Lord Raglan merely directed the Commissary-General "to provide a ration of porter for the next few days." Before these general orders were issued, the British, whose camps had been very widely scattered from Monastir to the sea, began a movement of concentration towards Varna. The French gathered towards Baltjik roads, north of Varna, the little bay of which was too small for the immense fleets which had now been assembled. From the 26th of August men and *materiel* were in motion towards the coast, and, by the 1st of September, three divisions of the French army were embarked. Next day St. Arnaud embarked at Varna, and steamed out to Baltjik, but the English were not ready. They had farther to come, they did not use the fleet for transport, and they were also, it must be said, less accustomed to deal with such operations than their allies, the Quartermaster-General's Department being especially flabby and weak in *personnel.* On the 5th of September, under cover of the men-of-war, most of the English transports laden with troops were assembled at Baltjik. But the French had gone. St. Arnaud became impatient of delay, and when Lord Raglan came to the anchorage on board the *Caradoc,* he learned that the French Marshal and his host had departed eastwards for the rendezvous of Fidonisi, or the Isle of Serpents, where they were to rally their detachments from Bourgas and Varna. Next day the English still lay at anchor off Baltjik. It was not till the morning of the 7th of September that the signal was given and the fleet put to sea. In a contemporary chronicle there is an account from which we shall take a few passages:—

"It was a vast armada. No pen could describe its effect upon the eye. Ere an hour had elapsed, it had extended itself over half the circumference of the horizon. Possibly no expedition so complete and so terrible in its means of destruction, with such enormous power in engines of war and such capabilities of locomotion, was ever yet sent forth by any worldly power; for the conjunction of such *corps d'élite*—the whole disposable British army, with a fleet of such strength, and an artillery of unequalled range, had assuredly no parallel in history. The speed was restricted to four miles and a half per hour, but with a favouring wind it was difficult to restrain the vessels to that rate, and the transports set no sail. The course lay N.E. by E., and the fleet was ordered to make for a point at sea 40 miles due west of Cape Tarkan. On looking to the map it will be seen that the point thus indicated is about 50 miles east of Fidonisi. From time to time signals were made to keep the stragglers in order, and to whip up the laggards, but the execution of the plan by no means equalled the accuracy with which it had been set forth upon paper. The effect was not marred by these trifling departures from strict rectilinearity, for the fleet seemed all the greater and the more imposing as the eye rested on these huge black hulls upon the face of the waters, and the infinite diversity of rigging which covered the background with a giant network. In the course of Friday morning, the 8th, the wind chopped round, and blew rather freshly right in our teeth. The result was a severe strain upon hawsers and steamers; in some instances the hawsers parted and the transports drifted. At half-past twelve o'clock the Turco-French fleet was clearly visible, steering nearly E.N.E. in two lines. They were under all plain sail aloft and alow—27 sail of the line, frigates and steamers. As we came up, they laid their maintopsails aback, and hove-to while we passed. When we came up with the French fleet, Admiral Dundas went on board the *Ville de Paris*, where there was a conference, at which Marshal St. Arnaud was seized with such a violent attack of his old malady that he was obliged to leave the table. Lord Raglan could not attend this conference on account of the swell, which prevented his getting up the side of the *Ville de Paris*, and Marshal St. Arnaud requested Admiral Hamelin and Colonel Trochu to repair on board the *Caradoc*. It was there decided, but not until the French Marshal had faintly recommended a descent on Theodosia (Kaffa), instead of the west coast of the Crimea, that a second commission of exploration should be sent to examine the coast from Eupatoria to Sebastopol. General Canrobert, Colonel Trochu, Colonel Lebœuf, Admiral Bruat, General Thiry, General Bizot, General Martimprey, and Colonel Rose, were deputed on this service. Sir John Burgoyne, Sir George Brown, Admiral Lyons, and some other officers, represented the English. Early on Saturday morning, the *Agamemnon* and *Caradoc*, accompanied by the *Samson* and the *Primauguet*, left the fleet (about six o'clock), and steered due E., a course which would bring them to the coast of the Crimea a little above Sebastopol. On the morning of the 10th they arrived off Sebastopol, which they reconnoitred from the distance of three miles, and then proceeded to Cape Chersonese, where the beach appeared favourable for a descent, but the *timides avis* opposed the proposition, on the ground that the men would have to fight for their landing. The *Caradoc* and *Primauguet* returned at seven a.m. on the morning of the 11th September, with their attendant guardians, after a cruise along the coast. Early in the morning of the 12th, just after dawn, a dark line was visible on our port side, which became an object of interest and discussion, for some maintained it was land, others declared it was cloud-land. The rising sun decided the question in favour of those who maintained the substantiality of the appearance. It was indeed the shore of the Crimea. The place off which we anchored on the night of Tuesday, September the 12th, was marked on the charts as Schapan. It is fourteen miles distant N.N.E. from our starting point on Tuesday at noon, so that we only ran that length the whole of the afternoon from twelve to six o'clock. At six o'clock on the morning of the 13th, signal was given to weigh and proceed, and at eight o'clock the lines were formed and the expedition proceeded, steering towards the S.E. The French and Turkish line-of-battle ships joined us in the course of the day. A division of the allies went on in front, and cruised towards Sebastopol. Eupatoria became visible. It lies on a spit of sand, and for a long time we imagined that it was defended by heavy works, for the solid stone houses close by the sea looked liked forts. The town is astonishingly clean, perhaps by contrast with Varna and Gallipoli. There was only one vessel in the roadstead—a Tartar sloop of sixty or seventy tons. The *Tribune* stood leisurely in as soon as the fleet anchored, till she was within half a mile of the town. A boat put off with four men, who pulled towards the sloop, got into her, and immediately hoisted a white flag; the first prize on the shore of the Crimea. After a short conversation by signal between generals and admirals, towards eight o'clock p.m. the *Agamemnon* sent off boats to the steamers and transports with the following orders to the Quartermasters-General of the Divisions:—

'ORDERS FOR SAILING.

'Wednesday night.

'The Light Division to be actually under way at one a.m. to-morrow morning.

'The Fourth Division to sail at two a.m.

'The First Division to sail at three a.m.

'The Third Division and the Fifth Division to sail at four a.m.

'Steer S.S.E. for eight miles. Rendezvous in lat. 54 degrees. Do not go nearer to shore than eight fathoms.'"

These orders were obeyed, and after an interchange of rockets from the admirals, the divisions weighed in the order indicated, and slowly stood along the coast till about eight o'clock in the morning, when we anchored off Staroe Ukroplenie, or the Old Fort. This was an open beach about fifteen miles south of Eupatoria, with a salt lake running parallel to the sea at the distance of one hundred yards from the shore, and would not have been selected by generals who had an enterprising enemy to deal with. A reconnaissance in force by the Russians on the very night of the disembarkation would have caused great confusion, and the guns of the fleet could not have been used to cover the troops, whilst the field artillery of the enemy could have been employed with effect. The allies immediately began to land, and the French were the first to hoist their flag on the strand a mile or more to the south of the place marked off for the English. By ten a.m. the French had landed six thousand men, and we had only managed to get seventy on shore, owing, it is alleged, to the perverseness of Admiral Dundas; but by three p.m. the 1st and 2nd, and the Light Divisions, numbering some fourteen thousand men, and two batteries, were safely on the beach. There were, of course, Cossacks to be seen capering about, and some of them nearly captured Sir George Brown, who landed in advance of his division, and was ignorant of their proximity, but there was no opposition of any kind to the descent of the allies on the Crimea. In the afternoon the wind and surf rose, and hampered the disembarkation. At night the rain fell in torrents. Next day the wind abated, and the sea was calm. The French had no cavalry except a detachment of irregulars, but they had landed their fifty-four guns and twenty-two thousand foot before the night of the 14th, and next day St. Arnaud proposed that the army should march to meet the enemy, who were reported to be concentrating on the Alma. Lord Raglan, however, was not in a position to advance, for he had still one thousand horses and more to get on shore. On the 16th, there were still difficulties in the way of an offensive movement, but whatever solid basis there may be in the excuses and apologies made for the inability of the British commanders to assent to the proposals of St. Arnaud, it is to be regretted that day after day was lost at Old Fort; because the enemy were by these delays not only enabled to recover the effects of their first surprise, but to strengthen their position, and to obtain considerable reinforcements.

At length, after St. Arnaud had informed Lord Raglan somewhat imperiously, in the course of the 18th, that, if he was not ready, he would march without him, the allies moved on the morning of the 19th of September. There was very little transport for reserve ammunition and baggage, and Lord Raglan ordered the tents and knapsacks of the infantry to be sent back on board the ships. The French carried their knapsacks and tents *d'abri*, and the Turks did the same. Whatever could not be reshipped in time was placed on the beach, with a rear-guard of the 4th Division under Torrens, consisting of the 63rd, two companies of the 46th, and a troop of 4th Light Dragoons. It was nearly 9.30 a.m. before the English moved from the beach, and took up their line of march, at first in rear of the French, but gradually taking ground till they were in line with their front obliquely to the sea. The French moved in a square, of which the 1st Division formed the apex, pointing due south, the 2nd Division being on the E. apex, the 3rd Division on the side next the sea, and the 4th Division moving in the rear, and in the square thus formed were massed the artillery, stores, and the Turkish Division. The English marched with a line of skirmishers of the Rifle Brigade in front of the infantry and in support of the 11th Hussars and 13th Light Dragoons. The Light Division was on the left. In the same line, on the right, and next to the French, who were, however, more than a mile and a half off, was the 2nd Division. The 1st Division was behind the Light, and the 3rd Division moved in rear of the 2nd Division. In rear of the 1st Division were those regiments of the 4th Division which had not been left behind at Old Fort. The 8th Hussars covered the flank of the Light Division, and the 17th Lancers covered the flank and rear, supported by the 4th Light Dragoons. The day was very hot. There was no water on the plains, and there were repeated halts, and dressings to right and left, which harassed the troops. The halts were necessary to allow the many stragglers to come up, and the dressings were rendered needful by difficulties on the part of inexperienced officers in keeping their places. Soon after the army moved, men began to drop out. They were but too often those who were suffering from cholera. Some of such died where they fell, others were piled up in the country carts, for we had no ambulances. There were soon columns of smoke visible in front, which showed the Cossacks were burning the farmhouses, and presently some of these troops were in view here and there on the elevated mounds in front. So slow and laborious was the English march, that it was past mid-day before the cavalry came to a small sluggish stream, called the Buljanak, about seven miles from the beach at Old Fort. The main post road to Sebastopol crosses this stream by a bridge, near which was a post-house, partly wrecked by the Cossacks, but not burnt, and here Lord Raglan rested for the night. Ere the British came up to this welcome supply of water, a pretty little affair came on in a promiscuous kind of way, which quickened the pulses of the men, and gave most of them the first experience of a shot fired in anger. Lord Lucan was in advance with the 11th Hussars and 13th Light Dragoons, under the direct orders of Lord Cardigan, and was reconnoitring in front, where some of the enemy's vedettes were visible, when a considerable force of regular cavalry, preceded by Cossack skirmishers, appeared over the brow of a range of rising ground. Our cavalry halted and threw out skirmishers, who advanced to meet the Cossacks, and then the two lines began a harmless fire, which set the horses capering, and did nothing more, except serve as an illustration of the worthlessness of long range carbine practice from horseback. But the enemy showed a still larger mass of cavalry, and it became plain that our cavalry officers did not know their business. They had not sent out vedettes, and thus had no warning of the proximity of a whole brigade of regular cavalry, nine hundred Cossacks, six thousand infantry, and twelve guns, lying hid in a hollow in the ground in their front. There were no supports of any kind to the handful of British cavalry at the moment, but the Russians, from the rising ground, could have seen the British army advancing towards them, and were probably restrained from making a dash when it might have been successful. Lord Lucan recalled the skirmishers, who fell back amid the jeers of the Cossacks, and then our cavalry force was ordered to retire by alternate squadrons, which it did very steadily. As soon as the skirmishers had rejoined their regiments, the Russian cavalry on the hill unmasked two batteries and opened a fire, which would have had a destructive effect on a column, but which only knocked over several horses and wounded four or five men in our thin lines. Maude's troop of Horse Artillery came galloping up, and was soon followed by a nine-pound battery, and their united fire caused the Russians to limber up. They retired, and fell back on the Alma, from which they had moved out to effect a reconnaissance. The armies halted for the night on the Buljanak, and it was late ere the stragglers reached their regiments. Cholera still clung to them; the want of tents, the absence of their knapsacks, added to the bad water, increased the discomfort and maladies of the English army. At night, the glare of the Russian watch-fires could be seen quite readily by our men, and it was known a great battle would be fought on the morrow.

The Alma is a river in winter, a rivulet in summer, flowing between the deep banks cut in the soft soil of the steppe by its waters in flood time, in many a swirling pool, and rippling over stretches of bright sand as it steals to the sea, surrounded by Tartar villages, orchards, gardens, and vineyards. In its course it skirts the northern base of the irregular and elevated plateau which is indented by the roadstead of Sebastopol, and by the Belbek and Katcha, and which has an increasing slope upwards as it stretches westwards to the Euxine, where it presents a steep cliff frontage. Just at the point east of the village of Bourliouk, where the post-road from the north is carried over the stream, the rise of the plateau becomes pronounced, and a series of grassy slopes mount from the high bank of the river up to a ridge, which broken here and there by small corries, on each side of which are rounded hillocks, catches the eye of the traveller who journeys southwards, as the first of two ledges which are terminated on the sky-line by the rolling land of the open country towards Sebastopol. But this ledge as it runs towards the sea approaches nearer to the river-bank, and, at the same time, is carried more and more sharply upwards, till it becomes a very sheer hill-side, covered with brushwood, scrub, and vineyards at its base, and, at the distance of half-a-mile from the sea, may almost be termed a cliff. The post-road was carried over the river by a substantial wooden bridge. The spectator, if he were standing on that road on the morning of the 20th of September, 1854, about twelve o'clock in the day, looking straight before him to the south, would have beheld a belt of the most lovely verdure, where vines, laden with clustering grapes, and pears, apples, cherries, peaches weighed down the leafy boughs with a glistening harvest, and marked the course of the river. These gardens were bounded off from the meadow and the steppe by low stone walls. On his left front he would have seen above the tree-tops the grassy banks of which we have spoken; and then, higher up, his eye would have rested on two reddish-brown seams, one of them specked at regular intervals with black spots, and on turning his glass upon these he would have made out an epaulement and an earthwork or emplacement for guns, the embrasures in which were cut so as to enable the pieces which garnished them to sweep the grassy slopes down to the river, search out the vineyards, play on the post-road and on the village of Bourliouk, and catch on the left flank any troops which might seek to mount the steeper ground on the left bank of the river, to the west of the post-road. He would have made out that there were in the larger work twelve guns, some of which were revealed afterwards as thirty-two pound howitzers. This ground on which we suppose he is looking is the right of the Russian position, and he would there, moreover, see grey masses slightly moving, so as to enliven the sombre-looking blocks of grey-coated infantry with some sparkling of steel, drawn up in rear of these earthworks, and on their flanks, and he ought to be able to count the sixteen battalions of the regiments of Sousdal, Ouglitz, Kazan, and Vladimir, each in battalion column on the slope, with their light companies, and about fourteen hundred riflemen and marines, pushed across the river, and lining the stone walls of the vineyards and orchards. On the right of these chequered battalions is visible a grand frontage of some two thousand six hundred hussars and dragoons, and a long, bristling, hedgerow-like line of lances belonging to the Cossacks, whose avant posts are capering about in front of the vineyards, and galloping to and fro between the vedettes and the rear. The regiments named are so posted that the Sousdal is in the right rear of the entrenchment on the right of the enemy—we suppose our spectator is not a Russian—and the Kazan regiment is in support of the second work, which alone is armed with guns, with its left battalion quite beyond it, and nearly resting on the edge of the cut in the ridge in which runs the post-road. The Ouglitz regiment is in rear of the Sousdal and of the Kazan regiments, but both it and the Vladimir regiment afterwards came down nearer to the works, and were massed more closely towards the front later in the day. With its right resting on the other edge of the rift in which runs the post-road is the Borodino regiment with two batteries of artillery on its right, and then the Taroutino regiment, its four battalions placed chequer-wise, is extended, and on its right again are massed four reserve battalions. In the second line, only visible here and there as the higher ground is broken up by the corries by which the post-road is carried southward to the plateau level, are seven battalions belonging to the regiments of Minsk and Volhynia and two batteries. On commanding sites on the right of the Russians are two troops of horse artillery, and two foot batteries, making thirty-two pieces, in addition to the guns of position in the earthwork. There are gaps in this frontage, and the largest of them is between the right of the Borodino regiment and the left of the Volhynia regiment, for the former is drawn up at a considerable distance to the east of the post-road on the rising ground, which is marked by a square white building used as a semaphore station, and there is nothing between this regiment and the sea, save the Moscow regiment, one battalion of which, and four guns, occupy the village of Ouloukoul Aklés, close to the coast. The troops on the Russian left, though posted on the higher ground, would be hidden from the spectator on the post-road, when he was so near to the river as he would be at the point we have supposed, and it would strike him that the Russian general, feeling that his right was liable to be turned, and bent on barring the road to Sebastopol, had there concentrated the great bulk of his army, and had left the cliff and steeps over the river on his left to defend themselves. Prince Menschikoff had indeed rightly divined that it was probable an attempt to turn his right would be contemplated, and he had wrongly supposed his left could not be turned. He did not calculate the effect of the guns of the fleet in sweeping the ground near Ouloukoul Aklés, nor had he estimated the chance of operations there being successful. In point of fact, St. Arnaud's plan of battle was based on a double turning movement, one by the English on the Russian right, one by the French on their left; but Lord Raglan rejected the first, and attacked the position where the Russians had accumulated their means of resistance right in front. The force at Menschikoff's disposal consisted of less than thirty-two thousand regular foot, three thousand three hundred horse, and ninety-six guns, and he had, moreover, three thousand five hundred sappers and artillery. These were disposed along a position of more than three and a half miles long, in which he was about to be attacked by sixty-three thousand men armed with far better weapons, and one hundred and twenty-eight guns. A glance at the ground would have revealed to a soldier that it was a faulty disposition for Prince Menschikoff to take up such a front with the means at his disposal in the face of such an enemy. His infantry had only smooth-bore muskets of obsolete fashion, converted from flint to percussion locks. The French were armed with an excellent rifle, and the English troops engaged were all provided with the improved rifle adopted from the French, and called the Minié, from the name of the inventor, with which, thanks principally to the exertions of Lord Hardinge, they had been recently armed. Still the position, more judiciously occupied, and properly entrenched, would have been very formidable; and the Russian general had a right to expect that his numerous cavalry would have caused serious obstruction and delay to the exposed left flank of the allies, where, as it so happened, those regiments which were yet armed with the old musket were placed. His field-works were quite contemptible, yet we shall see how formidable the armed work on the Kourgané* Hill, as it was called, turned out to be when it was attacked in front.

Let us now go back to the allied armies which we left in their bivouac on the line of the Buljanak on the night of the 19th of September. The news of the skirmish of the day had gone through the ranks with the usual exaggerations respecting its magnitude and success, and the glare of the Russian watch-fires had attracted many an eye as the troops sat round their campkettles, and was noted as an indication that "Sebastopol was before them." The morning of the 20th of September was fine and warm. Although there had been some disorder, and a good deal of straggling on the march from Old Fort, the men had settled down after dark and had had a good night's rest, for the Russians had made no attempt at an *alerte*, which might have caused much confusion and annoyance. Soon after daybreak, the men were under arms, and the few small tents which sheltered some of the more fortunate officers were struck. Lord Raglan and his staff had slept at the post-house on the Buljanak. The French head-quarters were far away on our right, near the sea, and farther still were the bivouacs of the Turkish division. There seems to have been no plan of attack arranged between the allied generals, still less was there any kind of order of battle. The generals of division were not instructed by general or special orders; and, indeed, one divisional officer, Sir De Lacy Evans, who had seen more actual and more recent service than any of the generals in the field, did not receive any direction whatever, so that his division did not get under arms or begin to move till the Prince Napoleon, commanding the French division on our right flank, came to see the British general, and to acquaint him with the orders which had been issued from his own head-quarters. Although there was a handy and very efficient brigade of British cavalry at Lord Raglan's disposal, he did not attempt any reconnaissance of the Russian position. The French had but a squadron of Chasseurs d'Afrique as escort for the commander-in-chief, and were quite unable to beat up the enemy's quarters, but St. Arnaud had some general idea of the ground they occupied, and of the force which was at Menschikoff's disposal to defend the line of the Alma. As the mountain would not come to Mahomet, and, as it was necessary that the two should meet, Mahomet went to the mountain. St. Arnaud and his staff came to the British line to confer with Lord Raglan before the armies took up their march towards the enemy. When St. Arnaud, riding in front of one of the battalions, exclaimed in English, "Soldiers, I hope you will fight well today," a voice from the ranks answered "Hope! Sure you know we will." The generals separated after a short conversation, but when the march had fairly begun, Lord Raglan crossed over from our right and met St. Arnaud in front of Prince Napoleon's division, as the latter was coming towards him, and on this occasion he distinctly declared "he would not attempt to turn the Russian position." He did not suggest any alternative. It is plain that, if he informed the French general he would not execute a turning movement, he gave it to be understood that he would attack what was before him straight in front. As they were speaking, the advance sounded along the line and the generals separated; St. Arnaud no doubt utterly perplexed by his colleague, who, at the very moment the allies were about to engage the enemy, threw over the plan he had led him to think was agreed to. The French moved in the following order: First, Bosquet's Division in two columns (Bouat's and d'Autemarre's) massed, with the Turks in reserve next the sea. Next came the 1st Division under Canrobert, about six hundred yards in rear and to the left of Bosquet, and on the same front with it, the 3rd Division under Prince Napoleon, and in rear of these, as reserve, was the 4th Division under Forey; the divisional artillery marching between the brigades of each division. When De Lacy Evans had got his division up to the ground on which Prince Napoleon's had temporarily halted, he formed in a line with its front in contiguous battalion columns at battalion distance. On his left moved the Light Division under Sir George Brown, covered by the (2nd battalion) Rifle Brigade in two wings under Lieut.-Col. Lawrence and Major Norcott. The 1st Division under the duke of Cambridge marched in rear of the Light Division; and the 20th, 21st, and 68th Regiments, and 1st battalion Rifle Brigade of the 4th Division, under Cathcart, moved in echelon to the 1st Division. The artillery of each division moved along with it on its right. The cavalry under Lord Lucan were on the left flank and rear of the whole army. As the allies advanced over the surface of the steppe, rippled by broad undulations and covered with thick autumnal growth of herbage and wild flowers, the position of the Alma became clear, and the ridges which rose from its banks and bounded the horizon were seen to be crested with bayonets, of which the owners were wheeling and marching as if to take up position, filling the air with twinkling rays. Towards the sea the ridge towered steep and high, cliff-like and rugged, scarred with gullies, and covered with brushwood; and the windings of the stream could be traced by the line of orchard trees and vineyards at the base of the bank, beneath which the stream, unconscious of its coming fame, stole murmuring through gardens to the Euxine. There was a good deal of dressing to the right and to the left of our array, for with all its beauty of appearance the order was clumsy, and the march could not have been at a much more rapid rate than a mile and a half an hour. Presently the booming of cannon out to sea drew attention to the steamers (seven French and one English), which, standing in towards the cliff at the mouth of the Alma, opened on the infantry of the enemy a fire which speedily compelled them "to refuse their left" and retire out of range, thus freeing from all impediment the unobserved advance of Bosquet towards the ford at the bar of the river. After a little, and there was a spattering fire out of the vineyards on the right bank of the stream where the Russian sharpshooters were lying. Soon afterwards there began a cannonade from the Russian guns on the heights. The English army immediately halted and commenced to deploy, but there was not similar trouble given to the French, as the high ridges of the Russian left were not garnished with any artillery which could reach the allies' right, and the great force of the enemy was concentrated towards their right and centre, it being taken for granted that the natural obstacles near the sea would sufficiently embarrass the assailants. The English deployment was very imperfect. The 2nd Division had to deploy to its left, as it could not take the ground of Prince Napoleon's Division on its right, and Sir George Brown had inclined the head of his column so much to the right, that when he deployed the Light Division, the right of it was in rear of the left Brigade of De Lacy Evans. The 1st Division was extended in a line of contiguous columns at quarter distance, the 3rd Division under Sir R. England being ordered to form in rear of the 1st Division, and still remaining in their order of march. Thus arrayed the English again advanced, but as the Russian artillery had now got a more telling range, they were once more halted, and lay down at the north side of the line of vineyards. Meanwhile the French, on a front which ran obliquely towards the south from the English right, were advancing with their right always thrown more and more forward, and as they marched over a greater extent of ground than was occupied by the English, their divisions became separated by considerable intervals, until at length their army was almost in echelon from the right. Bouat, with nine thousand infantry, and with the Turks in his rear, made for the bar of the Alma, and found a ford directly under the great cliffs over the sea. Bosquet, on Bouat's left, pushing towards the heights above the village of Almatamack, encountered no resistance in his ascent to the plateau, the fire of the ships having brushed away the few Russians originally posted as a corps of observation by the village on the plateau close to the sea. The ascent, however, was so steep that Bouat could not get up his guns, and Bosquet was likewise unable for some time to support his infantry by artillery. On Bosquet's left, again, Canrobert's Division, having crossed the river and swarmed up the heights, was held in check by the fire of the Russian artillery posted close to the Telegraph Station, which swept the plateau in his front and took him on the left flank, and to which he could oppose no return fire, as the steepness of the hill-side from the river frustrated all efforts to get up his pieces. On Canrobert's left again the Division of Prince Napoleon in advance of De Lacy Evans' right was engaged in forcing its way past the village of Bourliouk, which had been set on fire by the enemy and was burning fiercely, covering the scene with dense clouds of rolling smoke. The French had, however, laid hold of the extreme left of the Russian position, and were solidly established on the plateau before there was any knowledge of their movement, or, at least, any fear that it would be successful. The Russian general then began to see that he had committed a cardinal mistake in occupying a position far too extended for the force at his disposal. But, although the French right had so far done well, and were in substantial occupation of part of the enemy's position, they could not advance unless they were willing to engage the enemy's guns and infantry without the aid of artillery, and without any support on their left. The efforts of Canrobert to get up his guns were, for a long time, not attended with success, and Bosquet had only a few pieces. Menschikoff, now seriously alarmed for his left, collected all his available battalions from his right and centre to reinforce his left, on the Telegraph-hill; but the Russians, whom Menschikoff was moving in all haste, had some way to come, and the ground was not easy to march over, so that for some time there was really no impediment to the advance of Bosquet, except the guns at the extremity of the enemy's left, and the comparatively small body of infantry in support. Prince Napoleon's Division made no decided progress against the Russian infantry and guns in its front, but all along the line from Bourliouk to the sea there was an incessant fire of French musketry, which gave the idea that they were warmly engaged. Had the Russian cavalry, or even one-half of the three thousand sabres at Menschikoff's disposal, been moved rapidly round in rear of their army at this moment, they might have produced disastrous results for the French, who were hanging on to the edge of the cliffs over the river; but they were kept watching the English cavalry, which was engaged in covering our left flank, and, for all practical purposes, played no offensive part whatever in the battle. As the Russians concentrated towards their centre and left, the position of the French became more difficult, and their advance was substantially checked. Lord Raglan had rejected the proposed plan of St. Arnaud. The latter was now attacking the Russians under the disadvantage caused by want of a common understanding with his ally; and the inaction of the English on his left was enabling Prince Menschikoff to move troops towards the positions assailed by the French. Bosquet, indeed, had by this time succeeded in establishing sixteen guns on his flank, but he could not advance until Canrobert and Prince Napoleon had established themselves on the plateau, and their infantry were still waiting for the guns, which were taking the course by which Bosquet's artillery had preceded them, and had to make a long detour by the right bank of the river to cross by the road and ford of Almatamack. Ere they appeared, Prince Menschikoff had moved seven battalions (about five thousand men) and sixteen guns to the aid of Kiriakoff, who commanded on the left, and who had already secured the assistance of two battalions to help his troops, so that there were about eight thousand men, aided by the fire of two batteries, formed up to resist the French advance. The moments were precious, for inaction is very demoralizing to troops under fire; and most of all do French soldiers need the impetus of "*en avant*," to bring out their best fighting qualities. St. Arnaud ordered Forey to despatch d'Aurelle to the aid of Canrobert, and de Lourmel to give a hand to Bosquet; but d'Aurelle's Brigade only crowded up in the rear of Canrobert's troops, and increased the confusion which resulted from the fire of the enemy now reaching an inert mass; and de Lourmel had a long flank march to reach before he could climb the heights on which Bosquet was isolated. The latter, however, moved out slowly from the edge of the cliff, and advanced along the plateau in the direction of the Telegraph Tower; and Kiriakoff, afraid of being turned or taken in flank, and unaware of the masses of French crowded on the slopes before him and below the edge of the plateau, instead of striking a blow at them, retired towards the Telegraph Tower. Bosquet continued his advance, and as yet the Russians made no offensive, for the reserves had not yet come up; but the moment they did so Prince Menschikoff, halting them near the Telegraph Tower, directed Kiriakoff to resist the French in his front, but made no attempt to overwhelm Bosquet, and roll him and Bouat, on Bosquet's right, over the edge of the plateau. Canrobert's troops now appeared on the crest of the cliff, and extended along the edge of the plateau, but they were assailed by the fire of the Russian artillery, to which they could make no reply; and as they stood there irresolute, maintaining a brisk fusillade, the dense Russian columns, massed round the Telegraph Tower, made a movement to the front, and came right down upon Canrobert. The French retired from the plateau, and descended over the line of the ridge. The Russians did not press their advantage, and contented themselves with pushing forward some guns, which directed a plunging fire upon the troops of Prince Napoleon, and caught also the rear battalions of Canrobert and d'Aurelle. The British were all this time lying down, not always beyond the range of the Russian guns, whilst the Riflemen in their front were engaged with the Russian skirmishers in the vineyards along the banks of the river. To the French it would seem as if they alone were left to bear the brunt of the battle; and to St. Arnaud the inaction of Lord Raglan must have appeared inexplicable, because he had a fair right to argue that if the English renounced turning-movements, the condition of the proposed plan, which made the French attack the Russian left and turn it and engage the centre whilst the British attacked the Russian right, should be modified by the support of the British to the direct attack in front. The French, at all events, appear to have thought they were entitled to such aid; and sent to Lord Raglan to request that he would order his troops to advance. Bouat was solidly established on the plateau on the extreme right. To Bouat's left and front was Bosquet, separated by a considerable space from him, but diminishing the interval which lay between him and Canrobert; and de Lourmel down below was coming to reinforce him with all speed. Canrobert's guns were toiling up the bank far down below, and his infantry still clung to the steep bank, sheltered from Russian fire, as if the weight of the Russian masses in their front were quite potent reason for this attitude. The troops of Napoleon's Division, more exposed, through rifts in the bank and small gullies, to the Russian guns, and hampered by the smoke and flame of the burning village, were not anxious to set them an example of audacity. Still the Russians were already in peril. The plateau was gained; their left was turned, so that Kiriakoff had to make face, on two different fronts, towards Bosquet and towards Canrobert. It was at this stage of the battle, about one o'clock, the word was at this time passed along the English to advance, the bugles sounded, the men started to their feet. The British artillery, which had been engaging the Russians without very much success, moved towards the river, and covered the movement with a rapid fire on the slopes before them. The 2nd Division, on the left of Napoleon, and the Light Division somewhat more forward on the left of the 2nd Division, deployed in line, now moved rapidly towards the enemy. But at the very outset obstruction was caused to the order of De Lacy Evans' advance by the burning houses of the Tartar village, which sent out volumes of black smoke, sparks, and tongues of flame, blown by the wind right down on his front; so that the 47th, on the left of Adam's Brigade, had to separate from the 41st and 49th as they swept round to the right of Bourliouk, and were obliged to join Pennefather's Brigade of the 30th, 55th, and 95th, as they forced the passage of the river to the left of the village, and drove the light troops of the enemy before them. The Light Division, under Sir G. Brown, had no such obstacle as broke the advance of the 2nd Division under Evans. But the two generals were men of very different temperament. Brown was an impetuous, violent man, of a choleric bravery, who raged and stormed in action, and whose short-sightedness prevented his appreciating the position of an enemy or the condition of a fight; and he had besides but limited experience of war. Evans was an exceedingly cool, clear-headed man, trained to war, personally insensible to danger, but full of solicitude for the lives of his men, accustomed to command, and inspiring in all around him perfect confidence and *sangfroid*. As the two regiments of his right Brigade cleared the enclosures of the village, ere they forded the river, Evans perceiving that the French on his right had not moved up so as to cover his flank, and that the Light Division on his left were thrown into a disorder, which impeded their advance, arrested the onward movement of his Division as far as possible, but he could not get the 95th so in hand as to align them with the 55th. This latter regiment was thrust somewhat forward in the centre of a small gorge or hollow, in front of which was a strong body of Russian infantry, on which their skirmishers were retiring. Brown, on the other hand, had the mortification of seeing his beautiful line getting into dire confusion, and becoming a heap of men, here four or five or six deep, here only one deep, lining the left bank of the river, and halting there in a noisy throng, not fearing the enemy, or brought to this state by the fire endured, or by their losses, but by the necessities to which lines are exposed which have to advance through vineyards and orchards, and scramble over banks, and ford rivers under fire. As they were gathering breath awhile, the enemy's riflemen and light troops, pushing close to the verge of the river, fired down on them, and enraged them greatly, so that, when they were ordered to advance once more, they scrambled up the bank with angry haste, and bore up the sloping ground towards the miscalled battery in magnificent disarray. The 7th Fusiliers, on the right of Codrington's Brigade, found the 95th, the left hand right of Pennefather's Brigade, in its front and overlapping it, passed through the ranks of the 95th, and, as it were, screened them from the enemy but the latter regiment pushed on, and moving to the left of the 7th, got among the regiments of Codrington's Brigade, and formed on its left, next to the 23rd on one flank, and to the 19th of Buller's Brigade on the other. Brigadier Buller, an officer always judicious, but singularly unfortunate in getting his men "into messes," moved the 77th and 88th to the left, where there was no enemy to face, and where they expended their energies in forming squares to receive imaginary cavalry. Thus, then, within ten minutes or a quarter of an hour after the order to advance had been given, there were two Divisions of the English army about to attack the Russians at close quarters; but the 41st and 49th of Adam's Brigade were still arrested on the right bank of the Alma by the passive attitude of Prince Napoleon's Division on their right. The English had lost officers and men in reaching the river, and were aware that there was heavy work in front of them, for the guns in the field-work, and those in battery along the slopes, had never ceased a terrible fire, to which our artillery somehow made no adequate reply, although the pieces of the Russian field-batteries were supposed to be by no means equal to our nine-pounders. In front of the 30th, 55th, and 47th Regiments of the 2nd Division were posted six strong battalions of the enemy, with sixteen guns, and on the left they were exposed to the fire of the guns in position in the field-work. It may be questioned if the English could have faced such odds had not their superior arms killed the gunners at their pieces, ripped up the columns, caused enormous losses, deprived the enemy of many of their officers at a most critical moment, and impressed on them a sense of inferiority. Evans, who was wounded, but never left the thick of the fight, could not advance with his right in the air, till the Light Division made its rush. Led by Brown and Codrington, the 7th, 33rd, 23rd, 95th, and 19th swarmed out of the river, and under one rolling cloud of musketry pushed up the green hill-side; the 23rd regiment having the large field-work right in front, and the 7th regiment on its right being in face of two battalions of the Kazan regiment; the 19th regiment moving to the attack on the left of the 23rd regiment with its left covered by the 2nd Brigade of the Light Division, of which Buller, or his aide-de-camp, Captain Hugh Clifford, had put the 77th and 88th in square, as we have seen, in consequence of mistaking the Russian infantry helmets for the head-dress of cavalry. As the 1st Brigade of the Light Division, covered by the men of the Rifle Brigade, and supported, if not strengthened, on the same line by the 95th, with the 55th and 30th on their right flank, advanced, they were received by a close fire of musketry from the Kazan battalions and the infantry formed in rear of the field-work, whilst the guns in the work swept the slope with blasts of shot, shell, and grape. But the dash was so rapid and, perhaps, so unexpected, and the time given to allow the Russian skirmishers to clear from the front so considerable, that the artillery was not depressed enough to catch the assailants, and the iron storm mostly passed over their heads, and tore up the waters of the Alma below them. It was not till our men were quite close that the small arms of the enemy availed at all against them, whereas our Minié rifles did immense execution on their dense columns from the moment we got into action. Still, our line was so rent and ragged that it seemed to the enemy but a horde of skirmishers in advance of the real attacking force which they could observe behind them, and which were the Guards and the Highland Brigade; and it must also be said that the advance of the Light Division, spirited as it was, could not be called a unanimous movement, for of most of the regiments there were considerable detachments which did not quit the shelter of the river-bank when their leaders spurred their horses up the slope. The Russian infantry in rear of the guns and on the flanks of the works closed down, and sought to check them with rolling volleys, whilst the artillery plied their pieces, as the Light Division, still covering its front with fire, advanced. "Never," said Norcott, "shall I forget the shriek of the great howitzer in front of me, which came regularly, like the beat of a bell." Still, through the smoke, the Russians must have seen the strange head-dresses of the British coming nearer and nearer, the forms of their leaders on horseback in front and the rugged wave of bayonets bearing up steadily against them. All this rush up the sloping ground from the river to the earthwork occupied only a few minutes. Down went Sir George Brown in front of his Welsh Fusiliers, his horse shot under him; but he was on his feet in an instant, and still led on. The Russians wavered; Codrington put his horse at an embrasure in the parapet, and rode into the field-work just as the 23rd entered it; the Russians had now fallen back, and the gunners had nothing left for it but to limber up their pieces and retire. The artillery were galloping off with the guns, and had already cleared all of them out of the work save two, one of which was still in position. The gunners had limbered up the other, and the driver was flogging and spurring his team to breast the hill behind, when Bell, a captain of the 23rd, revolver in hand, made him desist, and for a few instants the two guns, the only pieces taken from the Russians in the field of battle during the war, were in the hands of the Light Division. The Russian infantry which fell back was not broken, but halted on the higher ground behind the work, and recommenced their fusillade as the men of the Light Division swarmed through the embrasures or over the parapet. But the Kazan battalions, which had halted and faced the 7th Fusiliers, who were on the proper left of the earthwork, recovered heart when they perceived that the Vladimir regiment, in their right rear, was moving down in four massive columns of battalions, each eight hundred strong, to the attack of the disordered force that had taken the work, and they now made a slow movement towards their front, in spite of the losses they sustained from the 7th, who, encouraged by Yea and his officers, opposed them resolutely. Of course, such an attack as that of the Light Division needed support. A thin formation in line cannot secure permanent results against bodies of gross battalions, which can maintain a persistent aggressive; and least of all can it be worked for good when it is broken up. But just at the instant that the Vladimir battalions began to move down the hill-side on the men of the Light Division, the Guards and Highlanders, who were still out of action, began to advance. The duke of Cambridge had reached the vineyards, and the high-flying fire of the Russian guns over the head of the Light Division had searched out the ranks of the Guards. The novel sound of shot and shell, and the sight of men falling, disturbed their order less, perhaps, than the vineyards and low stone walls over which they had to pass. So when they halted to dress up and form, time was lost, and time just then had the issues of victory or defeat depending on slender seconds. De Lacy Evans—who, wounded as he was, had never taken his eye off the course of the battle—perceived at a glance that if the Light Division were not instantly supported, it would be impossible for them to hold the ground they had won; nay, more, that they must be driven back with loss, leaving the left of his own division uncovered, and that nothing would be left for him to do, in such a case, but to fall back. In other words, he saw that any delay meant the possible defeat of the allies, for the French on his right were not giving any guarantee that they would hold their own without help from the English. So De Lacy Evans sent off Colonel Steele to the duke of Cambridge to beg his royal highness to move the Guards up at once to the front to support the Light Division. He had, of course, no authority to give any order, but his experience and warlike reputation entitled him to offer strenuous advice. By this time Lord Raglan, who had not given any orders to his divisional officers as to the way in which they were to act, and who had left them very much to their own devices, cantering on with his staff towards the scene of action, struck on a little path which led down to a ford over the Alma, below the place where the 2nd Division had crossed, and to the west of Bourliouk. There was fire from above, striking the river wherever it was visible, and two of Lord Raglan's staff were wounded as they crossed; but in his immediate front there was a steep hill, divided up by a narrow valley, and into this sheltered valley Lord Raglan and his staff dashed, and, as there was no enemy in front, they rode on without molestation till they halted on the top of a hillock. Here Lord Raglan was in a singular position. He had struck into the centre of the tempest; all was calm where he stood. No Russians before or near him; on his right the French and the Russians, face to face, at the edge of the plateau. On his left front the broken lines of the British advance, the 41st and 49th, under Adams, close at hand near the river. The 47th, farther to the left, almost isolated, menaced by a strong force of the enemy directly in front, and farther to the left, the 30th and 55th maintaining a heavy fire on the flanks of the Russians directly in front of the 7th Fusiliers. The British artillery could not support the advance of the infantry by replying to the fire of the batteries which were sweeping the ground in front of the 2nd Division, and on the extreme left it was evident that the Light Division, or those regiments of it which had carried the guns, could not hold their own. Lord Raglan, when at the river, gave orders to his staff-officers to press the artillery to cross, and when he gained the hillock, from which he saw so much of the field, he became urgent to bring guns to bear on the flank of the Russian batteries and on the masses of infantry in support and in reserve to the troops engaged with the Light Division. And it was time something was done. The Guards, indeed, were now across the river, and were advancing up the slope towards the entrenchments, but in front of them the broken regiments of the Light Division, all except such part of the 7th Fusiliers as could be held together by Lacy Yea, were falling back in disorder, and after them, with levelled bayonets, were pressing the battalions of the Vladimir regiment, one held in check and engaged in musketry fire by the 7th Fusiliers, the others advancing and firing on the broken groups of English, who unwillingly gave ground. It so happened that the broken mass of the Light Division came down on the centre battalion of the Guards Brigade which was the least well-ordered in its advance. The Grenadiers on the right were in fine order. The Coldstreams on the left were in good fighting condition; but the Scots Fusiliers, hurrying somewhat too fast, and less happily governed, had lost their array, and when the torrent of retreating English fell on their centre, the ranks not only yielded, but gave way with them, and the Vladimirs still pressing on, came to such close quarters that the officers, who were rallying their men round the colours, had to fight in hand-to-hand combat to save them from capture. The centre of the British line was broken. But the Grenadiers on the right, moving with an even front, presently opened a terrible fire on the flank of the Vladimirs. The battalion, which had thrust itself between them and the Coldstreams, fell back hastily, and gave time to the Scots Fusiliers to re-form and move up the slope again. It was about this time that two guns of Turner's battery, which had been, at last, brought up to the hillock where Lord Raglan was stationed, coming into action with great effect, caused the line of Russian guns, which they took in flank, to limber up and retire. This fire was soon increased, so that from this unoccupied ground in their centre, a fatal blow was directed at the enemy. The Guards advanced steadily onwards. The Vladimir battalions fell back, and just as the Russians were about to re-arm the earthwork, and their infantry had formed as if to come to the charge, the Guards delivered a withering volley in front at fifty yards distance, whilst the Highland Brigade on their left, having wheeled round so as to take the enemy in flank, swept them at the same moment with a leaden tempest. The Russians delivered but a feeble reply, and through the rifts in the smoke it could be seen that they were breaking and falling back, but, as they retired, rows of dead and wounded showed to what a terrible fire they had yielded. Then, down went the line of British bayonets, and up the slope charged the Guards, the 7th Fusiliers, and 95th, and the re-formed parts of the Light Division after the Russians, whose retreat soon became almost a flight, but never a rout, though the day was now irretrievably gone. For the French had by this time advanced, and had forced the Russian left, and, after a fierce combat, had wrested from the enemy the hill on which stood the Telegraph Tower. The French artillery, up at last on the plateau, pushed boldly forward, and opened a very telling and destructive fire on the Russians whenever they made an effort to re-form and resume the offensive. The two regiments of Adams' Brigade advanced, and, as they gained the centre, filled up the gap made by the French. The men under Pennefather swept up the ravine. Thus the allies carried the whole position, and the English cavalry, under Lord Cardigan, now appearing in front, caused the retreating Russians to display their horse and to fire a few rounds from their light batteries; but though they moved off in good order for a defeated army, we know now that if the pursuit had been pressed, the retreat would have degenerated speedily into a panic flight, for the enemy became more and more disorganized as they fell back, and at nightfall were in great disorder, though they were unmolested. The cheers that burst from the British infantry, as they formed on the crest of the slopes they had won, greeted the victorious general as he rode along the field of battle, and from the opposite side of the ravine which divided the ridge, clattered the drums, and rung out the clarions of the French. The adjutant-general's return gave 26 officers, 19 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 306 rank and file killed; 73 officers, 95 sergeants, 17 drummers, and 1427 rank and file wounded, and 18 men missing. The French return gave, 3 officers and 253 men killed; 52 officers, and 1033 men wounded, and the proportion of officers to men in the first category did not fail to attract attention. The Russians lost 5,709 killed and wounded, 1 general killed, 4 wounded, 2 guns, and great quantities of materiel in small arms, etc. Lord Raglan proposed to St. Arnaud to pursue the enemy with the English cavalry and some guns, but said he could spare no infantry. St. Arnaud declined to send any infantry, on the ground that the men had not got their knapsacks, which were piled in the fields in rear before they came into action, and he also said his artillery had exhausted all their ammunition. Lord Raglan had at his disposal nearly a thousand splendid cavalry, and he could have readily spared three batteries of artillery to support them, and he had, moreover, the Highland Brigade, which had suffered no loss, the 3rd Division, which had not been engaged, part of the 4th Division, and two regiments of Adams' Brigade, quite fresh—at least ten thousand men—but the refusal of the French left him without confidence in his conviction.

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* Kourgané means a sepulchral tumulus—a cairn.

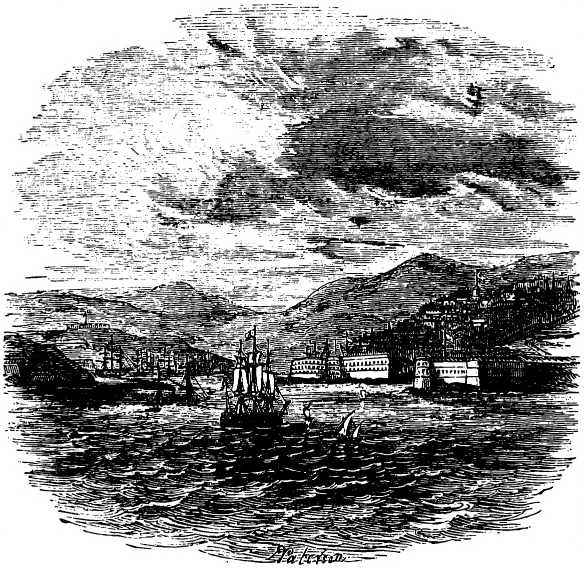
In Lord Raglan's despatch there is no indication of any disjointed or dependent action of the allied armies. The words are—"It was arranged that Marshal St. Arnaud should assail the enemy's left by crossing the river at its junction with the sea, and immediately above it, and that the remainder of the French divisions should move up the heights in their fronts; *whilst* the English army should attack the right and centre of the enemy's position." Here there is a direct statement that there was an arrangement, and that it was for the simultaneous attack of the two armies. As to the French, Lord Raglan stated that "they manifested the utmost gallantry, the greatest ardour for the attack, and the high military qualities for which they are so famed." It will have been seen that there was, as, indeed, there generally is in the operations of allied armies, a want of real confidence and unity of action between the French and English. St. Arnaud had a settled conviction that the English were always behind-hand, and Lord Raglan never could get over his old peninsular antipathies, and had an especial dislike of St. Arnaud. Formerly, Marlborough had to complain of his Imperialist friends, and we know how badly the States-General of Holland, and a later commander of British troops got on; nor did Wellington and his Spanish colleagues ever establish friendly relations. Now Lord Raglan wished to pursue on the evening of the battle, but would not do so without the co-operation of the French. St. Arnaud then declined to pursue. Next morning, he proposed an immediate advance. Lord Raglan in turn declined to accede to that proposal. He had, he said, nearly three thousand wounded men, English and Russian, to look after, and send on board ship, and as he was three miles from the sea, that operation would take two days! Why? Because there was not an ambulance or hospital cart in the English army! A train of ambulance waggons had been shipped at Varna, but some foolish staff-officer had actually ordered them to be sent on shore, and no one had ever thought of such a contingency as the necessity of moving wounded men. In the same spirit, our army had been thrown on the coast of the Crimea, to attack an enemy whose strength was unknown, and who might, as he actually did, choose to make a stand on a river. Lucky for us it was that the Alma was at its lowest on the 20th of September. We had no pontoon train. No material for making a bridge. And as there was no reconnaissance made of the Russian position, we might, for all we knew, have been brought up by an unfordable river under the fire of the enemy's guns, and there come to an impotent standstill, for no general in his senses would have ventured on trying to defile his army over one broken bridge under the eyes and within reach of an army in position. The French had handy litters and *cacolets*, and as they were nearer the sea they transported their wounded with facility, and on forenoon of the 21st of September, when St. Arnaud made his proposal, he assured Lord Raglan he had already got the greater part of his wounded on board ship, and that they would all, to the number of one thousand, be shipped that night.

It is obvious that the partial pursuit of the Russians, suggested by Lord Raglan on the evening of the 20th, could have produced no decisive result, for it would have been, at the best, an imperfect operation undertaken by a detached portion of the allies, which was not in a condition for independent or sustained action. Evening would have fallen ere they had reached the Katcha, and the small body of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, a force without food, knapsacks, or supplies of any kind, in face of three thousand Russian horse and the whole of their army, would have been obliged to retrace its steps. But the allies ought to have been able to have moved on the morning of the 21st. The English had seven hundred wounded Russians left on their hands, but when Lord Raglan included them in the number of those who were to be sent on board ship, ere he could move, he was scarcely candid, or else he had altered his mind. These wounded Russians, were, in fact, all collected together in a field hospital, and when the armies moved off on the 23rd of September, they were left on the ground in charge of one surgeon, Dr. Thompson of the 44th Regiment, who was ordered to remain with them till they could be sent off to Odessa. With the help of six hundred sailors and marines from the fleet, which lay off the mouth of the Alma, the wounded English were transported on board vessels, which were frightfully overcrowded, and sent down with their suffering cargoes to Scutari; and on the evening of the 22nd of September they had all been shipped. There was no reason why Lord Raglan should not have sent off to the fleet and demanded the aid of the six hundred sailors and marines at once; no reason, in fact, why the whole resources in *personnel* of the fleet, should not have been urgently and energetically employed that evening and all through the night in getting the wounded down, so that by mid-day, at the furthest, they would have been all either on board, or at the coast awaiting the boats to take them, whilst the army continued its march, so as to be within striking distance of Sebastopol on the evening of the 21st, and to be able to show its bayonets to the distracted garrison in the morning's rays of the 22nd of September.

The 21st and 46th Regiments, under Brigadier Torrens, covered by the 4th Light Dragoons, reached the Alma after the action was over, on the 20th, and news came to both the French and English generals that reinforcements would be landed on the 23rd of September. The mouth of the Katcha was selected as the spot where these regiments should land. Thus, after a purposeless march of six miles, the troops who had been kept under arms from 5 a.m., and did not move till 7 a.m., were halted at 11 a.m. for the rest of the day of the 23rd September. Seven thousand French landed in the afternoon, and next day. On the 24th, the Scots Greys and the 57th Regiments disembarked, and were heartily welcomed by their comrades. This halt, in the pleasant valley of the Katcha, was not without mischief. On the river-bank were two charming villages, or, more properly speaking, groups of villas, once inhabited by retired officers, and the usual cluster of Tartar cottages with their flat roofs and beautifully clean interiors. These villas stood in the midst of gardens, vineyards, and orchards, and the soldiers revelled in the fruit, for the most part preferring the unripe to the ripe. The scene of devastation presented by Eskel, where the English head-quarters lay, and by the village lower down the stream, where St. Arnaud's head-quarters were fired, was pitiable. So much utterly indefensible and wanton destruction must have been seen to enable one to believe it. If the Cossacks began the work of ruin, as it was said they did, assuredly French and English finished the task. Cholera never left the army. Brigadier Tylden died of it the very night of the battle, and now, in addition to the development of sickness, caused by the abundance and injudicious use of fruit, fever became common.

The respite given to the enemy had been turned to good account. Prince Menschikoff, who appears to have been undecided at first whether it was better to fall back towards Bakshi-Serai, and so keep open his communications with Russia, or to retire on Sebastopol, had taken the latter course, and entered the place with his beaten army on the 21st of September. The Russian admiral Korniloff, apprehensive of an attempt by the allied fleet to force its way into the roadstead, and give a hand to the victorious army as it crossed the hills over the north side of Sebastopol, caused the line of battle ships to be moored across the entrance, with their broadsides seawards, from Fort Constantine to Fort Nicholas. The allied fleet, however, did not appear, nor did the armies come in sight. Korniloff was a gallant officer, and he had with him resolute seamen, and, by a happy accident for Russia, the greatest engineer of modern times chanced to be near at hand. These stout-breasted men took "heart of grace." They had the courage of their misfortunes. The sailing ships, fine as they were of their kind, could not contend against the steam line of battle-ships of the allies, but each was a magazine, and had guns and carriages, timber and stores, invaluable for the land defences. Their hulls should bar the fleet of the allies and halt their array under the deadly casemates of the forts. On the night of the 22nd of September the decision was taken, and next day the prying vedette vessels which preceded the allied fleet as it moved southwards observed, when they looked for a stately row of shipping, only the blue waters of the roadstead lapping the trucks of the masts, which showed where the Black Sea fleet rested from its labours.

Whilst the allied armies were resting on the Alma, a plan was suggested to Lord Raglan by Sir John Burgoyne, which, coinciding with his own view of the difficulties of an advance on the north side of Sebastopol, was at once adopted by him. But Lord Raglan, it would seem, said nothing about this plan to St. Arnaud till the halt of the armies on the Katcha on the 23rd of September, when the news of the sinking of the Russian ships furnished a new and powerful incentive to the execution of the project. On the 24th of September the allies marched only six miles, they bivouacked in the



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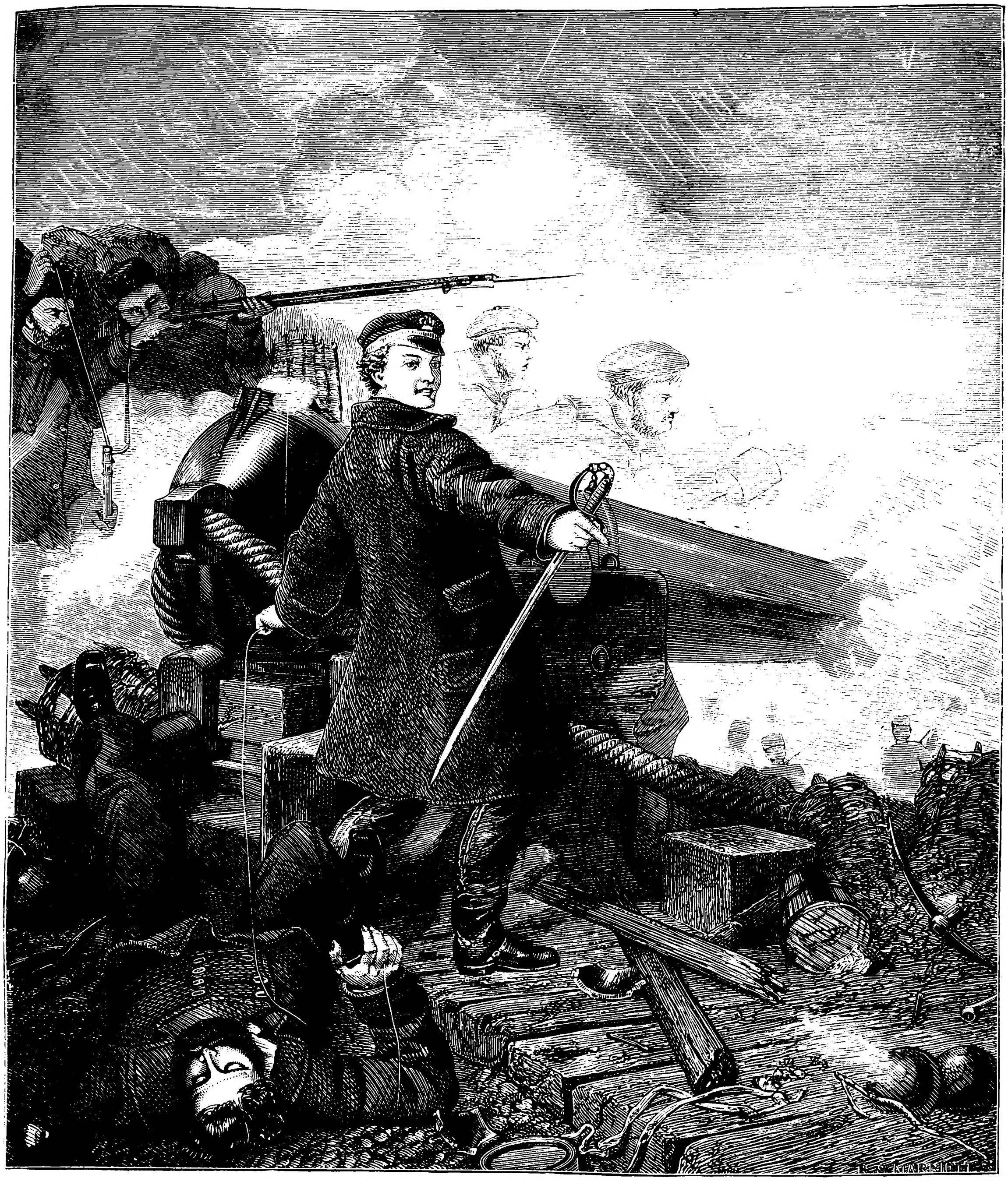
valley of the Belbek, which was still more fertile and lovely if possible than that of the Katcha, and presented many evidences of the luxury and comfort of Russian life in the Crimea, in villas adorned by pictures, engravings, statuary, books, and handsome furniture. These of course were soon gutted, and the contents of the rooms were stupidly destroyed. The allies were now so close to Sebastopol, that some daring artillery came out and roused the troops by sending a few round shot over their heads at night. St. Arnaud, whose illness had been increasing, and whose pains, subdued by an iron will, were excruciating in intensity, felt at last that he was no longer fit to direct operations in the field; and at a council of war held on the Belbek, General Canrobert assumed his authority as commander-in-chief. It was at this council that Sir John Burgoyne's project of the flank march was laid before the generals and advocated by Lord Raglan. The project was based in complete ignorance of the physical features of the Chersonese and of the resources of the Russians. And now that we know everything, it seems almost incredible that the advantages to be derived from the possession of the south side were not grasped in a very different way. Had the allied fleet, after making a feint near the Alma, started at once for the bays on the south side of Sebastopol, and landed the troops at Kamiesch and Kazatch under the fire of their guns, it would not have been possible for Prince Menschikoff to have prevented them, and they would have then found the south side almost open. We only mention that idea in view of the advantages which were discovered to lie in the transfer of the armies which had landed on the north side to the south side of Sebastopol after the troops had been disembarked and the battle had been fought that ought to have opened the place to them. The only work which barred the advance of the allies straight upon the north side of Sebastopol was what was called the Star, or Sievernaya North Fort; a sufficiently formidable work, if it had been in repair, but with ditch filled in, rotten parapets, broken embrasures, decayed gun carriages, and obsolete and scanty ordnance, it was in no condition on the 22nd of September to resist a resolute method of dealing with it. The earthwork on the cliff over the Belbek called the Wasp battery was only formidable to ships, and could not have been held against a land force. The great forts on the north side were all open towards the north or rear, and none of their artillery could be slewed round to fire on the plateau of Sievernaya, except a few guns *en barbette.* Sir John Burgoyne was an able engineer, and had had experience of war in Spain and in America, but he had not been very fortunate in his siege operations, and it may be doubted whether he did not regard the manœuvre he was suggesting from an engineering point of view; in other words, whether it did not recommend itself to his mind because there was a smack of strategy about it. Certainly the movement on Balaclava was approved of by St. Arnaud, whose mode of reference to it would give the reader of his letters the idea that he had originally proposed "*cette belle manœuvre.*" But Canrobert was not quite so convinced of its merits. However, the idea of a march on the north side was abandoned, and just about the time that the Russian army under Menschikoff, having left a portion of its best troops to aid the garrison and the battalions of sailors and marines in defending the forts, was toiling up the steep roads which led from the valley of Sebastopol toward Bakshi-Serai, the allied armies, which had been fretting and fuming for hours under the rays of a scorching sun, were delighted by the orders which put them in motion to execute a peculiar and very hazardous enterprize. It had been at one time contemplated to direct the columns of march on the road which, descending from the plateau of the Belbek almost with a plunge into the valley of the Tchernaya, crosses the stream above the harbour by a bridge and then climbs the plateau. Well was it no such route was taken. The Russian steamers alone could have destroyed any troops which ventured on such a mad expedition, and part of the road lay under the guns of the most eastward of the forts. The columns were directed to move more to the east across the plateau of the Belbek, to a point called Mackenzie's Farm, where a mountain road descended to the valley of the Tchernaya as it opened out between Inkerman and Balaclava, and was carried over a stone bridge at a traktir or post-house inn, whence it led across the plain to the harbour. The march was exceedingly difficult, for the French, who were on our right near the sea, had necessarily to move almost at right angles to our flank. There were no roads, only tracks through thick brush and scrub. There was no water, and there we knew was a great fortified place close at hand, with a garrison of unknown strength ready to take advantage of any mistake. There was also, what we did not know, Prince Menschikoff, with some twenty-six thousand infantry out in the open, executing his flank march within a few miles of us. As Sir E. Lyons said, "the flank march was strategy, whereas the descent on the Crimea was not strategy at all—it was a *coup de main.*" It was a rapid rush to defeat the army that covered Sebastopol, and then to seize on the place without more ado; but when the Russians after the defeat of the covering army showed a design to resist, the allied generals, obliged to rest on the sea, and seeing no way of carrying the north side to a certainty, seized on the flank march as a way of escape, and thus gave a totally different character to the whole expedition. The armies were like a fleet at sea, and indeed they were steered so to speak by the compass. In their course there was much disorder, constant collisions, regiments moving across and through regiments, baggage columns crossing from left to right and blocking up the way. The troops were choked with the fine white limestone dust, and burning with thirst; but still edging on to the south-east, they were rewarded, as they looked over their right shoulders, by glimpses of the bright blue waters and snow-white forts and houses of Sebastopol itself. Contrary to every rule of war and common sense, the van of the British army was led by the commander-in-chief and his staff, who trotted on pleasantly through the forest and brushwood. There were two of the 8th Hussars of his escort, and one of his staff a short distance in front of Lord Raglan. Suddenly these turned back and reported that there was a body of the enemy marching along a road at right angles to that which the staff were pursuing. There was, of course, a halt whilst the staff were sent scouring back through the wood to find the cavalry and guns and the Rifle Brigade. It was but a weak guard escorting the baggage of some of the Russian army in rear of its march, across which we had thus tumbled. A few rounds from the troop of horse artillery, and a hot charge by the Scots Greys dispersed the enemy, drove them into the woods, and left us masters of the train, which consisted of seventy waggons loaded with bread and ammunition, and a few carts with the gay gala uniforms of the 12th Hussars, and useful supplies in the shape of hams and champagne. But, however the rashness of Lord Raglan may be excused on the ground of personal indifference to danger, there can be no censure too grave for the general-in-chief, who, in such a moment, placed himself and his staff in a situation wherein a random volley of musketry from a frightened baggage guard might have left the army without a head, and deprived it of those who were directing its operations. So close, that they could be seen from the ground over which the allies were struggling—horse, foot, and guns mixed up with baggage and country carts—were about twenty-six thousand Russians. In other words, a start of an hour would have just thrown the van of the British army, led by Lord Raglan and his staff, into the midst of Prince Menschikoff's infantry and cavalry. As it was, the danger was averted, and the Russians on their side may have congratulated themselves that they were not struck on the flank by the French and English, whom they saw, no doubt, ere sunset, pouring down the steep path which led from Mackenzie's Farm and flooding the lower ground through which flows the Tchernaya. The various divisions were got in order as they debouched from the narrow road into the plain and on the Tchernaya. The French, who were to occupy ground next the sea, and had to make a long march across the flank of the English, were obliged to halt on the heights around Mackenzie's Farm. The Light Division and the Guards and Highlanders were pushed across the river, and lay on the rising ground at the other side, close to the Woronzoff road. The baggage was far in the rear. A leg of wild boar, found in one of the Russian waggons, furnished Lord Raglan and his staff with their dinner. Whilst they were eating it, Lieutenant Maxse, having ridden on a troop-horse from the mouth of the Katcha in the track of the allies, arrived with despatches from England, and from Sir E. Lyons. In a couple of hours he set out with one orderly to return to the *Agamemnon*, with a letter to the admiral, announcing that the British would occupy Balaclava next morning, and requesting the co-operation of the fleet. At the stone bridge, the English head-quarters halted for the night and bivouacked round a camp-fire, Lord Raglan sleeping in the little stone hut which remains to this day. At seven a.m. next day the army resumed its march. The day was intensely hot. Bad food, over-exertion, imprudent indulgence in water, increased the victims of cholera, which had never deserted the troops since it first appeared among them in Bulgaria. As the 1st and Light Division deployed skirmishers in front, the 2nd Division took ground on the left, and directed its course towards the high ground south of the deep rift in the line of hills closing upon the sea. On reaching the deserted village of Kadikoi, which is a mile from the entrance to the little fiord of Balaclava, the staff could look down on the placid waters, the neat houses of the Greek colony, with their trellised vineyards and gardens lining the shore, and the ruins and dilapidated tower of the old Genoese fort crowning the heights which frowned above the narrow entrance. No enemy was visible. And again Lord Raglan committed an imprudence which cannot be excused. He rode with his staff along the road to the town, without sending even a patrol of his own cavalry escort in front. In the old Genoese fort there were two companies of the local Greek battalion, four old brass mortars and some breech-loading wall-pieces, under the orders of Major Stomati. As the staff came carelessly along, a bomb from the fort plumped in among them and burst, to their great surprise. This was followed by others, which caused the general-in-chief to halt, and, with some anger, direct the infantry to advance. But just at this juncture the roar of ships' guns was heard, and a great shell from the *Agamemnon* burst over the ruins. The firing had not lasted a minute ere a flag of truce was hoisted from the Genoese tower. The Rifles, scrambling up the rocks, took possession of the ruins, and made the garrison prisoners of war. The commandant, when brought before Lord Raglan, making reply to the question why he had presumed to defend an untenable post, observed that, as it was a fortified place, he could not surrender it till he had been summoned, and in that showed that he was, at all events, a stickler for the strict observance of the points of honour in war-like operations. Lord Raglan had not been long in the place before the *Spitfire* steamed into the land-locked harbour, with Sir E. Lyons on board. Thus, one object of the flank-march was accomplished, for the army was placed in communication with the fleet. And there were soon British transports laden with supplies, and a couple of men-of-war to guard them, below the Genoese tower. Lord Raglan remained in Balaclava for some days, for the position of the troops and the arrangements necessary for the occupation of the ground in front of Sebastopol were not yet decided. Canrobert naturally desired that the French troops should be placed in communication with the sea at once. The English had pounced on Balaclava, which was obviously too small for the supply of both armies, and, therefore, the only places to which the French could look for landing their supplies were the bays of Kamiesch and Kazatch, to the north of Balaclava, and much nearer to Sebastopol; but in order to gain access to these bays it would be necessary for the French to take the left of the British instead of the right, which they had hitherto occupied. There was one alternative, but Lord Raglan did not suggest or press it. We might have given up the harbour of Balaclava to the French, and have kept our proper position on the left, moving up on the plateau, and holding Kamiesch and Kazatch. Such a change now seems so simple that it is quite a wonder it was not made, or even spoken of, but so it was; and the decision of the moment was fraught with the most stupendous results in the war, and on the fortunes of the English army. As it turned out, the French received reinforcements so largely that they could have held the valley of Balaclava with far greater force than we could display. There would have been no cavalry charges, and probably no Inkerman such as that which illustrates our annals; but there would have been no loss of British guns in Turkish hands, no loss of the Woronzow road, no loss of our winter clothing, no loss of all but honour in the dreary waste of seven miles of mud from Balaclava to the front, probably no failure of the first bombardment, and, in that case, there would have been an end of the siege. For the first two days the armies were almost massed together in the valley of Balaclava. The 3rd Division (England's) and the 4th Division (Cathcart's) were marched up on the plateau, and took up a position on the high ground over the Inkerman valley, and two French divisions were established on their left towards the sea. The 1st Division (duke of Cambridge), 2nd Division (De Lacy Evans), Light Division (Sir G. Brown), and the Light Brigade of cavalry and Scots Greys were down in the plain extended across the roads into Balaclava, and on their left were two divisions of the French army. Marshal St. Arnaud was brought in almost a dying state to a house in Balaclava on the 29th, and presently was conveyed on board the *Berthollet* steamer. There was no interview between him, after he resigned command at the Belbek, and Lord Raglan, till the latter took leave of him with tears in his eyes on board the vessel, which proceeded to Constantinople; but the Marshal expired before the vessel reached the Bosphorus. The day after their arrival the French began to land their siege-train at Kamiesch, and we did the same at Balaclava, where we also established two hospitals, which were at once filled with sick from cholera. On the 27th a reconnaissance was made of the defences of Sebastopol, and the unpleasant fact was revealed that the south side was not quite so open as had been supposed. On the right, on a commanding hillock, there was a tower of solid masonry, with guns *en barbette*, at the base of which the Russians were busily constructing a heavy earthwork. On a high ridge, to the left of this tower, afterwards and for ever to be known as the Malakoff, there was an earthwork, with two long faces, in front of the long row of stone buildings enclosed by a high stone wall, inside which lay the docks of Sebastopol. This was the Great Redan. To the left, the proper right of the Redan, the ridge sheered off steeply down to the waters of an indent separating the town of Sebastopol from the government establishments of the Karabelnaya; and the head of this indent, and the ground exposed to view from it, were swept by the guns of a two-decker moored across it. On the opposite shore of this small bay lay the churches, club houses, governor's residence, theatre, public buildings, and the houses of the citizens, approached by a winding road which merged into the main street; but the indent was continued by a deep ravine, which split into two at a short distance from the sea, and formed one profound chasm below the Grand Redan on the right, and another, scarcely less deep and more tortuous, which struck southwards into the plateau. Where the road we have mentioned climbed the edge of the rounded hill on which the city was built there was a strong earthwork continued towards the sea, and, as it displayed a large flag-staff, our allies called this work the Bastion du Mât. On the left of this earthwork there ran a high, white stone wall, pierced for musketry, which came to the water's edge. On the three promontories, formed by the smaller harbours or fiords of the roadstead, on the south side, towered the imposing masses of the casemated forts, which crossed their fire with those of the two great forts on the north side; and, in addition to several men-of-war at anchor, there were armed steamers busily engaged towing lighters, full of men and stores, and boats crowded with workmen, giving to the scene an air of activity, which indicated that the enemy were doing their best to prepare for the impending attack. It was resolved that a regular bombardment should open the way for the assaulting columns. That resolve was wise, under the circumstances, for the delays of the allies had enabled the Russians to increase their powers of resistance very considerably; nay, had given them hopes of success. Menschikoff had promised to send them aid. They were in free communication with the interior; not only was the north-side open, but, by way of Inkerman, they could communicate freely with the east of the Crimea. They had abundant supplies. Above all, they had Nachimoff, Istomine, Korniloff, and Todleben. There was great difference of opinion between the engineers of the allied armies respecting "the key of the position." Sir John Burgoyne held that it was the Malakoff, General Bizot maintained that it was the Bastion du Mât. If we are to believe Todleben, the latter was right; if we look to what took place on the 8th of September, 1855, Burgoyne was right. In point of fact the possession of either the Bastion du Mât, of the Redan, or of the Malakoff, would have so cut in on the line of defence, and broken down the means of resistance, that each was, in a certain sense, a key. The authority of Todleben is quite decisive respecting the effect of a hostile occupation of the Bastion No. 4. From one ridge, called Gordon's Mound or the Mamelon, it would have been possible to have worked up to the Malakoff tower, but the Mamelon was a long way in advance of our position, it was greatly exposed to fire, and we were not strong enough to work at it, unless the French had moved across the great ravine, and occupied our Left Attack. There were very considerable difficulties experienced by our engineers in tracing the lines of the first parallels, which were much too far from the place; but the deep, and almost precipitous ravines in front of the Attacks, both on the left and right, were not the only obstacles to united action. There were also ravines of great depth dividing the Attacks from each other, and cutting off the English Left from the French Right. Truth to say, there never was a proper reconnaissance of the ground, and any engineer of the present day would pronounce the whole system then adopted to be radically vicious and futile, and only, indeed, to be justified on the supposition that the fire from the batteries, broken in the first parallel, would surely lead to the reduction of the place. As soon as Menschikoff found that the allies had left the north side open, he moved back from Bakshi-Serai, and on the 2nd of October gladdened the hearts of the defenders of Sebastopol by the accession of some twenty thousand men to aid in the defence; whilst General Liprandi was engaged outside in organizing an army to act on the flank and rear of the allied position. Thus, when Lord Raglan moved out of Balaclava on the 5th of October, to occupy the farmhouse in which he died, the enemy were not only preparing for a stout defence, but were calculating the means of becoming the aggressors. So early as the 28th of September, a Tartar brought in word to Balaclava that a Russian army was approaching from the direction of Baidar and Bakshi-Serai. Lord Raglan went out with Canrobert, and surveyed the country from the top of a high hill, but there was no enemy visible; and the generals contented themselves with ordering out a patrol of cavalry, which discovered nothing either. Lord Raglan took some measures to secure Balaclava. The command of the place was given to Sir Colin Campbell, who held it with the 93rd Highlanders; and a thousand marines were landed from the fleet to defend the heights commanding the approaches, which were partially entrenched. The cavalry, now augmented to two Brigades—the Heavy, under Scarlett, consisting of the 1st (Royal) Dragoons, the 4th and 5th Dragoon-Guards united as a regimental unit, the Scots Greys and the Inniskilling Dragoons; the Light, under Lord Cardigan, consisting of the 4th Light Dragoons, 11th Hussars, 13th Light Dragoons, 8th Hussars (except one troop detached as headquarters' escort), and 17th Lancers—all commanded by Lord Lucan, were encamped in front of Balaclava, near the village of Kadikoi. On their left flank, on the edge of the plateau of Sebastopol, was posted, under Bosquet, a corps of observation of about nine thousand men, of which Vinoy's Brigade was stationed close to the narrow neck or col that led from the valley near Kadikoi up to the plateau. The front thus occupied from the sea round by Inkerman, and thence to Balaclava, was over fifteen miles long. A Prussian officer of engineers was in some mysterious fashion hooked on to our headquarters' staff, under the orders of Sir John Burgoyne; and to him was entrusted the making of four closed earthworks, to crown the row of detached hillocks in the valley between the Tchernaya and Balaclava, over the course of the Woronzow road from the valley into Sebastopol. These works were armed with seven ship's guns, and were garrisoned by a regiment of Turks, who thus lay out, *en l'air*, in front of our cavalry, without any support whatever, and quite detached from the rest of the army. On the 7th of October there was an alarm caused by the surprise of one of our cavalry pickets by Cossacks, who pursued those who escaped capture down towards the Turkish redoubts, till they came under the fire of Maude's troop of horse artillery. This small affair was not without its influence on the subsequent 25th of October, for there was much grumbling and discontent at the inaction of the cavalry, and the evil tongues of the camp nicknamed the general "Lord Look-on." However, as there were five thousand Russian infantry, two thousand five hundred horse, and guns in view—a reconnaissance by part of Liprandi's army—it may have been that the general's caution was justified.

The early nights of October were so bright, the enemy were so much on the alert, their riflemen were so watchful, and the gunners directed such an incessant fire on the front, that it was very difficult to work at the batteries. The Russian ships and rapidly developed earthworks swept the approaches of the place continually; besides such obstacles as shot and shell could throw in the way of the allies, the enemy sent out their infantry to harass the working parties, and tried several sorties, which had the effect of disturbing the camps and causing a great expenditure of musketry. As the men-of-war were very annoying, and caused the camps of two of our divisions to be moved back, the first trial of our siege ordnance was made on them, and on the night of the 7th and 8th of October, the Lancaster guns, of which much was said in those days, were mounted in two batteries, one of which was called by the name of the gunmaker, although it had only one of his weapons in it. The result was not all that was expected. But by the night of the 16th of October, the English troops, aided by 1200 sailors formed into a Naval Brigade, succeeded in hauling up and mounting 73 guns in the two series of trenches which were styled the Left and Right Attacks. On the same night, the French placed 53 guns in battery, so that on the morning of the 17th of October the allies were ready to open fire on Sebastopol with 113 guns. The Russians had an easier task than fell to the lot of the invaders in garnishing their batteries. They had no parallels to make, they had ample supplies of gabions and fascines, and the arsenal of

Sebastopol at their back for their batteries. They were therefore ready with 107 guns mostly of heavy calibre to reply to our 73 guns, and had no less than 130 to bear on the 53 guns of the French—a tremendous disproportion, aided by superior ground and often by plunging fire. At a council of war of the allied generals held on the 16th of October, it was decided that the bombardment should open at 6 a.m. next day, and that the troops should be held in readiness to assault the place as soon as the fire of the batteries had been reduced. The admirals, forgetting, apparently, the warning of the duke of Wellington, that the precedent set at St. Jean d'Acre must not be relied upon, engaged to lead the fleets in to attack the sea defences. On the 17th of October, an hour before the time fixed on for opening fire, the Russians began a very severe cannonade on the trenches, and especially on the French. It was not till 6·40 a.m. that the three rockets, which were to be discharged from the centre of the French attack, as a signal, burst in the grey sky. Then almost simultaneously as a volley, in one grand crash, from left to right, from the sea to the solitary battery near Inkerman, burst forth the allied cannonade. In a minute the scene was shut out by the dense clouds of smoke, through which spat the fiery tongues of the cannon. Russian, and French and English shouted and toiled, unheard and unseen, "'neath their sulphurous canopy." But when the smoke was blown away by an up-rising breeze, it could be seen that, except in the crumbling Malakoff Tower, the allies had obtained no such dominancy of the place as had been hoped for the night before from the hour's bombardment. At 8·45 a.m., the central French magazine blew up, destroying a battery of eight guns, and killing and wounding more than one hundred men. The Russian gunners, encouraged by this result, concentrated their fire on the next French battery, which was placed on the very site of their old practice targets, so that they had the range of it to a foot. In half-an-hour they shut up the twelve guns of that battery effectually, and killed and wounded many officers and men, so that before 11 o'clock a.m., the enemy had silenced more than one-third of the whole of the French *bouches de feu*, and were thus enabled not only to concentrate their fire so powerfully on the remaining French batteries as to master them effectually, but to direct a very harassing cannonade from the Bastion du Mât on our Left Attack. Once the Russians, encouraged by the silence of the French, made a sortie on their left, and were repulsed most effectively before they could reach the trenches. But they could not hold their own against the English artillery. Our batteries, armed with more numerous and far more powerful guns than those of our allies, and placed generally on more advantageous sites, were also better made, and had relatively a less number of guns to contend with. By degrees the fire relaxed, but although the Redan and Malakoff batteries suffered materially, no impression that could justify an assault was made on the place. The French and English fleets did not participate with the land batteries in the early bombardment. Why they did not, cannot be easily explained. At noon, however, they stood in towards the forts; the British on the left, the Turks in the centre, and the French on the right. As there was no wind, the line of battle ships, which were not possessed of screws, were lashed to steamers. Eight French men-of-war, and one Turkish, stood in towards the Quarantine Fort, with eight ships of the line and a Turk in support in the second line. The *Agamemnon, Bellerophon, Rodney, Sanspareil, Queen,* and *London,* moved northwards to engage Fort Constantine; the *Albion, Arethusa,* supported by the *Terrible,* and *Sampson,* and the small gun-boats, attacked the Wasp and Telegraph batteries to the north on the edge of the cliff. It was 1·15 p.m. ere the sustained roll of the broadsiders at sea rose above the thunder of the land batteries. For four hours the cannonade between the forts and the ships continued. The *Albion* was twice on fire. The *Arethusa* was riddled and set on fire again and again. The *Queen* was set on fire and obliged to slip out of action. The *Agamemnon,* which lay close under Constantine, escaped with comparative impunity, as the guns could not be depressed to hit her, but the *Sanspareil,* further out to sea, and for some time aground, was terribly handled in hull and rigging. She had 11 killed, 59 wounded. The *Albion* had 10 killed, and 71 wounded. The *London,* 4 killed and 18 wounded. The *Arethusa,* 4 killed and 14 wounded. The *Agamemnon,* 4 killed and 25 wounded. In all the rest of the fleet the casualties were 11 killed and 79 wounded. Whilst the fleets were pouring in their long sounding broadsides, the cannonade, much slackened on the side of the French, continued between the English trenches and the Russian works, and now and then there were some serious explosions, caused by our fire, within the place. The results of this attack were not satisfactory. The French claim the credit of having silenced the guns of the Quarantine Fort, and of damaging Forts Nicholas and Alexander considerably. As they were more distant from them than our ships were from Fort Constantine, it is to be supposed they did not do much more execution than we did, and that did not amount to serious injury, although we had to send several of our vessels away to Constantinople for repairs. But that engagement marked an era in warfare. It was then that the cry arose, from men as brave as ever trod deck, "For God's sake keep out the shells." The bombardment ceased at nightfall. We lost but 6 killed and 17 wounded in the trenches, 27 killed and 94 wounded in the trench guards. The French lost 130 killed and 500 wounded. The Russians, in addition to the loss of Korniloff, who was a host in himself, had about an equal number of killed and wounded. Thus ended the combined attack by sea and land, and so vanished our hopes of an immediate assault.

The land bombardment continued almost without intermission for two days more. It only proved how great were the resources of the Russians in men, guns, and material, and demonstrated the inability of the French to cope with the artillery fire of the place. The Russian guns were admirably served, the strength of their artillery was nearly double in every way that of the allies, any damage inflicted on their works was rapidly repaired, and new defences were


R. S. MARRIOTT

SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL.

continually designed by the ever watchful Todleben. It soon became apparent that the bombardment had failed completely, and it was determined at the council of war to wait until the allies received reinforcements for an assault before it was renewed. In the meantime, Prince Menschikoff, struck by the weakness of our position, determined to attack Balaclava, and force us to raise the siege.

Although Lord Raglan was warned repeatedly that the Russians were gathering close to the Woronzoff road, which led up to the plateau, and were within easy striking distance of the four wretchedly —Lord Raglan says "hastily"—constructed redoubts, manned by Turkish Rediff, he seems not to have brought his mind to bear on the situation. The historian who has undertaken the task of raising a literary monument to his fame affords no explanation or adequate excuse for this apathy. Balaclava was the base of Lord Raglan's operations, and an enemy establishing himself in the Turkish redoubts, menaced the rear of the besieging army as well as the communications between the plateau and the port. Balaclava was now directly threatened by an enemy in the plains of the Tchernaya, and on the hills on Sir Colin Campbell's right front. In his official report, Sir Colin Campbell says:—"October the 27th. On the morning of the 25th instant, about seven o'clock, the Russian force which has been, as *I have already reported, for some time*, among the hills on our right, debouched," &c. Lord Raglan does not allude to that circumstance in his account of the action, but, writing on the 23rd of October, he states that "a considerable body of Russians appeared two days ago in the vicinity of Balaclava, but they have since withdrawn, and are no longer to be seen in our front;" and he adds, that "Prince Menschikoff is stated to have placed himself with the main body of the army in the field, which is represented to be stationed in the plains south of Bakshi-Serai." Now it is obvious that such a state of things called for a display of extraordinary vigilance, but no heed, apparently, was paid to Sir Colin Campbell's reports—no reconnaissance of cavalry was pushed out to explore the hills or the plains and valleys in front of our position.

On the morning of the 25th of October, the British cavalry, encamped on the plain in front of Balaclava, south of the Woronzoff road, had sent out their patrols as usual, perfectly unconscious of the proximity of the Russians, when, all of a sudden, the enemy opened fire from two batteries, and threw a great cloud of skirmishers in front of strong columns, which attacked with resolution the First Redoubt on the right. Notwithstanding a vigorous defence by the garrison of this earthwork, into which a man on horseback could ride without much difficulty, the battalions of the Azoff regiment soon carried it, and opened fire on our cavalry and Maude's Troop of Horse Artillery, whilst the Russian horse swept round the work and prepared to swoop down on Balaclava. The Turkish garrison of Redoubt No. 2 saw that the first and strongest work had been carried, and did not offer any resistance; but escaped from the rear of the work, as soon as the Russian infantry, established in No. 1, pushed on towards them. Their example was followed by the garrisons of Redoubts No. 3 and No. 4. They fled towards Balaclava, pursued by the Cossacks and Light Cavalry, who lanced and cut down a number of the fugitives before they rallied on the flanks of the 93rd Highlanders. As soon as the attack began, or "as soon as he was apprised of it," Lord Raglan ordered down the 1st and 4th Divisions from the plateau, where they arrived after the action was over. Vinoy's Brigade lined the epaulement of the plateau, and the whole of the 1st Division were ordered up to support it. General Canrobert, who was early on the scene, sent commands to the Chasseurs d'Afrique to co-operate with the English horse. Lord Raglan and his staff arrived at the crest of the plateau just in time to see the plain covered by the fugitive Turks—the Cossacks and Russian horsemen in front, and masses of infantry solidly occupying the ridge on which were the captured Redoubts. Below were the two brigades of the Cavalry Division, under Lord Lucan, still engaged in striking tents and saddling horses.

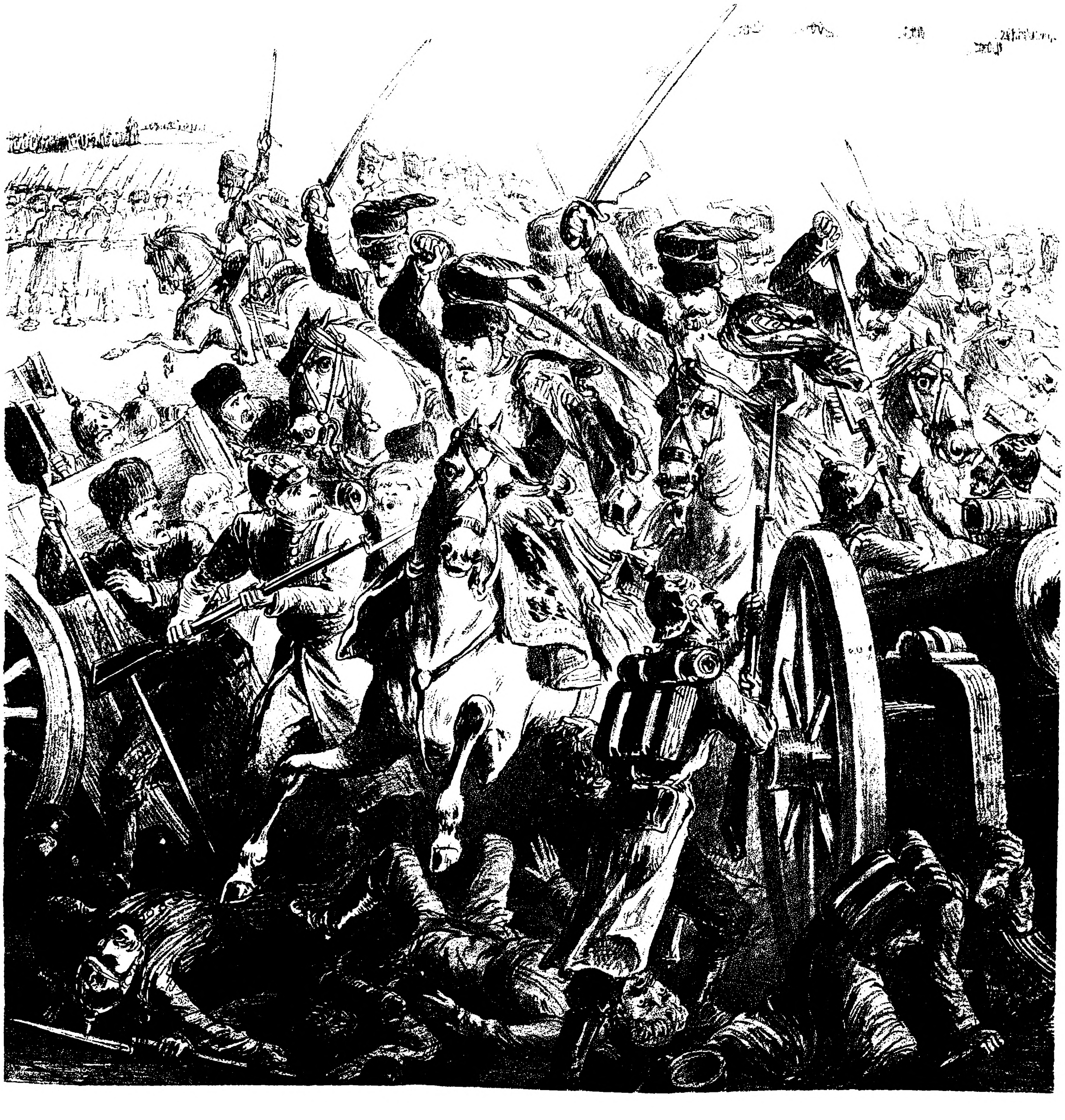
The position occupied by Lord Raglan enabled him to obtain a commanding view of the scene. He ordered Lord Lucan to alter his front from east to north, and subsequently commanded him to send some squadrons of the Heavy Brigade to support the infantry, drawn up in front of Kadikoi. While performing this movement, Lord Lucan observed the Russian cavalry, some 3000 strong, preparing to descend the slopes which led to the cavalry camps. He immediately formed the Greys and Inniskillings in line, to anticipate the charge which the Russian cavalry were about to make. Twenty-two squadrons, supported by swarms of Cossacks, were now fronting six squadrons of the Heavy Brigade. They advanced in a line nearly double our length, fully three times as deep, supported by a second line equally strong. While they paused, as if disdaining to crush so weak a foe, the trumpets sounded. The Scots Greys and Inniskillings, led by Brigadier Scarlett, charged right at the Russian centre. Scarcely had a minute passed ere the spectators on Mount Sapouné saw the red coats, in diminished numbers and broken order, cleave through the fragments of the squadrons into which they had plunged, and struggle forward to charge the second line. The first column of the Russians, broken by the charge, reformed and were wheeling back on their assailants, when the 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards rode straight at their right flank, and scattering the squadrons, put the whole force into a disorder, which scarcely fell short of utter rout. The enemy's horse retired precipitately, and the English Heavy Brigade were masters of the field. By this brilliant feat of arms nearly 3000 Russian cavalry were utterly broken by about 700 British dragoons. The total destruction of Liprandi's Cavalry was within the grasp of Lord Cardigan and his Light Brigade, and might have been easily accomplished by an attack on them as they retired.

While this was passing, the Cossacks and a detachment of Light Horse pressed on towards Kadikoi and menaced the 93rd Highlanders, who were drawn up under the eye of Sir Colin Campbell. This regiment was formed only two deep, but the Russians did not attempt a home charge. Two volleys of musketry, and the guns on the heights, proved sufficient to drive them back at once. There was now a pause for awhile, and the two Cavalry Brigades, expecting a renewal of the attack, formed up in the valley. The Heavy Brigade was placed in front of the 1st Division; the Light Brigade at the head of the valley, north of the redoubt ridge.

The advantage gained by the Russians so far lay in the capture of seven guns and of a line of fortified outposts. Their cavalry, which had suffered such disgrace, rallied on the Tchernaya with guns advanced in front and their flanks extended, while three of the redoubts were occupied by infantry supported by guns. At this moment Lord Raglan observed that the enemy were about to carry off the guns which they had captured. He sent an order to Lord Lucan to advance at once and "take advantage of any opportunity that might offer to recover the heights." Lord Lucan accordingly advanced his Light Cavalry nearer to the ridge and halted. Lord Raglan, not satisfied with this interpretation of his orders, directed Quartermaster-General Airey to instruct Lord Lucan as follows: "Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy, and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns. Troop of horse artillery may follow. French Cavalry is on your left. Immediate." To Captain Nolan, one of the most accomplished *sabreurs* in the British army, was entrusted the bearing of this missive. Lord Lucan hesitated to obey a command which seemed to him to imperil the whole force, and requested some explanation of it. Captain Nolan repeated the words of the order, and, pointing to the valley beyond, added, "There are the enemy. There are the guns." Lord Lucan, hesitating no longer, rode over to the Light Brigade and ordered Lord Cardigan to attack. Lord Cardigan formed his ten squadrons into three lines—the 13th Dragoons and 17th Lancers in the first, the 8th Hussars and the 14th Light Dragoons in the second, the 11th Hussars, which at Lord Lucan's instance were placed on the left rear of the 17th Lancers, in the third. The distance to be traversed was a little more than a mile, but the surrounding hills were lined with infantry, their slopes were studded with skirmishers, and sixteen guns closed the pass towards the river. The Brigade broke into a charge and came under fire almost immediately. Nolan was the first to fall. He was struck by a piece of shell, and fell dead from his horse as he rode in front of Lord Cardigan. Still the first line of the Brigade rode on, closed upon the guns, and sabred the artillerymen. The British horse were soon within the Russian position. They were followed by their supports and by the reserve. But they were broken up and leaderless. The squadrons were disunited, scattered over the field, for Lord Cardigan had been carried out of reach after he had gained the guns. The remains of the Brigade were in the greatest peril from a body of Lancers and Hussars, which Liprandi had ordered to cut off their retreat. Fortunately, Colonel Shewell had part of the 8th Hussars well in hand, and charging right through the Russians, cleared the way for those who were straggling back. Out of the 670 of the Brigade who rode through that valley, only 195 mounted men returned; 12 officers were killed, and 11 wounded; 147 men were killed, and 110 were wounded, and 325 horses were killed. Such was the Light Cavalry charge at Balaclava—the most glorious episode of the Crimean war. After the charge, Lord Raglan and General Canrobert descended from the plateau to the valley, and the former meeting Lord Lucan exclaimed, "You have lost the Light Brigade." Lord Lucan disclaimed any such responsibility, and relied on the words of the order conveyed by Captain Nolan, whilst Lord Raglan insisted on the right of an exercise of discretionary power by a general in such circumstances. When the account of this action reached home, there was a feeling of mingled exultation and grief diffused among the people, and serious discussions arose in parliament, which led to the recall of Lord Lucan and of Lord Cardigan, who renewed in the House of Lords and elsewhere the dissensions which had operated so disastrously in the field. The relations between Lord Lucan and Lord Cardigan, which had their share in the catastrophe, were well known to the government which appointed, and to the general who commanded them, and the result should be a warning to those in power against resorting to the petty policy which plays off one powerful noble against another, at the expense of men's lives and limbs. With the words of the French general to serve as its comment, "*C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre*," the charge may pass into the realms of history. But it was not without its uses. The Russians were so impressed by the enterprise and dash of that brilliant cavalry that they made no fresh attempt on Balaclava.

After the action of the 25th, the question of abandoning the position held by Sir Colin Campbell thrust itself on the minds of the allied generals. It would have been a very serious matter to have given up the harbour, and to have transferred the ships and stores to Kamiesch at this stage of the siege, and yet it was evident that Balaclava was in danger; but when they met again on the 26th of October, to consider the matter, the defensive attitude of the Russians, and the success attending the Heavy Cavalry charge, induced them to keep the ground that was in their hands.

And they determined to retain Balaclava. The works necessary to strengthen the position were commenced with energy. The difficulties of the situation were sufficient to cause the most serious anxiety to the generals. The allied forces were besieging Sebastopol, but at the same time the exterior of their lines was open to the attack of the Russians. Moreover, the Woronzoff road had been abandoned, so that the communications between the English army and the sea were represented by one narrow and most difficult approach. Lord Raglan was seriously disquieted. The Russian agents boasted all over Europe that they were about to thrust the allies out of the Crimea. The English forces which had landed in the Crimea had become seriously reduced in strength, and were far from being able to perform the work that was required of them; but the French Government had exerted all the energy of the administrative bodies in Algiers and at home



THE CHARGE OF THE LIGHT BRIGADE AT BALACLAVA.

to keep up a stream of reinforcements to the Crimea. Stung by the failure of their first bombardment, their engineers and artillery made the most strenuous efforts to atone for the past, and developed increasing power and strength, just as our overworked troops began to exhibit signs of exhaustion. So well did the French push their attack against the Flagstaff Bastion ("*du Mât*, or No. 4,") between the 20th and 31st of October, that there was danger of its immediate fall, and after its occupation the further defence of Sebastopol would be obviously all but impracticable. Todleben says that "the defence of the 4th Bastion had arrived at its death struggle, and that the last moment of the place had come." The very day after the battle of Balaclava, the Russians, encouraged by accounts of the success of Liprandi's army, and by the appearance in the streets of the seven guns taken from the redoubts, executed a reconnaissance, which led to the action that has been dignified by the name of "Little Inkerman." At noon, Colonel Federoff, issuing with six battalions and four guns from the Karabelnaya, drove in the pickets of the 49th, after a most determined and gallant resistance. The pickets of the 30th, 41st, and 95th regiments were soon partially engaged in support of the 49th, and a smart action seemed imminent; but Evans, handling his division in a masterly way, and alluring the enemy to come under his powerful and well posted artillery, drove the Russians off the field, inflicting on them a loss of nearly 300 killed and wounded, and taking 81 prisoners. Our loss was 12 killed and 27 wounded. The object of the enemy, who carried trenching tools in the hope of gaining ground for rifle pits or epaulements, was clearly to feel their way out of Sebastopol, and, as a preliminary to an attack on our right and centre, to establish themselves on the English front. The allied generals were encouraged by this progress to concert plans for an assault once more. On the 2nd of November the Russians on the Tchernaya, now under the command of Prince Gortschakoff, made a demonstration in the direction of Balaclava, and opened fire against the works at long range; but this was merely a feint. The Russians had by this time collected an active army of 65,000 men, and 235 guns, in the field, and upwards of 35,000 men to hold Sebastopol proper. Thus reinforced, and urged by the strong representations of Todleben that immediate action was necessary, Prince Menschikoff determined to attack our right flank at Inkerman—to gain the plateau, and having taken Mount Sapouné, to strike us a fatal blow and to annihilate the entire allied army. The whole force under Lord Raglan's orders in the Crimea was less than 23,000 men, of whom 16,000 were infantry rank and file: the French mustered 31,000 foot. There were also 11,000 Turkish infantry, attached in about equal numbers to the French and English, and used by neither for any fighting purposes. Of the English nearly one half were engaged in the trenches, and on these no direct attack was made by the enemy. The Light Division was only partially engaged on the left, and was able to send reinforcements in infantry and guns to the 2nd Division, which were of inestimable value, but which could not have been sent had Soimonoff adhered to his instructions. On the 4th of November it was arranged between Lord Raglan and General Canrobert that a council of war should be held next day, to discuss the details of the operation. They were aware that the Russian army had been very largely reinforced, both inside the town and on the line of the Tchernaya and Inkerman, and that there was no time to lose if they were to take the place ere winter set in. Prince Menschikoff knew the weakness of the English—he had witnessed the "remissness" with which they had neglected to fortify the approach to their position, and although he could not have known the full extent of the feebleness disclosed in the divisional reports of Sir George Brown and of Sir De Lacy Evans, he was well aware that our most important position—the right flank at Inkerman—was inadequately protected. The Russian plan was boldly conceived. Shortly after dawn on the morning of the 5th of November, General Soimonoff, with 18,500 men and 38 guns, was to move up to the plateau on the left of the Careening ravine. At the same time General Pauloff, with 15,500 men and 96 guns, was to cross the Tchernaya, and, ascending the heights, effect a junction with Soimonoff on Shell Hill. These combined forces, which numbered 31,000 infantry, with 134 guns, were then to be placed under the command of General Dannenberg. Prince Gortschakoff, with 16,000 infantry, 6000 horse, and 88 guns, was to make a demonstration against Balaclava, march up from the valley and join Dannenberg. General Timovieff was to lead a sortie from the Quarantine with 5000 men upon the French trenches. At dawn a threatening movement of Gortschakoff in the valley below attracted the attention of Bosquet, but when the action began he was convinced that the real danger lay in front, and he made us an offer of assistance, which was rejected at first, and afterwards eagerly accepted. Soimonoff, favoured by a white fog that hung over the slopes around Sebastopol, commenced his attack, Pauloff at the same time carrying his troops and guns across the Tchernaya, and gaining the plateau from the north-west about 6.15 a.m. In a few moments more the rattle of musketry announced that the Russian skirmishers were engaged with the British pickets, and that the battle of Inkerman had commenced. Gortschakoff did not press his attack, which was only to be developed when General Dannenberg, in command of the united corps of Pauloff and Soimonoff, had established himself on the plateau. The latter was able to gain the high ground, to deploy on it, and established his batteries on Shell Hill almost without resistance. The Russians in pressing in advance on their right, however, encountered a desperate resistance from the pickets of the 95th, 41st, 30th, and 49th, which were reinforced by detachments from the 2nd Division, but, although our officers and men displayed astonishing courage and endurance, they could not contend against the masses of infantry, whose numbers, hidden in the fog, seemed to grow on them like a vast cloud sweeping over the ground.

Although it would not be strictly correct to say the British were surprised, it would be still less accurate to say they were prepared. It was on the 2nd Division, now commanded by General Pennefather, in the absence, owing to illness, of Sir de L. Evans, that the brunt of the early onslaught fell. The Division numbered only 2960 men, and of these nearly 800 were out on picket duty, and 500 more were employed guarding the rear of the camp on outpost duty.

Lord Raglan, whose quarters were at some distance in rear of the English left, did not arrive till after the enemy had set the tents of the 2nd Division on fire by their shells, and driven in the main body of the outposts. He could exercise no control over the action. The eye strove in vain to pierce the mist, and make out the force and disposition of the enemy. The position of the British army was perilous in the extreme; the weak line of pickets in front of the 2nd Division attacked by heavy columns was slowly forced backwards. But Soimonoff had met with much more opposition than he had reckoned upon. Mere weak wings of the 30th, 77th, and 49th, fought with extraordinary power, and repulsed gross battalions of the enemy. Whole columns had fallen out of his hand, and were wandering about in the mist among the ravines and ridges in our front, and suffering most severely from the continuous fire of the rifles with which our infantry were armed, and he now was anxiously waiting for the appearance of Pauloff's forces. The head of these was not long in making its mark, for three regiments emerging from the valley of Inkerman climbed the steep brush covered slopes and gained the ridge side, occupying in their way a deserted emplacement for two guns, called the Sandbag Battery, on our extreme right. The action raged with uncommon fury as soon as Pauloff's men made their presence felt; but, notwithstanding the tremendous odds, the English, favoured by the ground, by the very obscurity which hid their scanty numbers, and by their superior arms, not only held their own on the ridges to which they fell back in front of their camp, but attempted an aggressive movement. Soimonoff fell mortally wounded, and no one was there to carry out the plan which he had in his coat-pocket. The enemy attempting to advance and occupy the camp of the 2nd Division were still held in check. They clung to the Sandbag Battery on the way up to the plateau, and seemed in want of definite aim and purpose. The Guards were ordered up to support the 2nd Division, and Bosquet put a detachment of his corps in motion for the scene. The 41st under Adams drove the Russians out of the Sandbag Battery, and for a moment it might have been fancied, as the enemy melted away before our fire in the fog, that the attack on the British had failed. But there were hours of hard work, mortal hours of agony, before them yet. By eight o'clock, more than 16,000 Russians had been defeated by less than 3000 British soldiers, so utterly that they quite vanished from the battlefield for the time. But the battalions which had been pushed on by Pauloff, and had been thrust down off the plateau again, were speedily followed by others, and there were now 10,000 fresh men, under the protecting fire of 86 pieces of artillery, coming on to the attack.

On the extreme right, the 41st, under Adams, and a wing of the 49th sent to aid them, were obliged to yield the Sandbag Battery, but only for a brief space. The Grenadier and Scots Fusilier Guards, headed by the duke of Cambridge, recovered the work at the point of the bayonet. Pauloff saw the importance of regaining this position as a mere fighting point and a rallying ground, whence he could establish himself on the plateau. He now hurried three regiments, each of four battalions, to carry the battery, which, together with the ground on its right and left, was occupied by the Grenadiers and Scots Fusilier Guards, part of Torrens's Brigade being posted in support of their right rear.

The Russians, who numbered about 6000 men, scarcely checked by the rifles of the Guards, advanced in successive columns of regiments with spirit, but they could not deploy nor engage their whole force, and thus lost much of their power. The Sandbag Battery was taken and retaken. The soldiers of the Okhotsh regiment repeatedly rushed to the attack, but were steadily repulsed by the Fusilier Guards. Terrific hand to hand conflicts ensued—the Guards, reinforced by the Coldstreams, obstinately maintaining their post by repeated charges, notwithstanding the vast superiority in number of their assailants. But regiments that had been held in reserve were now advancing; the hail of iron from the Russian cannon that crowned the heights never ceased pouring on the British right, and, as their centre was fully engaged by what survived of Soimonoff's battalions, it was plain that a combat so unequal could not be long maintained. At this period, Sir George Cathcart, hoping to outflank the enemy, moved about 400 men into the valley, and advanced towards the river. He came, almost immediately, under fire of the Selenginsk regiment, which had descended also into the valley to outflank the Sandbag Battery. In the short conflict, Sir George Cathcart, Brigadier Torrens, and Colonel Seymour lost their lives, and their column was nearly destroyed. The enemy came pouring round the flanks of the defending force, but found themselves confronted by the Guards, now broken up in groups and mingled with men of the 20th and 95th. The enemy got in their rear and threatened to cut them off. The colours were in danger, the duke of Cambridge was almost taken. The Guards were sorely pressed. Still they struggled on, holding the slope of the hill, fighting in twos and threes, or singly, without any attempt at formation, and anxiously expecting succour. At the very moment when it was most needed that succour arrived. Bosquet came into action with the 6th Regiment of the line. Other regiments of the corps of observation hastened to support them. The French retook the Sandbag Battery, and thus gave breathing time to the Guards, who dashed through their columns with a cheer and regained the crest occupied by the British camp above them. The British centre still held its own, but with difficulty, when Bourbaki, by a timely charge, marred an attack in force which was intended by the Russians to pierce the position between the right and centre. D'Autemarre's Zouaves and Algerians sprang into action, and once more forced the enemy to retire from the slopes and form around the Sandbag Battery. Dannenberg, who had intended to act on the offensive, now found himself suddenly attacked in turn, and subjected to a powerful reaction all along his left and centre.

Before nine o'clock a.m., 4800 English infantry, and 36 guns, aided by 1600 French, and 12 guns, had put the greater part of Soimonoff's, and one half of Pauloff's, force in a condition of utter uselessness for effective attack. There were nearly 2000 of the English in equal disorder, and more than 1000 killed and wounded; but the Russians had still nearly 18,000 men, supported by 96 guns, in the field, ready to continue the struggle. There were now but 5000 of the allies and 48 guns disposable for the defence. Once more Dannenberg made a resolute attack on the front of the British camp, and on the flank of the 2nd Division. The contest was exceedingly sharp. The enemy in the first rush took three guns, which, like those captured earlier, were soon retaken. The artillery had to fall back. General Strangways was mortally wounded. A party of the 55th were overwhelmed. The 49th and 57th, and other regiments, were exposed to the most trying ordeal of battle. The French, who have been accused by a recent writer of rather sluggish conduct, now at all events, and once more, did good service. The 7th regiment of the line, advancing rapidly, checked the enemy in front, and broke them—English and French joined in pursuit of the fugitives. The 21st regiment and 63rd regiment of our 4th Division gave a decisive blow to another column of the enemy. A forward movement of Bosquet did not quite respond to his expectations. Indeed, if the 22,000 Russians in the valley of the Tchernaya, under Prince Gortschakoff, had even now made an attempt to give a hand to their comrades on the plateau, the day might have ended otherwise. But they did not move. Still their artillery was so powerful that it was not possible to pursue any advantage under its fire. That superiority was, however, now about to be not only neutralized, but destroyed. Since the 28th of October, two 18-pounders had been kept in readiness with tackle, &c., at the artillery park, and, though some delay seems to have occurred in ordering them to the front, these guns of position, "worth their weight in gold," were brought up to a commanding site, and came into action under the command of Colonel Dickson, who took the place of Colonel Gambier (wounded as he was leading the detachment), at 9·30 a.m. These guns produced an extraordinary change on the fortunes of the battle. The hail of shot and shell which had fallen so long and so pitilessly on the allied forces, and which only ceased to smite them when the infantry were in close encounter, began to diminish sensibly in weight and intensity, and in half an hour, or somewhat less, the array of hostile batteries was broken up, and only the wreck of tumbrils, carriages, and caissons was left on the ground. Still some guns, shielded from the two 18-pounders, could play on the French batteries which had now been pushed to the front. The French were sending battalion after battalion to the front; the British not only stood firm, but pushed out aggressive bodies and harassed their artillery and shaken columns. Timovieff's early sortie had been not merely checked after a temporary glow of triumph—it had been repulsed with loss, and the French, in pressing after his column, actually got into the Russian outworks, and there was the danger of their now taking the Bastion du Mât. Soimonoff's attack had failed. Pauloff's had not succeeded. The guns on which they relied so much were overpowered. So, at one o'clock, General Dannenberg gave orders for the retreat, which was effected under the advance of his last reserves, supported by the fire of all his available guns.

The fight was over at 1.30 p.m. The losses of the allied armies were—English, 3 generals and 43 officers killed; 2078 officers and men wounded. The French, about 1800 killed and wounded. Russian loss supposed to be 10,000 men.

The question now to be considered by the generals of the allied armies was grave indeed, "What next?" A council of war was held immediately after the battle, and, after considerable deliberation, it was determined to postpone an assault till the arrival of reinforcements, and to protect the position of Inkerman by defensive works as effectually as possible till the allies could assume the defensive.

On that occasion Lord Raglan committed the grievous error of abandoning the ground which had been held by his troops to the French, and thus handed over the key of the place to them. Mr. Kinglake has endeavoured to establish the theory that Lord Raglan exercised complete ascendancy in the council of the allies, and controlled the French generals; but the defence made for his yielding the right of the line to the French is, that he could not withstand their persistence. Now, as the French originally occupied the left of the line, and were not sufficiently reinforced to take up more ground, it is evident that their just and natural development would have been in an extension on their right, so as to have enabled them to take up our left attack, whilst we edged towards our right, and occupied the Inkerman ridge. But instead of doing so they moved round, and thus occupied both the flanks, leaving the British nailed in the centre, in such a position that no amount of reinforcements would have enabled them to present a larger front to the enemy.

The moral position of the allied armies underwent a very remarkable change after the battle of Inkerman. The French, receiving reinforcements continually, with good ports close to their camp, were exposed, however, to constant attacks on their left; but they were able to send round a sufficient force to begin operations on the British right, and at the same time to maintain and strengthen the corps of observation which guarded the rear of the besieging armies on the plateau. They had been summoned to the succour of the British, they had occupied the ground on which the British so long had maintained a glorious contest. Their spirits rose as the effect of heavy losses and continuous labour in the trenches began to tell on the British, to whom, notwithstanding the pride and gratitude with which the country acknowledged the grandeur of the soldiers' courage, Inkerman was a great blow. The old familiar faces of the leaders who had landed with the men were vanishing; the generals who fell on the 5th of November were succeeded by gallant officers, but the duke of Cambridge, De Lacy Evans, Brown, Bentinck, and many others soon left the Crimea. The Guards, reduced to the numbers of a battalion, were still deploring their enormous losses, the 2nd Division could now scarce furnish the strength of a regiment to the trenches. Sufficient reinforcements came not, and still the engineers had work to to be done. The vigilance, with a want of which before the battle the army had been taxed, now was sharpened to painful acuteness. An outburst of musketry roused the whole camp at once. The nights, longer and wearier than ever, had an element of constant apprehension of surprise, added to the stress which the proximity of an enemy ever inspires. As the zigzags and parallels were pushed on, and the supplies of shot and shell, for which there was an increasing demand, were furnished with greater difficulty, the distance between Balaclava and the front seemed to grow unnaturally great. But if the allies, and more especially the British, were exposed to the influence, always demoralizing, of a protracted siege, the Russians had also obstacles of the gravest character to encounter in the defence. Every shot and shell, every shoe and coat, every morsel of food and drink came from Russian towns and steppes, or from the shores of the Caspian at an enormous consumption of transport material, living and dead, and at a great waste of time, men, and money. Roads there were none, and the sea was hermetically closed to the enemy. Then, again, the Russians were stationed in unhealthy cantonments, on the side of the Principalities, keeping watch over the Austrians, and suffering from short commons and sickness. The roadstead of Sebastopol was an impediment to the easy access between the front of the position and communication with the interior, so desirable in the peculiar circumstances in which the Russians were placed. They could not crowd the whole of their troops into the narrow strip of land which lay between the sea and the front of their works, and they were obliged to keep a large proportion of their men on the north side and out on the ridges at the other side of the valley of Inkerman. From the latter force they could only receive assistance by means of the bridge over the Tchernaya, and the road which wound from it to the Karabelnaya. The detached corps which guarded the access to Baidar, Bakshi-Serai and Simferopol by the passes through the Mackenzie range was exposed to considerable suffering, and was, at times, only fed with difficulty; and as the country became soft after a small rain-fall, the country waggons sunk deep, and the Tartar camels were rendered quite useless for transport. The fogs, which began in the first week of November, were varied by rain, the skies were gloomy, the wind became stronger and colder, and the first breath of winter fell upon the camp. In a week after the battle of Inkerman there was a deep slough formed by the feet of horses and men in the road where it left the valley and ascended to the 'col,' from Balaclava to the plateau. A tiny thread of water fed the extending morass, and those who floundered through it scarcely could speculate on what would happen when winter came in earnest. At head-quarters there was an Englishman, long resident in Russia, who was useful as interpreter and head of the Intelligence Department. Early enough he warned Lord Raglan of what was to be expected, and the commander-in-chief duly informed the Home Government that the winter in the Crimea was sometimes rude, but neither the Englishman nor the Russian was at all prepared for what was coming. Fearful of the confusion and mischief which might arise in case of a sudden attack on Balaclava, the naval authorities had cleared the harbour of many transports and merchantmen; and incoming steamers and sailing vessels were forced to anchor outside in deep water and bad holding ground till there was room for them to come in. On the 12th of November there was a strong breeze—indeed, a gale of wind—from the south, which brought such stress on the cables that the steamers off the port had to steam ahead to ease them, and considerable alarm was felt for the sailing-ships—but the wind moderated, and the warning was lost. On the night of the 13th of November, H.M.S. *Retribution*, with the duke of Cambridge and staff on board, H.M.S. *Vulcan*, H.M.S. *Niger*, H.M.S. *Vesuvius*, and fourteen steamers and sailing vessels, lay anchored outside in a heavy sea; but the sailors, who had spent their lives on the ocean, had yet the most terrible experience to face that had ever befallen them in any part of the world. Soon after midnight the wind increased in strength, but it blew steadily, and caused no anxiety; about 4 a.m. of the 14th, however, there came the first roar of the hurricane. Though it was but the faint prelude to what was to come, those who were waking and heard it felt that for them there was to be no more sleep. The tents flapped loudly, and the poles played against the straining cords. Gradually the roar rose louder, and drowned even the thunder of the surf on the iron-bound coast; and as morning dawned, the terrified sentries, peering through the seadrift, beheld, running shoreward, a mountainous sea, on which was tossing and labouring the luckless shipping. Rain, or it might be the very surface of the sea torn off by the wind, shut out the light of day with a watery pall, flooded the earth, and beat on the tents as if the floodgates of heaven were opened. Before this tremendous tempest nothing could stand; not only did tent-poles snap like reeds, and tents collapse on their half-drowned and suffocated occupants, but they flew aloft like straws and dried leaves amid the whirling débris of the camps. The air was filled with shakoes, great coats, tables and chairs, all over the plateau. Laden arabas were overturned—commissariat barrels and casks were bowled before the blast like cricket balls; ambulance waggons were turned over; horses were torn from their picket-ropes, and in a few minutes, to all appearance, the "camp" had ceased to exist, the army was vanished, in a waste of black mud. Some few tents stood, but these white spectres made the desolation of the scene the more striking and appalling. The surface of the ground, after a while, seemed to be covered with ant-like masses, which the glass resolved into the outcast soldiery standing by their arms, and guarding the sites of their ruined encampments. Every hour added to the completeness of the work of the cyclone. Nor man nor horses could face the blast, and all that could be done was to lie or crouch down till the tornado was overpast. The most thoughtless must have shuddered as the ineffable voice of the storm thundered above all noises. "God help them at sea!" Alas! many were beyond all human aid ere the forenoon. The *Prince*, a splendid screw transport, which had lost two anchors the day before in anchoring, having drawn the bower—her last remaining stay—set in towards the rocks. The crew cut her mizen away, and the wreck, falling over the stern as she was driving ahead, fouled her screw. In a minute—a literal minute—she was smashed and broken up on the rocks under the cliff, on which were encamped the Rifle Brigade, on the eastern side of the harbour. Few on board were saved. There were 13,000 pairs of boots, 18,000 pairs of shoes, 53,000 woollen frocks, 16,000 blankets, 2,500 great coats for sentries, 3700 rugs, 19,000 pairs of drawers, and immense stores of medicine and medical comforts and necessaries, felting for huts, and endless useful articles on board. In the *Prince* went down the reliance of an army—almost the hopes of a nation. Even now it is quite impossible to say what influence that one wreck had on the fortunes of the British in the Crimea. The *Resolute*, filled with reserve ammunition for the artillery, and 7,000,000 rounds of small-arms, shared the fate of the *Prince*. The men-of-war, with three anchors down, steamed full speed, charging at the giant waves and held their own. It was with difficulty the *Retribution*, by the sacrifice of her guns, shot, shell, and much of her coal, was enabled to ride out the gale to her single anchor. The *Wild Wave*, the *War Cloud*, and other transports, on board of which were great supplies of all kinds,* were dashed to pieces and most of the crews perished. The *Avon* steamer slipped her cable and miraculously "shot" the entrance to the harbour. One chartered transport, the *City of London*, paddle-wheel steamer, was made famous by the record of her escape in the papers. Stout Captain Cargill, steaming at full speed, "put her nose at it," and made a good offing southward. Although the harbour of Balaclava is nigh land-locked, the seas running in through the tortuous entrance bore heavily on the shipping inside, dashed them one on the other, and hurled their boats high and dry on shore; the stout masts snapped, and sails and yards were swept on shore, or driven in a confused network on the agitated vessels. The *Sanspareil* was driven up on the beach. The storm swept all along the coast of the Crimea. Sebastopol suffered much—the line of sunken ships was broken up—houses were unroofed, the earthworks were flooded and rendered untenable. The fleets between Eupatoria and the Belbek felt the full force of the hurricane. One Turkish line-of-battle ship, of 90 guns, foundered with all her crew and some soldiers. Another shared the same fate near the Belbek. Two French transports went down with all hands off the Katcha. Six English transports were wrecked, and those who escaped to shore were taken prisoners. The *Henri IV.* (101 guns) and *Fulton* frigate were driven ashore off Eupatoria, where the former served long afterwards as a fort, and swept the approaches with her broadside. The horrors of that day cannot be realised—the material destruction, immense as it was, was not so mischievous as the development of an idea that the expedition was "unlucky" and that "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera."

When Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of August, the queen thanked the Commons for the liberality of the supplies, and expressed a hope that the ambitious and aggressive spirit of Russia would be effectually repressed, and the future tranquillity of Europe secured. At that time no intelligence had come from the seat of war to excite hopes of a successful termination of the contest, for nothing indeed had been done at sea, and both governments, somewhat embarrassed by the news of the ill-health of the troops, were preparing for the hazardous expedition to the Crimea, on which they had set their hopes. But, during the recess, the nation, elated by the victory of the Alma, suffered all the revulsion which is caused by the unrealised rejoicing, in consequence of the erroneous statement, apparently connected with some stock-jobbing operation, that Sebastopol had fallen immediately after the battle. This news was published on the 2nd of October. It created great excitement in England, and the Emperor publicly announced it to the soldiers in the camp at Halfant. Then came a long and angry correspondence between Sir James Graham and Sir Charles Napier, the one complaining that nothing had been done, and the other retorting that he had not been furnished by the Admiralty with the means of doing anything. The intelligence of the failure of the first bombardment was closely followed by the news of the battle of Balaclava, and scarcely had the details of that glorious day been made known here, than the public mind was agitated to its depths by the terrible record of the battle of Inkerman. The shocking state of the hospitals and the stories of privations which soon began to occupy the press, were scarcely to be allayed or explained away by speeches; or by the philanthropic efforts of those who founded the Patriotic Fund, a commission for which, directed to Prince Albert and others, was issued by the queen; or by the *Times* fund, which was raised for distribution by Mr. Macdonald, of that newspaper, who did incalculable service at Scutari, or by the central association in aid of the wives and families of soldiers, or even by the heaven-inspired mission of Miss Nightingale and her nurses. When the real condition of the army was understood, Lord John Russell scented the coming storm among the first, and urged upon Lord Aberdeen a reorganization in the office of the Secretary of War, who ought to be in the House of Commons, and to have much greater power than he was then vested with. He pressed on Lord Aberdeen most strongly the necessity of appointing Lord Palmerston war minister before parliament met. Lord Aberdeen did not wish to commit an act of unfairness and injustice towards a colleague, and thinking that such changes, unless absolutely necessary, tended to weaken the government, refused to recommend him to the queen. He thought it an odd thing to displace a man who discharged his duties ably and honourably, because it was believed another might be more efficient. On the 12th of December the queen opened parliament, as it was considered that the assembly of the great council of the nation ought no longer to be deferred, and the speech announced that it had been called together to take such measures as would enable the war to be prosecuted with the utmost vigour and effect. The debates on the address were able, but the government were subjected to severe attacks, and although both parties concurred in the vote of thanks which was moved by the duke of Newcastle in the Lords, and Lord John Russell in the Commons, to the British forces, public opinion, strongly excited by the press, and especially by the powerful invectives of the *Times*, became more and more hostile to government, and disinclined to hear the praises of the officers who directed the operations of our armies. There was a short recess at Christmas, which was used by the opponents of the government to concert measures for its overthrow. Even in that short time the news from the Crimea and the articles in the press combined to intensify the feeling of the nation.

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* Cattle 157, sheep 645, 8,000 gallons rum, 74,000lbs. rice, 360,000lbs. biscuit, 75,000lbs. salt meat, 11,000lbs. green coffee 800,000lbs. pressed hay, 1,000,000lbs. forage, &c., &c.

As winter began to close in, the army in the Crimea, worn out by night-work, by vigil in rain and storm, by hard labour in the trenches, found themselves suddenly reduced to short allowance. The excellent and ample rations they had been in the habit of receiving were cut off or miserably reduced. The direct cause of this scarcity was the condition of the roads, which caused a difficulty in getting supplies from Balaclava, and a want of stores in the commissariat magazines. But though there was a cause, there was no excuse for the privations to which the men were exposed. The trench duties exhausted the men so much that they could not or would not work. Sir John Burgoyne writes in December, 1854: "Our works linger in a terrible manner. We are absolutely *weeks* sometimes making a small battery!" The letters of that veteran lately published more than corroborate all that has ever been said of the distraction and imbecility of the authorities, and reflects even on the moral courage of the officers and men. Words could not describe the filth and horrors of Balaclava, its hospitals, its burials, its crowded lanes, its noisome sheds, its beastly purlieus, its dead and dying Turks. All the pictures ever drawn of plague and pestilence, from the work of the inspired writer who chronicled the woes of infidel Egypt, down to the narratives of Boccaccio, De Foe, or Moltke, fall short of individual "bits" of disease and death, which any one might see during half an hour's walk. Dying Turks made of every lane and street a *cloaca*. Raising the piece of matting or rug which hung across the doorway of the miserable houses, whence came wailings and cries and prayers to the Prophet, a mass of accumulated horrors that would serve one with nightmares for a lifetime burst on the sight.

The condition of the hospitals was deplorable, and almost incredible, and the ordeal of incessant duty, to which the men were exposed, day and night, not to speak of the constant attacks of the enemy, filled them with patients who had small chance of recovery, unless in being removed from the camp to the hospital at Scutari. In February, 1855, the grand total of the army was—officers, 1242; sergeants, 2535; drummers, 735; rank and file, 40,436. But of these 5773 were in the camp hospitals, and 12,344 in the hospitals at Scutari, reducing the effective force to 22,319 men. Of these so-called effectives some 5000 were in a very bad state of health. There was profound dissatisfaction with our military administration, and censures, from which no branch of the government was exempt, were loudly expressed. Before we return to the Crimea, it will be useful to glance again at affairs at home, where it may be readily imagined the war in the Crimea engrossed nearly every thought. The press were especially indignant that an army that had done its work so well should have been permitted to perish out and waste away within reach of the richest and most powerful of maritime powers. The House of Commons to some degree reflected the feelings of the country, and the alternations of depression and exultation which followed the course of events in the Chersonese were indicative of the mobility of opinion which is characteristic of a free people.

SECTION IV.

When parliament met on the 23rd of January, 1855, the anxious state of the public mind respecting the condition of the army was reflected by notices of motions in both Houses, and on the 25th of January debates on the subject were substantively raised by Mr. Roebuck, and by Lord Lyndhurst, one of whom demanded an inquiry into the conduct of the war by a select committee, while the other moved a vote of censure on the government. The duke of Newcastle made an apology for himself which caused a very strong reaction in his favour. He denied that he had ever expressed a wish to occupy the war department when the offices were divided. But, to the astonishment of the country, before the business of the day began, it was announced in the House of Commons that Lord John Russell had resigned. Although his lordship next day tried to defend this extraordinary step, it has never yet been justified, and it may be said to have inflicted a blow on his reputation politically from which he never recovered. He was, it is true, Lord President of the council. He was not responsible for the state of the army or navy. He was only a member of the cabinet. But if he was dissatisfied with his colleagues, and with their conduct, it would only have been just to them and to the public to have retired from office the year before, and not to have waited for the meeting of parliament to strike a *coup de théâtre*. In fact, Lord John Russell was not at home among all those Peelites and other ancient political opponents, and he certainly was not put in a hole large enough to suit his figure according to his own idea of its dimensions. "No one," he said, "can deny the melancholy condition of our army before Sebastopol. The accounts which arrive from that quarter are not only painful, but they are horrible and heart-rending." He could not, he said, resist the demand for an inquiry on the ground that these evils did not exist, or that means had been taken to remedy them; and he related how he had proposed that Lord Palmerston should be appointed war minister intead of the duke of Newcastle in the middle of November, before the disastrous storm which did so much mischief, then not known in England. That proposal was not accepted. Why did not Lord John Russell resign? Because Lord Palmerston, he said, advised him not. Lord Palmerston, in the debate which followed, remarked that the noble lord had never reverted to his proposal, and the course he had taken in resigning now was not only not in accordance with the practice of public men, but was calculated to place the government in a position which certainly they ought not to expect to occupy at the hand of a colleague. The debate on Mr. Roebuck's motion for the appointment of a select committee of inquiry was then opened in a speech by that very pungent partisan, in which he averred that our army had been reduced from fifty-four thousand to fourteen thousand men, of whom only five thousand were fit for duty. It will be observed, by the way, that the generals in the Crimea, Sir John Burgoyne and others, were at this time making complaints of the press for publishing the condition of our troops to the enemy, but the fully-reported parliamentary debates were much better calculated to attract their attention. It is curious to find Mr. S. Herbert resisting the inquiry demanded by Mr. Roebuck, because the demoralisation, which he admitted, was caused by a system forty years old, and maintaining at the same time that black was not so very black, and that great delusions prevailed respecting the state of the army. The speeches were animated and discursive—one by Sir E. Lytton Bulwer, particularly damaging to the government and to the Whigs, and another, Mr. Gladstone's defence of the government, a very ingenious performance, in which he asserted that we had twenty-eight thousand men under arms, not to speak of three or four thousand sailors and marines before Sebastopol, who were excellent in their way. But the majority against the ministry—three hundred and five to one hundred and forty-eight—was overwhelming. The coalition cabinet was no more. Lord Aberdeen stated he thought the vote of the House of Commons unconstitutional. Ministers resigned. Lord Derby was sent for by the queen, when the resignation of ministers was placed in her hands, and was directed to form a government; but although his followers had, in a compact phalanx of two hundred, formed the bulk of the majority which turned the Aberdeen administration out, they were not strong enough to keep a Tory government in. Lord Derby was obliged to look about for extraneous aid. At first, Lord Palmerston listened to his overtures, on condition that Mr. S. Herbert and Mr. Gladstone concurred, and went so far as to speak of the distribution of seats in the cabinet, but the negotiations were broken off by Lord Palmerston's advice, and the attempt to form another coalition ministry was abandoned. Lord John Russell was next applied to. He accepted the task of forming a government with alacrity, but he was coldly received, and very soon abandoned it. Lord Palmerston, however, was more successful, and at last found himself prime minister of England. He now prepared to carry on the war he had always predicted with a cabinet which, however, only presented many old names in new places. Lord Panmure became Secretary for War, Mr. Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir J. Graham went to the Admiralty. Lord John Russell was got rid of by being sent to Vienna, where negotiations for the establishment of peace were pending, and where he failed most signally. When the House met on the 16th of February, the premier announced a series of measures intended to reconcile the House to his request that they would suspend the appointment of Mr. Roebuck's committee of inquiry. He proposed that the office of Secretary at War should be amalgamated with that of Secretary of State for War, that the Ordnance (Lord Raglan was master-general) should be transferred to the commander-in-chief, and the civil branches of the artillery and store departments, &c., placed under the control of the war minister. Three special commissioners would be sent out to the Crimea to examine into the sanitary condition of the camp and shipping. A commission under Sir John M'Neill was to superintend the commissariat. A chief of the staff, Sir J. Simpson, was appointed to the army in the field, which set many men inquiring who he was, for his name was almost unknown to those who had not kept in memory obscure despatches in which, when a successful general desires to stand well with his army, all the staff are recommended indiscriminately for rewards and promotions. The period of enlistment was to be reduced, and the age for recruits extended. Lord Panmure introduced a bill for limited service, under which the army received for two or three years some few efficient and many indifferent soldiers. Sir John Burgoyne was recalled, and was replaced by Sir H. Jones. Another ministerial crisis soon showed what discordant elements were at work in the new cabinet. On the 22nd of February, Lord Palmerston informed the House that his Chancellor of the Exchequer, his First Lord of the Admiralty, and his Colonial Secretary had resigned. Lord Palmerston, however, was willing to swallow the committee, and to digest its report. His colleagues had no stomach for humble pie. Next day, on the order of the day for naming Mr. Roebuck's committee, Sir J. Graham explained the reason for his resignation. Sir James Graham objected to the committee because it was select, and to its composition because no member of the government had been placed on it. Lord Palmerston had objected to it in January, as a vote of censure. With the exception of Lord Panmure, all the members of the present government had been members of the Aberdeen government, which had retired on account of that vote. He carried the House with him, and Mr. Herbert and Mr. Gladstone followed in the assignment of the same causes for their common conduct. The committee was named. The cabinet was reconstructed. Sir G. C. Lewis succeeded Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of Exchequer, Sir C. Wood took Sir J. Graham's post at the Admiralty, and Lord John Russell became Colonial Secretary in place of Mr. S. Herbert.

On the 8th of March, the conduct of Sir Charles Napier was vindicated by Mr. Malins, who attacked the government for their treatment of the admiral. He was answered by Sir J. Graham, who admitted that the government had approved of Sir Charles Napier's proceedings till his despatch of the 24th of September showed that he could have made an attack on Sweaborg. The division of opinion which must be expected in the councils of allied generals and admirals existed in the Baltic as elsewhere; but though Sir James Graham allowed that he had warned Sir C. Napier more than once that his language was inconsistent with subordination, he denied he had dismissed him. The fallen admiral found many sympathisers and defenders, and Lord Palmerston, to shelve the subject, closed the debate by an eulogy which was satisfactory to Napier's friends. The operations of the Black Sea fleet also came in for a share of attention. Mr. Scott, in dedemanding the production of the instructions to Admiral Dundas, argued that Odessa ought to have been militarily occupied; and there was a chorus of praise in favour of the conduct of that incompetent officer, who was left in command for some time longer, and when Lord (then Sir E.) Lyons succeeded to the chief control he gave proof of the old remark, that a very bold and enterprising second is often but a cautious and calculating officer when he assumes the functions of his superior. The operations of the Black Sea fleet will be mentioned hereafter; those which were directed by the successor of Sir C. Napier in the Baltic (another Dundas) were not very remarkable or successful.

Earl Grey took an early occasion to recommend that the army should be placed under direct control of the prime minister. He proposed that they should abolish the office of commander-in-chief, and place his patronage in the hands of a minister. Many nostrums were propounded for the evils real and supposititious of our military system and administration. The government propitiated the general feeling of the country by instituting competitive examinations for the civil service, which however did not command general approval.

Addresses and resolutions on the war, and the conduct of it, were rife all the session of 1855. Even as late as the end of May, statesmen like Lord Palmerston did not consider the means of pacification exhausted. On the 30th of April Lord John Russell made a long statement in reference to the proceedings in Vienna. In his absence in England, the conference was resumed at the request of Russia, but led to no result, and it was closed for ever on the 2nd of June. One month after the treaty with Sardinia against Russia was communicated to parliament; Lord Palmerston, replying to Mr. Bright, stated that the Vienna conferences had failed. Russia had admitted, as a principle, that her preponderance should cease in the Black Sea; and it had been proposed to carry the principle out, that her naval force there should be limited by treaty, or that the sea should be barred to all ships of war. But the Russian plenipotentiary had refused to accept either alternative, and the conference had adjourned *sine die*. Lord Clarendon acquainted the House of Lords that the conduct of Prussia had been such as to exclude her from any share in these conferences. Lord Ellenborough attacked the government for the misconduct of the war, and demanded a more vigorous cabinet, but his resolutions were rejected by one hundred and eighty-one to seventy-one. Earl Grey, who desired the House to express an opinion that the proposals of Russia had afforded a fair prospect of an honourable peace, could not obtain any support to justify him in facing a division. All the efforts of the opposition to obtain the production of the protocols of the conference were for some time unsuccessful: when produced, they were indeed dead letters; for the conferences had finally closed. The conduct of the government in respect to these peaceful tentatives became the subject of Lord Lyndhurst's vigorous animadversion, and of less powerful onslaughts in both Houses. Mr. Bright made a series of exceedingly eloquent and powerful speeches against the war, *per se*, and all its concomitants, which produced a considerable effect on the House and the country. On the 24th of May, Mr. Disraeli moved that the House must express its dissatisfaction at the ambiguous conduct and language of the government as to peace or war, and felt it their duty to declare they would give every support to her majesty till she had obtained a safe and honourable peace. This motion produced a very exciting, vigorous, and impassioned debate; but the resolutions were defeated. An amendment of Sir F. Baring, pledging the House to support the crown in prosecuting the war, as they had seen with regret the Vienna conferences had not led to a cessation of hostilities, led to a more protracted debate, in which speeches of great ability and eloquence were delivered by Sir E. Lytton, Mr. Disraeli, and Lord Palmerston. The amendment was carried, as a substantive motion—an amendment of Mr. R. Lowe, throwing the blame of the failure of the conferences on Russia, having been rejected without a division. Lord John Russell's conduct at Vienna, because he had expressed an opinion that Count Buol's proposals might secure an honourable peace, was assailed by Sir E. B. Lytton in a direct vote of censure. He had returned from Vienna a convert to the doctrine that peace should be made, and he remained, nevertheless, in the cabinet which was bent on war. The fact was, indeed, directly stated in Count Nesselrode's circular of the 22nd of April. It may be conceived that such a course would incur the resentment of the public, and the anger of the House at such a time; but before the vote of censure could be moved, Lord John Russell, in his place in parliament, announced (16th July) that he had resigned office. He made a lengthened but not very felicitous vindication, with a peroration on his own services in the cause of civil and religious liberty. Lord Palmerston's defence, which was received with coldness, was but a foil to the sarcasms of Mr. Disraeli, the waspish invective of Mr. Roebuck, and the elocutionary power of Mr. Gladstone. Next day Mr. Roebuck tried to give effect to the report of the select committee on the Crimean war by a resolution of a retrospective character, visiting with severe reprehension every member of the cabinet whose counsels led to such disastrous results. But it was felt that there would be no practical result from such a vote. Lord John Russell compared Mr. Roebuck's speeches, all exordium and peroration, and no middle, to a stuffed eagle—"There are the beak and the talons of the bird of prey, but the inside is nothing but straw." Although there was a great variety of opinion expressed in subsequent debates, some thinking that the expedition to Sebastopol should not have been undertaken, others that it was the best course possible, there was an ardent desire to shirk the report which Sir James Graham declared was important to Lord Aberdeen's government and to Lord Raglan. Mr. Bright attacked "the ignorant and profligate press," but the government was too strong for its combined assailants, the result of all this debate being the adoption of "the previous question," by two hundred and eighty-nine to one hundred and eighty-two. The Vienna conferences were again discussed in the House before the session closed. Mr. Gladstone supported at great length the views of Mr. Laing, that we should have adopted the Austrian proposals of "counterpoise," and that the government was carrying on war on the miserable principle of "limitation." He took a very gloomy view of our situation, and eulogised the devotion and piety of the Russian soldiers. Lord John Russell, now out of office, went into a sort of opposition of his own, and made a peace speech, which was answered by his late colleague, Lord Palmerston. Mr. Layard gave vent to the public dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war, by a motion for administrative reform, in which he attacked the way in which promotion was given in the army, and demanded the abolition of purchase, and of the privileges of the Guards. With the exception of some practical suggestions by Sir De Lacy Evans, respecting the best means of strengthening the army in the Crimea, there was no other important reference to the conduct of the war till the parliament was prorogued on the 14th of August by royal commission. In the queen's speech the alliance of the four powers was extolled as founded on a sense of the general interests of Europe, and consolidated by good faith; satisfaction was expressed that the progress of events had tended to cement more firmly a union which she trusted would survive the causes which led to it, and contribute to the permanent well-being and prosperity of the two nations. The militia were thanked for their offers of extended service, and the zeal and success of the army and navy were subjects of congratulation, and their sufferings of sympathy; the pith of the speech being the expression of the determination of the cabinet "to prosecute the war with all possible vigour." The repulse of the allies, in the assault of the 18th of June, had produced a great tension of mind respecting the next operation in the field, and the telegraphic reports were watched with the utmost anxiety.

But whilst armies were contending, and statesmen contriving, he who was the prime mover of their actions passed away from the scene, amid sorrows uncheered by aught but the passionate attachment of his family, the respect of his friends, and the love of his subjects. The Czar Nicholas died on the 2nd of March. Popular imagination here was delighted with the idea that there was "a judgment" upon him, and the leading journal in our comic literature published a cartoon, with the word "Eupatoria," upon it, representing Death striking his icy fingers on the emperor's heart. But Nicholas had been suffering for some time before the war. He was afflicted with a dread of obesity, which drove him to adopt dangerous remedies, and to injure his health. The accession of the aspiring state of Sardinia to the allied cause irritated him beyond measure; and the bold stroke of M. Cavour, which was the first well-placed vigorous step in advance to the possession of Italy by the House of Savoy, was accepted by Russia as another proof that all the powers of evil were arrayed against her.

The new czar, a young man who much resembled the great Alexander in a certain clemency of disposition and philanthropic temperament, although quite ready to accept a pacific solution of the situation through diplomatic mediation, felt bound to continue the struggle in the field. There were hopes that the news of the death of the emperor would exercise a favourable influence on the Vienna conferences which again laboured for peace; but the Russians were now thoroughly aroused in their patriotic animosity to the allies, and not destitute of hopes that Prussia, if not Austria, would declare in their favour; even if the latter retired from her attitude of observation, she would set free the corps protecting the flank of the empire on the Galician frontier, which were the pick of the Russian troops, and permit a reinforcement of one hundred thousand men to march for the Crimea. These hopes were not realised on either side. It is a singular fact that, whilst they were alike resolute in continuing hostilities early in 1855, the war was regarded with something like dismay and dislike by those who were prosecuting it, because it necessitated such enormous expenditure, and the result was so uncertain.

The first months of the year were marked with no very important incidents in the Crimea, but late in the spring the allies on the plateau prepared with energy and confidence for the third, and, as they hoped, final bombardment. The armament of the batteries was almost entirely changed and renovated. In lieu of the 18 and 24-pounders which furnished our original armaments, there were 32-pounders, 8-inch and 10-inch guns. Of the former there were 49 guns mounted, and 17 10-inch and 27 13-inch mortars were mounted to inflict on Sebastopol a real bombardment. The 56-pounders and 68-pounders made up our complement to 157 guns. The French had double that number all but seven.

At 2·30 p.m. on the 6th of June, the allies opened fire which continued till nightfall, when the mortars began to rain a hail of shells into the enemy's works and the town. Next morning the smoking débris and shattered outline of the defences attested the weight and fury of the allied cannonade. It was resolved to assault the Quarries, the Mamelon and the works in connection with it. The former was so called from some stone quarries, between the Redan and our front, which the enemy had converted into a powerful armed work. A column of 2000 men of the

Light and 2nd Divisions under Shirley captured the Quarries, and held them against repeated attacks, in which they had 6 officers and 25 men killed, and 30 officers and 431 men wounded. The French, who let loose nearly 30,000 men at the Mamelon and White Works, did not succeed in mastering the Russians without a protracted resistance, in which they lost 69 officers and 628 men killed, 203 officers and 4060 men wounded, 4 officers and 378 men missing. The Russians avowed a loss of 3000 men.

There was such a feeling of confidence engendered among the allies by these successes, that the prospect of a general assault was regarded with the utmost satisfaction. Lord Raglan was in favour of an immediate attack, but Pelissier urged that it would be better to arm the Mamelon and White Works and to secure the assistance of their fire before any attempt was made. At last all was ready. The 17th of June was to witness the supreme effort, which was to be followed by the assault next day, the anniversary of Waterloo. The French, on the left, were to attack the Quarantine, Central, and Flagstaff bastions. The English, in the centre, were to attack the Redan in front and give a hand to the French in the south ravine. On the right the French were to attack the Malakoff, the Little Redan, and the Gervais battery. The bombardment seemed to produce all the effect that could be desired; the return fire of the Russians was so feeble, that it was concluded they were running short of ammunition. It was resolved to renew the bombardment for three hours on the morning of the 18th, and then to assault. But the French generals charged with the execution of the plan pointed out to Pelissier that they could not march down the troops to the places d'armes in daylight without being seen by the enemy, and that it would be better to attack at daybreak. Lord Raglan had to alter the arrangements; French and English columns were ordered to march at night so as to be ready for an immediate advance before it was day. The signal for the advance was to be three rockets from the French head-quarters, which were to be answered by two rockets from the English head-quarters. At three o'clock a military rocket fired from the Mamelon was mistaken by General Mayran for the signal, and he at once led his column from the Careening Creek Ravine. The French centre was not yet on its ground, but Pelissier thought it was better to go on. Mayran's column was not only exposed to a terrible fire from the trenches, but to sweeping broadsides from the steamers in the creek and roadstead. He and many of his officers fell, and the remains of the brigade fell back, and reformed. Brunet, who commanded the centre, was killed at the very outset, and his men were held under a withering fire from the Malakoff trenches. D'Autemarre, on his left, carried the formidable Gervais battery on the right of the Malakoff. Whether Lord Raglan thought that the capture of the Gervais battery was a sufficient guarantee of success on the right or not it is impossible to say, but he at once directed Sir George Brown, who commanded the trenches, to attack the Redan. This work was to be assailed by three columns of 400 men under Shadforth, Campbell, and Lacy Yea, preceded by a party of sailors under Peel, artillerymen and sappers with ladders, woolpacks, and trenching tools. The small columns had to go over more than 100 yards of broken ground filled with shell craters up to an abatis still formidable. The three leaders of the storming parties were killed after leaving the trenches. Only in one place did the British gain some slight advantage. General Eyre, with 2000 men belonging to the 9th, 18th, 28th, 38th, and 44th regiments, carried the cemetery and the suburb in front of the Dockyard Creek battery, got in rear of the Creek battery, and wormed his way up under the Barrack battery, but he was exposed to a heavy fire all day, and when he retired wounded at night, he had lost 600 killed and wounded. Our total loss in the assault was 22 officers and 244 men killed, 78 officers and 1209 men wounded. The French losses were 33 officers and 1340 men killed, 237 officers and 1520 men wounded, 21 officers and 390 men missing. The Russians probably lost as many as the allies.

The failure of the assault caused an immense reaction. To be beaten back from those defiant earthworks, to be smitten with a sense of defeat, was something new to British troops only familiar with the traditions of victory. Once more there was an exodus of the old Crimean chiefs. Sir George Brown, Sir W. Codrington, Sir J. Pennefather, Sir George Buller, were invalided, Sir J. Jones and General Eyre were suffering from their wounds. It was not merely the losses, severe as they were, which told on the spirits of the army. It seemed as if the fates and Heaven itself were against them. Five days after the assault the camps were visited by a storm of extraordinary violence, which deluged the huts, turned the beds of the ravines into torrents, and the trenches into wet ditches, swept away the cavalry stables, injured the railway, and added to the sources of sickness, never absent from longstanding encampments. The cholera appeared once more. General Estcourt, the Adjutant-General, a valued friend of Lord Raglan, died on the 24th of June, after three days' illness. On the 28th of June, Lord Raglan's name appeared to a general order promulgating an extract from a telegraphic despatch of Lord Panmure, conveying the expression of her Majesty's grief that so much bravery should not have been rewarded with merited success on the 18th of June, and the assurance that her confidence in her troops was entire. On his way back from the French head-quarters, after the assault, Lord Raglan received intelligence of the death of his sister, to whom he was deeply attached, he was also much affected by the departure of his ancient comrades, and by the loss of so many officers and men. Then came the death of Estcourt. The storm, and anxieties all told on the frame of a man who had suffered the loss of an arm at Waterloo, and who had been enfeebled by a long career of office work and sedentary occupation. His nephews had remarked a great change in him, and, on the day of the storm, one of them wrote that he had grown very aged latterly. The day after Sir W. Estcourt's funeral Lord Raglan was obliged to seek the advice of his medical attendants, who prescribed for him, and he was able to transact business; but on the 27th his illness increased. Next day there was so little improvement that the telegram from head-quarters must have prepared the government for the sequel. Up to forenoon there was no cause for apprehension, but towards evening he seemed to lose consciousness: in his little room in the Russian farm-house, at 8 p.m., he quietly passed away, surrounded by the most devoted friends and relatives who ever served a chief. The morning general orders of the 29th of June, signed by Sir J. Simpson, announced the death of its commander to the army, but the news had spread through the camp, from hut to hut, causing the greatest regret. All was forgotten but the noble qualities of a man who had no tincture of any base feeling in his nature, and who possessed, to an extraordinary degree, the power of winning the esteem of those with whom he came in contact. The spectacle presented on the 3rd of July, when the remains of Lord Raglan were borne from the room in which he died to Kazatch, was perhaps one of the most solemn and affecting ever witnessed in the course of any campaign. The cortége, in which there were all the officers of superior rank who could be spared from their duty, moved out from the inclosure through the double line formed by three officers and fifty men from every regiment of infantry in the Crimea, till it touched the French camp, where our allies received the procession within a similar living alley. With presented arms, and rolling drum to mark its course, and the funeral music of each camp, and the measured beat of cannon to honour the dead, the sun shining brightly on the scene, made brilliant by colours, and plume, and lace, and steel, the bier was borne to Kazatch, where the allied fleets and the transports lay with flags half-mast high, and countless boats thronged the bay, and covered the waters with "a grove of uplifted oars." In the absence of Sir George Brown, the command of the British army devolved upon General Simpson. Other changes were rendered necessary by the illness or absence of superior officers. Major-General Barnard was appointed Chief of the Staff; Mr. Filder, Commissary-General, an ill-used public servant, made way for Sir G. Maclean; Sir W. Eyre took command of the 3rd Division, which Sir R. England resigned from ill health; Sir W. Codrington succeeded Sir G. Brown in the command of the Light Division. Lieut.-General Markham, coming post haste from India, assumed charge of the 2nd Division. The Naval Brigade was handed over by Sir S. Lushington to Captain Keppel. For some reason, but imperfectly understood, Canrobert was ordered to leave the Crimea, and Bosquet was placed in command of the French army on our right, over the Inkerman Valley. Our allies were so well fed by drafts of men, that they could increase the corps stationed in the plain of Balaclava materially, and at the same time press their attacks on the right and on the left of our position with incessant activity, but the British could not make corresponding progress, and, even if they had numbered 100,000 men, it would not have been possible for them to have played a prominent part in the siege works unless the French made room for them on either flank. The Russians, much elated by their success on the 18th of June, and crowding their works with men, plied the trenches with shell, grenades, and projectiles of all sorts. The losses became serious on both sides—most grievous to us who could least afford them.

Omar Pasha, who seemed to have a larger view of the scene of warfare than the allied generals, was ever urgent for a diversion in Asia Minor, where the Russians under General Mouravieff were now closely investing the town and fortress of Kars. The garrison, consisting of 28,000 men, was under the orders of Vassif Pasha. Lieut.-Colonel Williams, R.A., who had been sent out as commissioner to Turkish head-quarters, Lieut.-Colonel Lake; Major Teesdale, and Captain Thompson gave powerful aid to the defence, and several Hungarians, who had entered the Turkish service, set a splendid example to the Turks, whose courage indeed needed no stimulus. Colonel Williams arrived at Kars on the 14th of September, but as early as June the 16th the Russians had driven in the outposts and surrounded the place, with which it was difficult to communicate. Gradually contracting their lines, the enemy soon reduced the Turks to the greatest straits. On the 3rd of September about 1000 horse cut their way out with great loss. On the 29th of the same month the Russians, in three columns, covered by 24 guns, made a determined assault on the outlying redoubts called the Tahmash Yakseh and English redoubts. They swarmed into the latter, but were repulsed in repeated attempts on the former, and were finally driven out of the English works, with a loss estimated by Colonel Williams at 12,000 killed and wounded. This is an estimate which it is impossible to accept, even though it took the Turks four days to bury the dead. The Turks lost 362 killed, and 631 wounded, and the townspeople, who fought with spirit, had 101 killed and wounded. This severe lesson drove the Russians to maintain a strict blockade. The Turks at Erzeroum had made several attempts to reach the garrison, but were intercepted by a force detached under General Sonsloff to bar the road, and could not effect their object. The sufferings of the garrison speedily became intense. At the end of September Omar Pasha landed at Redoubt Kaleh with 15,000 men. On the 28th of November the garrison, driven to the last extremity by want and illness, surrendered with the honours of war. They marched out with drums beating and colours flying, the officers of all ranks wearing their swords, headed by the Mushir Vassif Pasha, eight pashas, General Williams and his staff; about 14,000 regular and irregular troops laid down their arms, and 130 cannon and 30,000 stand of arms fell to the victors. Ere this success was consummated, Omar Pasha had made an effort to save the gallant garrison. On the 28th of October, having established depôts, constructed bridges, and cleared the road to the river Ingour, he sent forward his advanced guard to reconnoitre the ford at Rooki, which was guarded by 12,000 local troops, Mingrelian militia. On the 4th of November, he forced the passage with 20,000 foot after a smart action, in which the Turks lost 68 killed and 292 wounded, and the Russians lost 400 killed and 3 guns. The news of the surrender of Kars, however, frustrated the object Omar Pasha had in view, and the diversion proved abortive. The Turks did not attempt to force the Kutais, to which the Russians retreated, and thus ended an inglorious campaign. There was much recrimination and strong feeling manifested in and out of parliament respecting the fall of Kars, but all parties agreed in honouring the English officers, and Colonel Williams was created a baronet (Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars), and received a pension of 1000*l.* a year for his services.

On the 16th of August the Russians made a desperate and ill-judged attempt to wrest the line of the Tchernaya from the allies. The French held the Fedinkine Heights, the Sardinians were on the heights in continuation of them on their right. There was a Turkish division of 6000 men on the right of two divisions of Sardinian infantry, one cavalry regiment, and 32 field guns. The French had three divisions of infantry, one division of cavalry, and 80 guns for the defence of the valley. In their rear lay the British cavalry and artillery, and Mobray's heavy battery. This considerable army was in easy communication by the Woronzow road with the forces on the plateau, and with the corps of observation. On the night of the 15th, Prince Gortschakoff ordered General Read to march with the 7th and 12th Divisions of Infantry and 64 guns from the Mackenzie plateau, and to effect a junction with Liprandi, who, at the head of the 5th, 6th, and 17th Divisions and 90 guns, with the 4th and 11th Divisions in reserve, was to attack the Sardinians, but not the French till he received express orders to do so. There was a thick fog in the morning which hid the enemy from the outposts, but the Turks and Sardinians were on the alert. Liprandi's guns were already planted in a commanding position to enfilade the Sardinians, when accident brought a French patrol on the other side of the river into collision with the riflemen of Read's corps, who seem to have been sent too near to the Tchernaya. The firing roused up the camps. The Sardinians were forced out of the entrenched outposts by Liprandi's columns, and, in a few moments, the guns of both Russian armies were playing on French and Sardinians, but without definite aim, as there was still a dense fog. Instead of standing fast till Liprandi had ousted the Sardinians and turned the right of the position, Read pushed on in front at once and attacked the French, who were on very commanding ground, with the river and the deep aqueduct in front. So fierce was the rush of the 7th and 12th Divisions, that they drove the French before them, crossed the Tchernaya, and took the *tête de pont* of Traktir. But the French had not fled. They fell back on supports in formation on commanding ground. Wimpffen, the officer whose sad fate it was to surrender Sedan seventeen years later, launched the 3rd Zouaves and 82nd of the line at the Russians, drove them into and over the aqueduct down to the river, where they halted, and, facing round, opened a well-sustained fire, whilst their supports moved down under a heavy cannonade, and endeavoured to shove the broken columns up the hillsides, on which Camou's divisions were now concentrated. Crested with a foam of bayonets, the Russians rolled onwards again and upwards and gained the ridge. There they were swept off by grape and musketry, and scored through and through by the flanking fire of the Sardinian batteries. As they wavered under this terrible reception, the French, with loud hurrahs, went at the Russians with the bayonet, and the disordered columns were rolled down the hill-side into the aqueduct and river. In front the Russians still held fast, but they were exposed to a crushing fire from the division of Dulac and the French batteries. In vain the Russians brought fresh batteries into action, and covered their shaken battalions with a furious cannonade. The infantry refused to renew their attempts on the steep hillsides, now covered with bayonets, and vomiting forth fire from the plateau to the ridges of Karlovka, and sullenly fell back to the plains towards the base of the Mackenzie chain, under the protection of their array of 50 squadrons of cavalry. The battle of the Tchernaya was won. The French lost 9 subaltern officers killed, 8 superior and 53 subaltern officers wounded, 172 men killed, 1163 men wounded, and 146 were missing. The Sardinians had only 200 men placed *hors de combat*, among whom was Count de Monte Vecchio, commanding the 4th Brigade. Of the Russians, more than 600 officers and men were made prisoners, and the general loss in killed and wounded was placed by Pelissier's despatch at not less than 8000, of which number 3000 were said to be slain.

The battle of the Tchernaya decided the fall of Sebastopol. The Russians, unable to raise the siege, were reduced to defend the place as best they might. Every day and night the task became more arduous, the losses more heavy, the value of what was so gallantly held less, for day and night shells were rained into the place from mortar and cohorn great and small, and an incessant fire kept up from parapets of trench and rifle-pits, now close up to their work in every embrasure. The buildings were riddled through and through, and stood mere shattered stone targets against the sky, and, notwithstanding all their hard work, the besieged could not renew their damaged parapets and repair their embrasures as before. Mines and countermines, shafts and galleries, vast subterranean passages, all the devices of the engineer were brought into play in front of the Central bastion and Bastion du Mât. The new bombardment began on the 18th of August.

The weather changed suddenly on the 7th of September, and on the morning of the 8th it was bitterly cold. It was arranged that the French should attack the Malakoff at noon, and that, as soon as their attack succeeded, we were to assault the Redan. Strong columns were to make a diversion on the left, and menace the Bastion du Mât, Central and Quarantine bastions. At 10.30 a.m. the 2nd and the Light Division were placed in the advanced parallels as quietly as possible. At 10.45 a.m. General Pelissier and his staff went up to the French observatory on the right. The cannonade was allowed to languish towards noon; but the Russians, catching sight of the cavalry and troops, began to shell Cathcart's Hill and the heights. At five minutes before twelve o'clock, the French issued forth from the trenches close to the Malakoff, crossed the seven mètres of ground which separated them from the enemy at a few bounds—scrambled up its face, and were through the embrasures in the twinkling of an eye. Battalion after battalion, they drifted as lightly and quickly as autumn leaves before the wind, and in a minute the tricolour was floating over the Korniloff bastion. As soon as the tricolour was observed waving over the Malakoff, four rockets were sent up from Chapman's attack as a signal for our assault upon the Redan. It was a few minutes after twelve when our men left the fifth parallel. As the Light Division rushed out into the open, the guns of the Barrack battery, and on the proper right of the Redan, caused considerable loss. The men scaled the parapet almost without opposition; the Russians who were in front got behind their traverses and opened fire. At the base of the Redan was a breastwork. In vain the officers urged our soldiers to clear the work. The men, most of whom belonged to regiments which had suffered in the trenches, and were acquainted with the traditions of the 18th of June, had an impression that the Redan was extensively mined. The different regiments mingled together in confusion. All the brigadiers, save Colonel Windham, were wounded, most of the officers were killed or wounded. Supports were sent up in driblets. Thrice did Colonel Windham despatch officers to Sir W. Codrington, who was in the fifth parallel, to entreat him to send up supports in formation; all three were wounded. Colonel Windham resolved to go to General Codrington. He succeeded in gaining the fifth parallel. At that moment our men were seen running down the parapet of the Redan and through the embrasures into the ditch, the Russians following them with bayonets and stones. It would be untrue to say that the result of our assault was not the source of deep grief and mortification to us, which all the glorious successes of our allies could not wholly alleviate. Even those who thought any attack on the Redan useless and unwise, inasmuch as the possession of the Malakoff would, in their opinion, render the Redan untenable, could not but regret bitterly that, having undertaken the assault, we had not achieved a decisive triumph, and that so much blood had been, if not ingloriously, at least fruitlessly, poured forth. The French, indeed, were generous enough to say that our troops behaved with great bravery, and that they wondered how we kept the Redan so long under such a tremendous fire; but British soldiers are rather unaccustomed to the *nil admirari* under such circumstances.

The French lost 24 superior officers, 116 subalterns, 1489 non-commissioned officers and men killed, 4 superior and 244 subaltern officers, and 4259 non-commissioned officers and men wounded, 2 superior and 8 subaltern officers, and 1400 men missing, total 7551. The English lost only 24 officers and 129 men killed, 134 officers and 1897 men wounded, total 2447, or, as another return gave, 2160.

Let us now refer to the naval operations of the year. On the 9th of April, 1855, 11 line of battle ships and 5 men-of-war paddle steamers, under Rear-Admiral Dundas, sailed from the Downs for Kiel, and entered the Baltic. They there rallied the French squadron, under Rear-Admiral Penaud, so that the allies had assembled for active operations on the opening of the sea a naval force of 23 line of battle ships, with 1853 guns, 31 frigates and corvettes, 544 guns, 29 gunboats and 78 guns, 18 mortar boats, 21 guns. A squadron under Admiral Baynes was engaged in the blockade of Cronstadt, which had been " observed " for three weeks by the united fleets without any engagement. Detached cruisers swept every bay and creek in the Baltic, but the public demanded something more than these police patrols. On the 5th of June a cutter from H.M.S. *Cossack* was sent in to Hango, on the Gulf of Finland, under a flag of truce to land some Russian prisoners and to procure fresh provisions, if possible. The prisoners were landed, and Lieutenant Geneste and party, carrying a white flag, proceeded towards the houses, when they were suddenly fired upon by a detachment of soldiers, and those who were not killed or wounded were made prisoners. There was much anger excited by what was called the Hango massacre, but it may be doubted whether the Russian general did not lay down the right principle when, in reply to remonstrances on our side, he observed, that if a vessel wished to communicate under a flag of truce, she should anchor out of range, and wait for a boat to receive her message in writing. He charged the British with abuse of the white flag, and specified a case in which a boat landed men at Tivermine, and set fire to huts and boats. Prince Dolgorouky, in reply to Admiral Dundas, maintained that the party under Lieutenant Geneste had been attacked and made prisoners of war properly, and refused to deliver them up: but he erroneously stated that the boat's crew had thrown guns overboard and had fired their muskets. Whatever the abstract justice of the Russian position might have been, the conduct of the officers and men of the Grenadiers of the Frederick William regiment, who killed one and wounded two of their own countrymen, and killed six and wounded four of the party of unarmed English, was exceedingly savage, for they might have captured the whole party without firing a shot. On the 6th of August, the French and English admirals proceeded to attack the forts of Sweaborg outside Helsingfors. The islands at the entrance to the bay were defended by casemated works to which had been added sand batteries, but the French were able to throw up a mortar battery on Abraham's Island. On the 9th of September the bombardment by the mortar-boats began, and continued almost uninterruptedly till four a.m. on the 11th of September. More than 2000 tons of iron were thrown by the allies into the place, many batteries and magazines were blown up, and much destruction of property effected, but the attack may be said to have failed completely, for the stone forts and sea defences were not materially injured. The allied admirals disclaimed any intention of a general attack by the ships, and asserted that they only contemplated such damage of the forts and arsenals as could be accomplished by means of mortars; and the

Russian commander-in-chief, De Berg, in his despatch, congratulated himself on the punishment he supposed he had inflicted on the ships and in the defeat of their project, and declared that they had only demolished wooden buildings and houses inside the works.

This small success was more than counterbalanced by the failure of the allies at Petropaulovski. The *La Forte*, 60, flag of Admiral des Pointes, *Eurydice*, 26, *Obligado*, 12, and Admiral Price's squadron, *President*, 50, *Pique*, 40, and *Virago*, 6, sailed from Honolulu, on the 25th of July, in search of the two Russian frigates *Aurora*, 44, and *Dwina*, 22, which were reported to have escaped from the Chinese seas, and to have taken refuge in Kamschatka. On the 28th of August the expedition anchored off Petropaulovski, in the Bay of Avatska, and reconnoitred the port, with their broadsides bearing on the sea face. The frigates were seen lying dismantled inside a spit on which was a battery of eleven guns. A battery of five guns flanked this work on one side, another of three guns on the other, and some detached earthworks were also visible. These works opened fire on the squadron as soon as it anchored, but did no mischief. On the 30th of August the British and French stood in and engaged the five-gun battery: but the attack was suspended in consequence of the death of Admiral Price, who shot himself with a pistol. His successor Sir F. Nicholson and Admiral des Pointes would appear to have been influenced by this untoward event. Instead of attacking the batteries and the frigates with their immensely superior force, they attempted nothing more next day than the destruction of a small work and of the five-gun battery. On the 6th of September, when the *Virago*, towing the *President* and *La Forte* within range of the batteries, threw a party of 700 French and English seamen and marines on shore, with the intention of turning the defences, and taking Petropaulovski by the rear, the Russians were on the alert, and opened a very severe fire. The column broke up, and made no consistent effort to effect the object for which they were landed. Captain La Grandière of the *Eurydice* and Captain Burridge were conspicuous for their gallantry. The force retired, with the loss of 1 British and 3 French officers killed, 25 British and 23 French seamen and marines killed, 71 British and 77 French wounded: a total of 215.

When Prince Gortschakoff had satisfied himself that all efforts to drive the French out of the Malakoff were vain, and that the morning would see the enemy well established on the lines of his defence, he gave orders for the execution of the masterly retreat which had been for a long time under consideration. To prevent any hustling, or any pressure, from the victorious allies in the direction of the Malakoff, he threw a strong body of infantry into the houses of the Karabelnaya, brought down his steamers so as to sweep the roads, and filled the houses with riflemen; and at the same time occupied with field artillery, and strongly supported, all the points of vantage, and manned the barricades which barred any access along the streets to the harbour. To the roar and tumult of the incessant musketry and cannonade which had endured since morning, there succeeded almost a complete silence as the sun went down, but alerts now and then brought on a fitful fire; and although the Redan was apparently deserted and the other works gave no signs of life, the enemy were quite ready to resist any attempt that might be made to reoccupy the abandoned batteries and to make way into the town. Those who were near enough, indeed, might hear, as our men did, the moans and cries of the thousands who lay wounded and helpless in the shell craters and in the great ditches literally gorged with blood. • Night descended upon the allies and found them inactive, for all the French clung to was the hope that they might be left in the Malakoff; and for us there had been a depressing failure, which scarcely gave room to hope that the operations of the morrow could succeed. Meantime the Russians were pouring out of the city towards the north side by the great bridge of boats, carrying with them guns and stores and munitions of war. The certainty that the Russians had mined the front of the works inspired caution in the generals, but General Simpson had given Pelissier to understand that he would renew the attack on the Redan in the morning; and the Highland Brigade were in the advanced parallel in front of the Redan, under the command of Sir Colin Campbell, with the Guards in support, watching for the morning. An adventurous officer got out of the trench, crept up towards the Redan, and found it abandoned by the enemy. Parties were sent to remove the wounded, but still it was considered prudent to watch till morning came. And well it was so. This caution kept so many hundreds of men from useless destruction. For, after midnight, ominous lights began to spread in the town, a great glare marked the line of the dockyard walls, at last buildings burst into a flame, and here and there fires, which, fanned by a rising wind, swept along the streets. Suddenly a column of fire rushed into the air, succeeded by a quivering of the ground, and the bursting of hundreds of shells. The magazines of the Redan, of the Creek, of the Dockyard, and of the Barrack batteries went off, one after another. The Flagstaff, Garden, Central Bastion, and Quarantine batteries marked the time by explosions at each quarter of an hour; as the day broke the Quarantine Fort and Fort Alexander flew into the air. Daylight gave to view the lines of infantry crossing the bridge, which after a time was broken up and floated away by the steamers. The Russians burnt their steamers, their ships, and their yachts, and when they left the town they abandoned their wounded in horrible charnel houses, miscalled hospitals. A few marauders entered the town. Sebastopol was ours indeed; but it was still under the guns of the northern forts, and caution was necessary in moving about the city. The loss on the 8th they put down at nearly 12,000 men, and from the time of the battle of the Tchernaya down to the day of the assault, their total loss was very nearly 30,000 killed and wounded, without including the casualties in the former action. The dockyards were really the most valuable portions of Sebastopol, as the forts were merely built to protect them, and we were obliged to destroy these dockyards. Inside the arsenal were found 3839 guns and mortars, but most of the serviceable pieces had been used in the batteries. The stores of round shot were almost exhausted, but still there was half a million pounds of gunpowder, more than 100,000 shells, and a great quantity of naval stores, such as anchors, rope, copper sheathing, nails, coals, steam engines, and the like. These were divided amongst the armies by a commission, which assigned to the French two-thirds, and to the English and Sardinians one-third of the prize. Well might Prince Gortschakoff be proud of his defence, and remind his soldiers that it was superior in its heroic valour to the deeds which at Borodino and Moscow challenged the admiration of posterity. "It is not Sebastopol," he said to his soldiers, "we have left to them, but the burning ruins of a town which we ourselves set fire to after maintaining our honour in such a way that our children's children will recall the remembrance of it for ever." He immediately prepared to resist any attack on his position on the north side, and indeed a direct demonstration against it would have been most hazardous. Nor could anything, apparently, have touched the Russians, encamped from Mackenzie and Inkerman, with their right resting on the Belbek and Sievernaya, except a complete change from the plateau, which would leave the allies at liberty to select their own ground between the Belbek and Perekop. The moment that the fate of the south side of Sebastopol was decided, the allies expanded somewhat, and the French made a movement towards the Tchernaya, as if minded to ascend to Mackenzie, while the force at Eupatoria was augmented. This latter movement created much anxiety at first, and until the Russians learned that there was but a small force at Eupatoria, they allowed D'Allonville, who commanded them, to break up a small corps of observation at Sak, which the Turks effected very gallantly on the 25th and 26th of December. To compensate for the inaction which followed the capture of the south side, or rather surrender of it, an expedition was determined upon to harass the Russians in the Liman, as it is called, of the Dneiper, and it may be supposed that when the allies conceived the plan of the expedition they intended to strike a blow at Nicolaiev. The entrance of the Liman was defended by the fort Oczakoff on the north, and on the south, on a low sand-bank, by Kinbourn; but the works were old-fashioned, and ill-provided with modern appliances of warfare. To strengthen the defences, however, the Russians had been busily engaged in erecting sand-batteries on the extremity of the spit, on which stood the latter fort. On the 7th October 3500 French infantry under Wimpffen, and about 4000 British infantry, consisting of the 17th, 20th, 21st, 57th, and 63rd regiments, under General Spencer, sailed from the Crimea, under the protection of the fleets commanded by Lyons and Rouher. To the latter were joined three floating batteries, designed by the Emperor of the French, who had thus certainly the credit of bringing into action the first iron-clads, for although the British Admiralty had designed and constructed vessels somewhat similar, they were not finished in time and never fired a hostile shot. Looking into Odessa to alarm it, the expedition on the 14th sailed for Kinbourn, which was defended by 1500 men under General Kokanovitch. First the allies landed the infantry below the fort, and thus cut it off from half of the land side. Next a detachment of the men-of-war steamed round the spit and took up a position inside, opposite one flank of the battery, while the mortar vessels were ranged between them and the shore. Then the floating batteries closed in on the other side, and the bulk of the fleet, in position, took up a long line from the spit to the southernmost angle of the work. On the 17th, early in the morning, the fire opened. In less than an hour Kinbourn was in flames, and very soon scarce a gun could fire, as most of them were dismounted or overwhelmed in the débris of the sand-bags or casemates. At last the garrison was summoned, and Kokanovitch surrendered on condition that he should march out, his officers with side-arms and in a manner with honours of war. Oczakoff was blown up next day, but no attempt was made against Nicolaiev, as a reconnaisance up the Boug did not encourage the allied admirals to think it a promising work; nor did the force at Eupatoria, when strengthened by our Light Brigade under Lord George Paget, make any way. Indeed it would seem as if there was a complete want of enterprise on the part of the allied generals or of the Home Government. They had got Sebastopol, and they did not know what to do with it. Simpson resigned, and he was succeeded by Sir William Codrington, who was placed over Sir Colin Campbell, a much abler though not a braver soldier, and this choice in itself would have indicated to those accustomed to look under the surface that the government did not really mean to press on the war.

Although the force of Russia was by no means exhausted in a war of a purely defensive character, the struggle had told upon her resources with such effect, that she could no longer disdain negotiations for peace; and at the same time the difficulties in the way of obtaining more favourable terms by force, now that the destruction of Sebastopol was accomplished, presented themselves more sternly to the allies as they regarded the chances of aggressive warfare and another invasion of Russia.

On the 22nd of December a circular was sent from St. Petersburg to the diplomatic agents of Russia, in which allusion was made to certain information received by the government that the belligerents were disposed to resume negotiations on the basis of the "Four Points," and which declared that the imperial cabinet did not hesitate to come forward frankly to meet those peaceful dispositions, and seek a solution of the third of them which was suggested on the principle that the Dardanelles was to be closed, and that Russia and Turkey should, by direct arrangement between themselves, without participation of the other powers, determine the force to be maintained by each in the Black Sea. Whence or how that information was received there was no indication afforded in the circular or otherwise, and there were politicians who thought at the time that it was issued by Russia in order to save her dignity and to gain the credit of being ready to accept a solution of the great difficulty which had abstracted all attempts to secure a permanent peace. It was thought that Russia had become aware of the proposals which Count Buol was about to make to her, and that she desired to anticipate the Austrian overtures by a step *proprio motu*. It is certain that the Russian circular was made public before the despatch of Count Buol saw the light. But it could only have been by a telegraphic despatch that the imperial cabinet could be made aware of the course the emperor of Austria was about to adopt, unless the cabinets were in secret relation with each other, through the agency of Prussia or otherwise. Within a few days of the date of the Russian circular of the 22nd of December, Prince Esterhazy, the personal friend of the czar's father, was despatched to St. Petersburg, where it was supposed the friendly influence of the king of Prussia, and the refusal of Prussia to depart from her propitiable neutrality, had been co-operating with the depressing influences of the war to create a less arrogant spirit than that which had animated the councils of the czar before the outbreak of hostilities. His mission was intended to pave the way to an armistice in anticipation of a permanent peace. Count Buol wrote that he had ascertained that France and England would not refuse to examine proposals which offered a prospect of such a peace, though "they would not lend themselves to any initiative of any overtures." The "Four Points" were once more presented to Russia. They were now: 1. Abolition of the Russian protectorate over the Principalities, and complete non-intervention in these internal affairs. The suzerainty of the porte to be maintained. 2. The freedom of the Danube and of its mouths to be assured under the contracting powers. 3. The Black Sea to be opened to merchant vessels and closed to ships of war. No arsenals to be created or maintained there. 4. The Christian subjects of the porte to be guaranteed their immunities without any infringement of the sultan's power and dignity. To these there was added: 5. The belligerents reserve the right of making special conditions over and above those already laid down. The Russian government, on the 19th of January, sent a circular note to the Russian diplomatic agents at the neutral courts, in which the Austrian proposals were accepted simply as they were, and in which it was pointed out that these proposals did not differ appreciably from the conditions set forth in the despatch of the 22nd of December, 1854, except in the clause which related to the rectification of frontier between the Danubian Principalities and Russia in exchange for the parts of Russia occupied by the enemy. Thus the air became clearer.

Almost on the last day of the year the Imperial Guard—recalled, as the emperor said, from the Crimea, not because the war was over, but that they might relieve regiments which were anxious to partake of their glory, and because a numerous veteran army was needed in France to show itself where circumstances might demand—entered Paris. France was, indeed, weary of the war. The French army had suffered severely. Some of the regiments had almost disappeared, for the outpost duties had been severe, and their lines, extending into the valley of Baidar, had undergone the same ordeal in 1855 as the British troops had been exposed to in the trenches in the winter of 1854. But the British army was in such excellent condition, that had our allies been in a corresponding state of efficiency, the offensive movements, which were fondly devised with the view of establishing an equilibrium between the reputation of the two forces, might have been undertaken with every prospect of clearing the Russians out of the Crimea. Sir William Codrington, however, was not of that commanding military merit which inspires confidence and enthusiasm. The knowledge that Mouravieff had come down to command the armies which lay covering the defiles between the Tchernaya, Simferopol, and Bakshi-Serai was calculated to damp the ardour of those who considered high military genius needed for the successful accomplishment of such an enterprise. Mr. Cobden, leading the opposition to the war policy of the cabinet, which still endured in England, published a pamphlet, entitled 'What next?' in which he argued that Austria and Germany were the best protection against Russian oppression. It must be admitted that the former power spared no effort to effect a peaceful solution of the difficulties between the allies and the czar, which had led to such a wasting war, and entailed on the inhabitants of five different states such great calamities and sacrifices.

SECTION V.

On the 31st of January, 1856, parliament was opened by the queen in person; she was enabled to refer with some confidence to the negotiations which had been thus resumed with the view of accomplishing an arrangement for an armistice, or, more properly speaking, for a cessation of hostilities which should not be renewed. On the 1st of February, a protocol was signed by the representatives of the four great powers, with the addition of Prussia, who was admitted to the conference at Vienna. It set forth that plenipotentiaries should be appointed for the signature of formal preliminaries of peace, and should meet to conclude a definite treaty within three weeks from that date in Paris. An armistice from the 29th of February to the 31st of March meantime was agreed upon. On the same day that the Vienna protocol was signed, the allies commenced the destruction of the great docks on the south side of Sebastopol, which were blown up and completely ruined, and on the 4th and on the 11th of the same month the forts which guarded the entrance to the harbour—Nicholas and Alexander—were destroyed by mines. These operations were justified by the exigencies of war, for the armistice had not yet begun.

On the 26th of February the peace conference was opened in Paris under the presidency of Count Walewski. Lord Clarendon and Lord Cowley represented Great Britain; Count Buol and Baron de Hubner, Austria; France was also represented by

Baron de Bourgueney; Count Orloff and Baron Brunnow represented Russia; for Sardinia appeared Count Cavour and the Marquis of Villa Marina; for Turkey, Aali Pasha and Djemal Bey. Three days afterwards it was arranged, at a conference between the French and English and Russian generals at the bridge on the Tchernaya, that the suspension of hostilities should date from that day to the 31st of March. The arrangements for an armistice were concluded without prejudice to blockades, and the members of the conference then addressed themselves assiduously to their work, and elaborated the famous treaty, which consisted of thirty-one articles and a convention. On the 30th of March the treaty of peace was signed—a treaty strong in the declaration of principles now forgotten, and of a policy which has utterly broken down. By it the Black Sea was neutralised, its waters and ports thrown open to the merchant ships of every nation, and closed for ever to ships of war; a small marine police alone being allowed for Russia and Turkey. The czar and the sultan engaged not to establish or maintain upon its shores any military or maritime arsenal. The war was attended by no conquest of territory, for all places occupied during the war were reciprocally evacuated, and Kars was restored to Turkey, and the Crimea to Russia. Turkey was admitted to the federation of European states, and by article 7 the powers (Great Britain, Ireland, Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, and Sardinia) engaged to respect her territorial integrity and guarantee in common the strict observance of that engagement. Article 8 provided that if there should arise between Turkey and any power a misunderstanding, that the Porte and that power should afford the other powers an opportunity of mediating before recourse was had to force. The sultan, having spontaneously issued a firman recording his generous intentions towards his Christian subjects, the powers recognised the value of his majesty's act, and placed on record in the 9th article the absolute renunciation of any right to interfere collectively or separately in the relations of the sultan and his subjects. The free navigation of the Danube and rectification of frontiers was provided for in articles 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and the Principalities were (articles 22, 23, 24, &c.) guaranteed by the powers the enjoyment of their immunities under the suzerainty of the porte. A special convention provided that the Aalands Islands should not be fortified. Before the close of the Paris conference, Count Walewski called the attention of the statesmen present to three burning subjects:—the condition of Italy, of the Roman States, and the state of Greece, each occupied by foreign troops, and the spread of socialism, which had found its head-quarters in Belgium, where its doctrines were promulgated by the emissaries of 'Marianne,' and by a liberal press, wielded by the enemies of order under the shelter of Belgian laws. He suggested that representations should be made to Belgium with the object of restraining the liberty or licence of the press. Lord Clarendon, however, would not agree to advising measures of coercion against the press of another state, although he admitted that the execrable doctrines of those secret societies were of such a nature as to disentitle their advocates to any support. Count Walewski declared that France was not only quite ready to withdraw her troops from Rome, but earnestly desired to do so as soon as it could be done with safety, and made a strong appeal to the government of the Two Sicilies to adopt a more clement and liberal policy. Lord Clarendon here was ready with sympathetic assurances, and thought that the "secularisation" of the Roman government should be recommended. He hit hard at the Neapolitan government, which kept up a revolutionary ferment among the masses, and was in favour of making known to the king of Naples the wish of the congress for an amelioration of his rule, and for requiring of him an amnesty for political offenders. The Russian plenipotentiaries did not consider they were justified in taking part in discussions as to which they had no instructions. Count Buol rejoiced at the assurance that foreign troops would be removed at once from Greece, and thought the repression of the excesses of the press was a "European necessity." It may be considered that the refusal or inability of the diplomatists to come to any conclusion upon those important questions irritated the various governments, encouraged their enemies, and in no way contributed to any useful end. The language of the French plenipotentiary was warmly resented in Belgium, and, on the 7th of May, M. Orts asked if any demand had been addressed to the government for a change in the constitution of Belgium, and, if such a demand were made, what answer would be given to it? The foreign minister replied that no government had proposed any modification in the constitution. If such a demand were made, the answer would be "Never." Since that time Belgium has shown a less rigid temper. The discussion of such matters as those laid before the conference might well be considered in a general congress for the settlement of all dangerous questions, but it was out of place in a meeting of representatives of powers interested in securing a special peace. But before they separated, the members of the conference agreed to resolutions which exercised the greatest influence on the maritime power of Great Britain. These were: first—"Privateering is and remains abolished; secondly—The neutral flag covers an enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war; thirdly—Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag; and, fourthly—Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective and maintained by a force sufficient to prevent access to the coast of the enemy." These resolutions, with the exception of the first, were accepted by the United States, and under that agreement their government has a right to employ privateers while we have abandoned it.

The news of peace caused great rejoicing, guns at night, the park and Tower guns in the morning, and the bells of many churches, proclaimed the event in London. The guns of the Invalides thundered through Paris, and the city was illuminated. A national thanksgiving was ordered. The queen, Prince Albert, and the royal family attended service in Westminster Abbey, the Commons, headed by the

Speaker, going to St. Margaret's; and on the 5th and 6th addresses to the crown were carried in the Lords and Commons, after long and somewhat heated debates. Baron Brunnow returned to his old post at London, and waited on her majesty to announce the accession of the Emperor Alexander to the throne. The thanks of both Houses were voted to the soldiers and sailors. On the 8th of May, the members of both Houses proceeded from Westminster to Buckingham Palace to present the addresses agreed upon regarding the treaty. For some weeks the rejoicings almost obscured public business from view. Her majesty reviewed the troops at Aldershot. The Guards made a public entry into London and defiled before the queen at Buckingham Palace, banquets were offered to distinguished officers, gazettes were filled with the record of their honours.

It takes a nation a long time to recover from the excitement of such a great contest as that in which we had been engaged with Russia, and day by day the return of ships, soldiers, or wounded men, sustained the interest which had animated the nation. The queen visited the sick and wounded at Chatham early in April, and attended a naval review at Spithead on the 23rd, which was the grandest display of our maritime power that had ever been seen. Both Houses adjourned to enjoy the spectacle. The enthusiasm was immense, and all the misfortunes of the war were forgotten.

It was not until the 12th of July that the Crimea was finally evacuated by the British army. A guard of Cossacks and of infantry marched into Balaclava and relieved a company of the 50th regiment, which handed over the last spot held by the allies. The operation of carrying away such a great mass of material and military stores was conducted with difficulty, and although it was known for months before the evacuation that peace was certain, there remained mountains of hay, mounds of coal, whole towns of huts, a railway complete, and odds and ends, to the value of a large sum of money. To many private speculators the result was ruinous. Fortunes, speedily accumulated, were lost in a few hours. The vast armaments of five great nations were at last dispersed.

The dissatisfaction of the people with the conduct of the war was by no means appeased by the probability of peace. Government, yielding to the general sentiment as well as to the pressure of military officers, who considered they had been unjustly treated, appointed a board of general officers to inquire into the charges made by the Crimean commissioners, Sir John M'Neill and Colonel Tulloch, which commenced its sittings at Chelsea Hospital on the 7th of April. It is a certain sign of want of success in war when committees, commissioners, and boards of inquiry are constituted to inquire into operations and the proceedings of individual officers. Neither by sea nor land were we quite free from the imputation that discord between the generals and admirals, as well as between the government and its officers, had to some extent marred our operations. The early part of the session was much occupied by discussions on the past. Sir Charles Napier sought to throw upon Sir James Graham the responsibility of the failure in the Baltic. The personal nature of the contest between the gallant officer and the First Lord of the Admiralty excited an interest which was by no means justified by the real merits of the issue between them. The duke of Wellington was right when he warned the country not to expect that ships could engage strong shore batteries with any prospect of good results.

A motion of Mr. Whiteside raised grave questions as to our treatment of the Turks and our policy in the campaign of Asia Minor. He moved, that "whilst the House felt it its duty to express its admiration of the gallantry of the Turkish soldiery and of the devotion of the British officers at the siege of Kars, it expressed its conviction that the capitulation was due in a great measure to the want of foresight and energy on the part of government." This resolution was rejected by a large majority.

The war added a sum exceeding forty-one millions sterling to the national debt. The losses of the English army were estimated at about 25,000, of whom 2,000 perished of disease; the French were computed to have lost considerably more than twice the number; no authentic record exists of the actual losses of the Russians, although some authorities have set it down at little less than a quarter of a million lives. Whilst it was the occasion of developing qualities of great excellence in our soldiers, the war displayed also a complete deficiency of military organisation at home. Lord Hardinge, who resigned the office of general commanding-in-chief on the 15th July, issued a general order which somewhat exaggerated, perhaps, the merits of the army of the Crimea. He said that at no former period of the military history of this country had the devoted conduct of the troops been surpassed. These soldier-like qualities stood the test of a siege carried on through a rigorous winter for eleven months in open trenches. The duke of Cambridge was appointed as Lord Hardinge's successor. During his administration, the most important changes in our military system that have ever been made since we first had a standing army, have been carried into effect; but we have yet to see what the result of the most ambitious, and, certainly in theory, the most commendable and necessary of all of them may be. The budget for 1855-6, introduced upon the 19th May, dealt with enormous figures. The total expenditure in the two years of the war was £155,121,000, and 1856 was still a year of war expenditure, as the votes amounted to £88,428,000, exclusive of the £1,000,000 loan to Sardinia. The income for the year was estimated at £65,704,000, augmented to £71,740,000 by various sums accruing to the state. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed to raise a loan of five millions sterling, which was contracted for by Messrs. Rothschild at 93. Injudicious attempts to open recruiting offices in the United States for British subjects led to an exhibition of feeling on the part of the government and people of the republic, which confirmed the observations of those who maintained that the sympathies of the Americans were against the allies, more especially against England, and in favour of Russia. Mr. Marcy, the secretary of state, a rude and violent person of strong prejudices, made the most of his opportunity. The discussions in the senate were characterised by passion and angry feeling. Mr. Crampton, the English minister, considered himself so compromised by the treatment he received from the government that he addressed strong remonstrances against it to Mr. Marcy. The result was that he was ordered to quit Washington; but Lord John Russell explained that this act did not break off diplomatic relations, as the American government was good enough to desire to remain at peace with us and to carry on diplomatic intercourse on such questions as were removed from the cause of quarrel. Peace brought no comfort to Russia, which sat brooding over the humiliation inflicted upon her, no doubt with a settled purpose, if not of avenging, at least, as soon as she could, of reversing its consequences.

In the middle of the year a communication was made to the courts of Europe that the coronation of the czar would take place on the 6th of September. Lord Granville was appointed ambassador extraordinary to represent Great Britain at fêtes which were the most brilliant and remarkable ever witnessed in the world. The friendly relations between the two countries were restored.

SECTION VI.

SCARCELY had we emerged from these troubles before a dark shadow, presaging war, was cast on the brightness of our prospects from the east. The effect of the contest which had taken place between Russia and Great Britain, retarded somewhat in its full expansion, was to be traced to the aggressions which Persia had for some time been making against Herat. In 1853 the Indian government agreed with the shah that Herat should be maintained as an independent state, and we guaranteed the integrity of the dominions of the ruler of the petty principality, important to us only on account of the position of the capital, which directly commands the most ready access to India.

There can be little doubt that the attention of Russia had been anxiously turned to the east, and nothing could be more natural than that she should seek to create a diversion in that direction; nor is it quite certain that the suspicions which were entertained of the presence of her secret agents and emissaries in the courts and bazaars of India, in the last year of the war, were quite unfounded. Subsequent events indicated in no uncertain way that they could have found there but too much ground upon which to work. It is a curious fact that the trusted emissary of Nana Sahib, who was sent to England on an abortive mission to claim large sums for the Nana as heir to the Peshawur, during the war visited our camp at Sebastopol at a time of considerable depression, when he might have fancied the Russians would have maintained the war successfully. However that may be, it is positive that the shah, notwithstanding all our remonstrances, persevered in his demand against the khan of Herat.

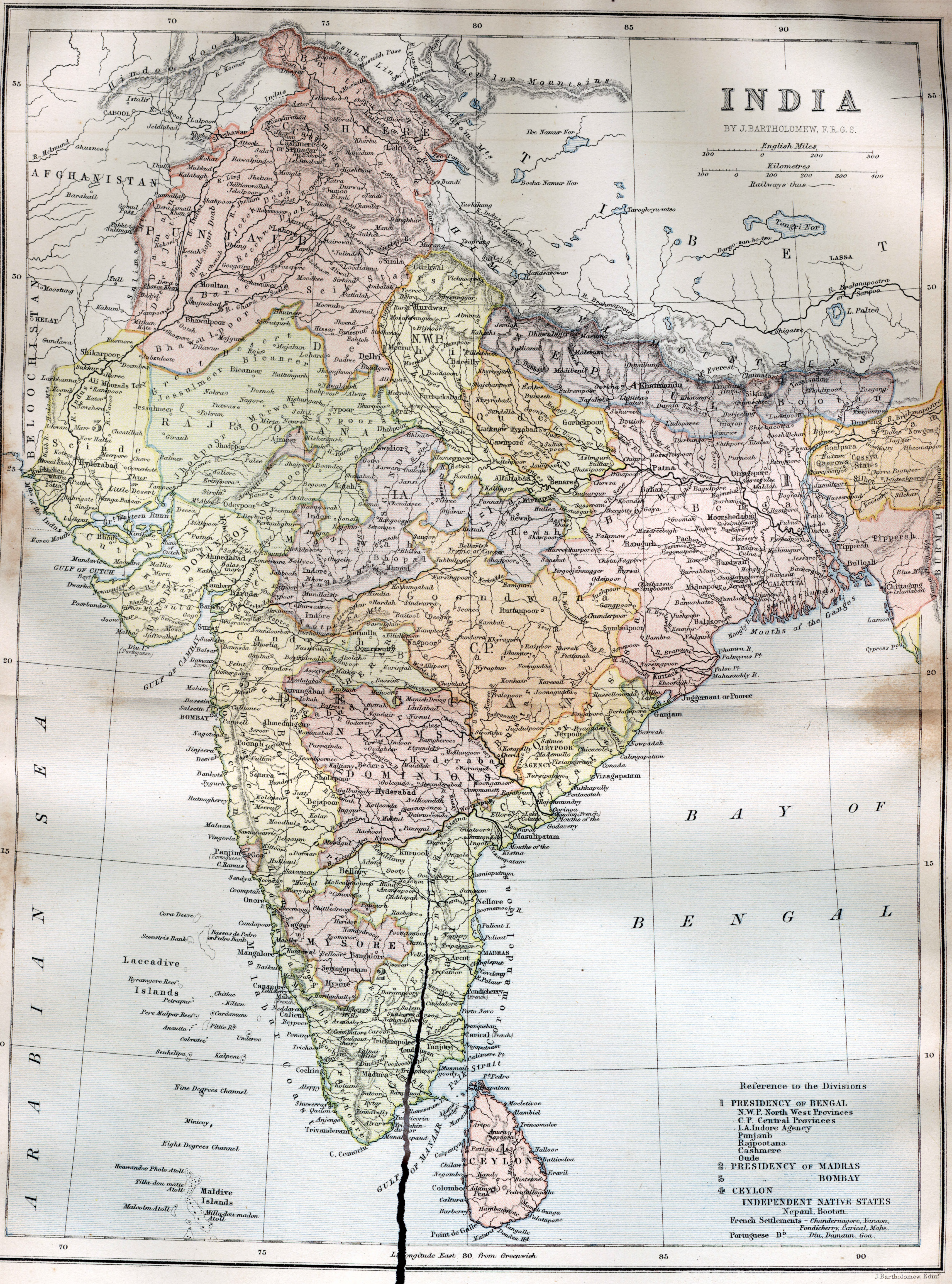
On the 1st of November hostilities were declared, as Lord Dalhousie a few months previously averred, "on account of the deliberate and persevering disregard of the agreement of 1853, by which Persia was bound to respect the independence of Herat. A force was immediately organised for the purpose of reducing the shah to submission. But for some time the blow was averted by pretences of a desire to accede to the wishes of the British government. On the 4th of December the island of Karack was occupied by Major-General Stalker; and on the 10th the fleet under Admiral Sir Henry Leek bombarded and took the town of Bushire without loss, affording a base of operations against the Persian army, and a landing-place for our troops. On the 27th of January, 1857, the expeditionary force landed, and active steps were taken by Sir James Outram to break up the forces which had assembled to oppose his progress. On the 8th of February he defeated the Persians at Kooshab with a loss of 700 killed. This action showed the Persians they could not hope to stand before British infantry in the field; but they retired to the interior, where the campaign was ended on the 26th of March with the brilliant action at Mohummerah: to avert the occupation of their capital, the ministry of Teheran made overtures for peace. A treaty was signed on the 4th of March at Paris, which was ratified on the 2nd of May at Bagdad, wherein the shah engaged to abstain from all interference in Affghanistan, to recognise the independence of Herat, refer disputes with neighbouring powers to the British government, and to receive the British mission in the capital with the necessary apologies and ceremonies.

On the 8th of October 1856 a fresh quarrel took place with China, which threatened to assume considerable importance, a party of Chinese in charge of an officer boarded at Canton the *Arrow*, a vessel registered under an ordinance passed at Hong Kong eighteen months before, tore down the British flag, and carried off the Chinese crew, insisting that the vessel was not British, but Chinese. Her register had expired more than a month before. The *Arrow* was known to have been built in China, to be Chinese-owned, Chinese-manned, and of evil repute for piracy and smuggling. The Chinese commissioners assented to reparation in a form described by Consul Parkes as "very proper." On the plea that the imperial commissioner Yeh paid little attention to the remonstrances of the British Consul, Admiral Seymour commenced on the 23rd to exact satisfaction by destroying the forts on the river. On the 25th, the island and fort of Dutch Folly were taken and occupied without opposition. So far from convincing Yeh that he had been guilty of any irregularity, these proceedings made him the more obstinate, and he offered a reward of thirty dollars for the head of every Englishman. The fleet was once more turned to account, Canton was successfully bombarded, Yeh was captured, and what was called a peace was patched up for a time. On the 30th of December, 1856, the steamer *Thistle*, on her way from Canton to Hong Kong, was seized by a body of Chinese disguised as coolies and passengers, who murdered the crew; on the 15th of January following, an attempt was made by a Chinese baker at Hong Kong to poison Sir John Bowring, and other British residents, by mixing arsenic in the bread. When parliament was opened by commission on the 3rd of February, the royal speech announced hostilities with Persia and China; on the 26th of February Mr. Cobden moved resolutions, "that the papers laid upon the table of the House fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to in the late affair of the *Arrow;* and that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the state of our commercial relations with China." Mr. Cobden agreed with Lord Lyndhurst that the Chinese were quite right in seizing the *Arrow,* and held that any one who perused the correspondence must be of the same opinion, and condemn the violence of the ill-tempered old savant, Sir John Bowring, who represented Great Britain. On the side of the Chinese were shown, as Lord Derby said, courtesy, forbearance, and temper; on our side, arrogance and presumption. "*Civis romanus sum*" was not a conciliatory motto to put over counting-houses and stores; Mr. Cobden asked parliament to prove that they were sensible of the injustice to a people "who were learned when our Plantagenet kings could not write, who had logic before Aristotle, and morals before Socrates." It would have been better had the government made some concession to expressions of feeling on both sides of the House; but they resolved to meet the motion of Mr. Cobden as a vote of want of confidence. For four nights the resolutions of Mr. Cobden were debated, and the debate was enlivened by the best efforts of Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Palmerston. Mr. Cobden, repudiating any desire to drive the ministry from office, quaintly admitted that he never knew of a change of government from which the people did not derive advantage; and that, much as he admired the premier, he thought it would be a good bargain for the country if, in exchange for him, they got two millions of taxes remitted. On a division, the government was beaten by two hundred and sixty-three to two hundred and forty-nine. There was much bitterness engendered by this division, in which Lord John Russell had voted against the party he had led so long. Two days afterwards Lord Palmerston informed the House of Commons that the ministry had advised the queen to dissolve parliament, and would only propose money votes on account of the estimates for a part of the year. The premier refused, however, to abandon the policy they had pursued in China. The addresses delivered to the electors were more than usually animated, and it seemed probable that there would be, as Mr. Cobden predicted, "a great winnowing of parties." Messrs. Bright and Gibson were defeated at Manchester by two conservatives; Mr. Cobden, having declined to present himself for the West Riding, was rejected at Huddersfield, and two members of the administration lost their seats. But the general election did not produce any remarkable infusion of new members, there being only one hundred and eighty-nine answering that description. On the 7th of May parliament assembled for the despatch of business.

SECTION VII.

WE seemed to be going on quite contented with our war in China and our success in Persia, when there came from India the first mutterings which announced the storm that well nigh swept every vestige of our power from the peninsula. On the 6th of March, Lord Dalhousie left Calcutta. But one month before his energetic administration was crowned by the annexation of the kingdom of Oude, a country of seven millions of people, the reigning family of which had never given the smallest reason to our government to doubt their loyalty, he announced to his successor that the Sepoy army was left without any reasonable ground of complaint. Lord Canning's two successors found that the assurance was very much like that which subsequently Mr. Hammond gave Lord Granville in 1870, that there was a profound lull in foreign affairs.

The signs, indeed, were so insignificant that it needed the knowledge of those who were acquainted with every indication of native feeling to detect the danger. It was as one of those great disturbances common in the land of India, where a few straws lightly rising in the air, twist and twirl round and round, gathering up the dust, and by degrees sweeping onwards in increasing volume, till, at last, a great column, charged with thunder, tempest, and hail, towers aloft to the sky, and sweeping onwards, leaves a wide track of ruin. On the 23rd of February Major-General Hearsey, commanding the presidency division at Dumdum, informed the Governor-General that his Sepoy regiments were in a state of considerable excitement. New ammunition had been served out for the rifles with which they were just armed, and these cartridges were covered with grease which the Sepoys were led to believe consisted of the fat of cows and of pigs. To the Hindoo the pig is an unclean animal, and the cow a holy one, and so in such a mixture there was an abomination most hateful and revolting to him. The Sepoys thought they would lose caste, and caste was very dear to the Sepoy of the Bengal army, of whom many were Brahmins, and came from Oude, the head-quarters of the higher caste soldiers. General Hearsey's report does not seem to have caused much uneasiness. On the 6th of February a Sepoy of the 24th Native Infantry at Barrackpore told his officers that the men of four regiments at that station were determined to resist the loss of caste which would be caused by the use of the greased cartridges, and that they had formed a plot to revolt. It was rumoured at the same time that chupatties, the ordinary cakes of unleavened bread used by the natives, were passed from village to village all over the country, some said impressed with a device or symbol. On the 25th of February the 19th Native Infantry broke into open mutiny at Berhampore. They refused to receive the supplies of percussion caps on parade, on the ground that the cartridges were contaminated, broke open the bells of arms, and seizing the muskets and ammunition carried them to their lines. Fortunately there was a large force of cavalry and artillery at the station, which were brought up at once, and, overawed by the unlimbered guns and the array of horsemen with drawn sabres, the Sepoys laid down their arms and were disbanded. Still the uneasiness extended from station to station, and the execution of Mongul Pandee at Barrackpore, who had attacked an officer


INDIA
BY J. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S.
English Miles
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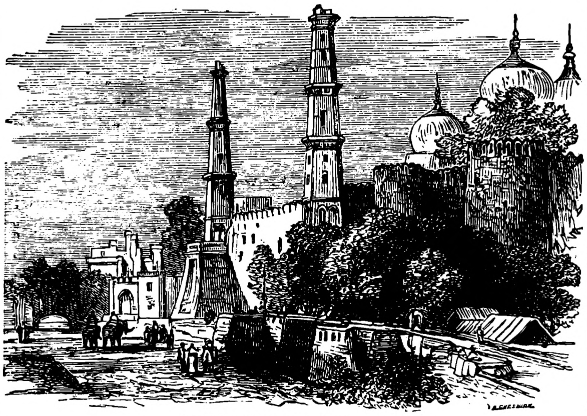
100 0 100 200 300 400
Railways thus
Reference to the Divisions
1 PRESIDENCY OF BENGAL
N.W.P. North West Provinces
C.P. Central Provinces
I.A. Indore Agency
Panjaub
Rajpootana
Cashmere
Oude
2 PRESIDENCY OF MADRAS
3 " BOMBAY
4 CEYLON
INDEPENDENT NATIVE STATES
Nepaul, Bootan.
French Settlements – Chandernagore, Yanaon, Pondicherry, Carical, Mahe.
Portuguese Do – Diu, Damaun, Goa.
Longitude East 80 from Greenwich
AFGHANISTAN
BELOOCHISTAN
TIBET
HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS
CASHMERE
PUNJAUB
RAJPOOTANA
NEPAUL
BOOTAN
OUDE
BENGAL
GOONDWANA
DECCAN
NIZAMS DOMINIONS
MYSORE
CEYLON
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Laccadive Islands
Maldive Islands
Kuen-lun Mountains
Hindoo Koosh
BURMAH
CALCUTTA
BOMBAY
MADRAS
Delhi
Lahore
Hyderabad
Patna
Benares
Lucknow
Agra
Nagpoor
Poonah
Mangalore
Calicut
Cochin
Colombo
Masulipatam
Vizagapatam
Pondicherry
Surat
Baroda
Ahmedabad
Kurrachee
Peshawar
Cabool
Lassa
Tengri Nor
Mt Everest
Gulf of Cutch
Gulf of Cambay
Gulf of Manaar
Palk Strait
C. Comorin
Point de Galle
Mouths of the Ganges
Mouths of the Godavery
Mouths of the Kistna

J.Bartholomew, Edinr

and attempted to excite the Sepoys to mutiny, caused immense excitement. The new Governor-General, Lord Canning, issued a proclamation warning the army that the tales by which they were misled were malicious falsehoods,—"the government," he said, "invariably treated the religious feelings of its subjects with respect,—it would never cease to do so, and he now repeats the declaration and declares that there is no desire to interfere with religion or caste, and that nothing has been or will be done by the government affecting the free exercise of the observance of religion by every class of the people." The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Provinces, Mr. Colvin, took a view of the situation which was perhaps not quite justified by the temper of the Sepoys or of the people. He, by proclamation, offered to allow soldiers engaged in the late disturbances to give up their arms and retire unmolested; "many faithful men had been driven into resistance because they thought their feelings of religion and honour were injured by the government." At Meerut, an important station within a march of Delhi, were stationed the 3rd Light Cavalry, the 11th and the 20th Native Infantry, and the 6th Dragoons (Carabineers). It was resolved to distribute the suspected cartridges to 90 men chosen from the squadrons of the 3rd Regulars, and for that purpose a parade was ordered. Five soldiers alone took the cartridges, and on the refusal of the others a court-martial assembled, which condemned the 85 recusants to five years of imprisonment in irons. On the 9th of May the condemned men were paraded before all the troops at the station, stripped of their uniforms, ironed, and sent off to prison. The native troops gave not the slightest sign of insubordination, and the general in command reported that everything had passed off quietly. This was on the Saturday. Sunday passed quietly, and the officers were about retiring to their quarters, when a great tumult was heard in the cantonments. The men of the 3rd Cavalry, issuing out of their quarters, rushed to arsm, and attacking the officers' bungalows, proceeded to a general massacre of the Europeans at the station. They set fire to the houses, and shot women and children indiscriminately. The Carabineers and artillery scarcely attacked the mutineers. The 3rd Light Cavalry and the 20th Native Regiment fled towards Delhi. Early on the morning of the 11th, the rebel cavalry reached the Jumna and seized the bridge of boats. Whilst they were awaiting the infantry, Major Fraser, the British Commissioner at Delhi, with a few men, hurried to the spot, but was fired upon and abandoned by his escort. The unfortunate magistrate hastened to the palace of the descendant of the Great Mogul, but the mutineers overtook him and his comrades, and murdered them in the quarters of the European commandant. The murderers then rushed into the streets, and incited the people to rise and join them in the massacre of the Europeans in the city. The first attempt was directed against the arsenal, which was in charge of nine Europeans, who had under them a number of native workmen, and a Sepoy guard. Willoughby, a young officer of artillery, prepared to defend his post to the last. He armed his men, laid a train to the magazine, trained his guns on the gate, and when a messenger came to demand the surrender of the arsenal in the name of the king he energetically refused. The mutineers, swelled by all the disaffected and vagabond population of the city, at once opened fire on the little band. The Sepoys and natives fled, and the mutineers, scaling the walls, thought that the great prize had fallen into their grasp. Suddenly houses and walls flew up into the air with an astounding crash, burying the furious Sepoys in the ruins. Willoughby had ordered Sergeant Scully to fire the train; and in the confusion caused by the explosion he managed to escape with a few companions, only to perish at the hands of assassins in a village. Scully was murdered on the spot. Brigadier Greaves, who commanded the station outside the town, had the 34th and 54th Native Infantry and some cavalry under his command, but though the 34th evinced some attachment to their colonel and adjutant, and entreated them to fly to save their lives, the Sepoys made no resistance to the mutineers, who cut down their officers in their lines and rushed to the cantonment. The station was abandoned and pillaged; Delhi was in the hands of the rebels.

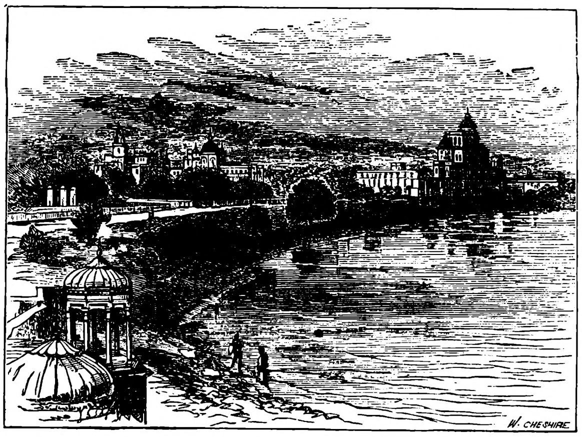
The success of the revolt at Delhi had the double result of giving the insurrection a capital and a chief. Mahomet Shah Babadoor was proclaimed emperor of Hindostan in the ancient capital of the Moguls. Unfortunately for him and for his dynasty, the cruelty of those whose creature he was that very same day condemned to the assassin's knife forty-nine European prisoners, mainly women and children. They were murdered by the Sepoys, and an entry in the journal of the palace, found after the assault, stated that the army demanded that they should be delivered over to them. The king replied that the army could make prisoners of whomever they pleased. It is stated that the princes of the royal house were witnesses of the massacre, although Prince Feroza Shah endeavoured to save the lives of the victims, and reproached the Sepoys for violating the law of Mahomet in killing women and children. But ere the day was over, the lightning flash had sped hundreds of miles along the silent wire, which was to mar the fortunes of the captor of Delhi. The clerk at the telegraph station had just sent off the words—"The Sepoys revolted at Meerut, are masters of Delhi. Mr. Todd and many Europeans have been massacred. I must shut the office"—to Lahore, when the mutineers rushed into his hut and cut him to pieces. But his work was done, and ere his remains were cold, the rulers of the Punjab were preparing for vengeance. General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief, was at Simla when the dreadful intelligence came. His action was of exemplary energy and decision. Orders were sent to the three regiments at the Hill stations to march at once for the plains. The Goorkha battalion was sent to Phillour to escort the siege train towards Delhi. Next day Anson left Simla and hurried the little column on its way, but the heat was fearful, and the cholera appeared in the ranks as soon as the men reached Umballah. Most fortunate was it for our Indian Empire that the Rajah of Puttiala, through whose country the route lay, showed himself a staunch friend and ally, and gave aid in money and transport, which enabled the advanced guard to reach Kurnaul on the 19th of May. Here, on the 27th of May, whilst he was collecting his forces, and preparing for the attack of the insurgent capital, Anson was carried off by cholera, but his task was then nearly completed. He had assembled the 9th Lancers, two field batteries, three English regiments, three regiments of Native Infantry, and was about to march for Alipore to meet the brigade from Meerut. Sir H. Barnard, his successor, defeated the Sepoys and rebels, on the Hindun. On the 7th of June, the Meerut Brigade and the forces from Kurnaul united just in time to engage the enemy at Burdlee Serai, on the Grand Trunk Road, where seven regiments of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and one battery of artillery of the Bengal army came out to dispute their progress towards Delhi. On the 8th of June, Barnard, after a stout resistance, carried the village with a loss of 4 officers and 54 men killed, and 132 officers and men wounded. This success was most needful and comforting, and next day the contentment of the British was increased by the arrival of the Guides, who had march from Peshawur (562 miles) in less than three weeks, under the vigorous impulsion of Sir John Lawrence.

The words from Delhi, repeated from Umballah to Lahore, Peshawur, and Moolta, finally reached Lawrence at Rawul Pindee, but the chief justice of the Punjab, Sir A. Montgomery, who was in Lahore, speedily proved that the safety of the empire was in strong and capable hands. He resolved to disarm the native regiments at once, and the measure was carried out with singular energy and severity. As it was, the men of the disarmed regiments, who sought safety in flight, were pursued and destroyed without mercy. Many were blown from guns, and the pitiless massacre and destruction of the 51st Bengal Native Infantry, of whom 659 out of 870 were killed at the Ravee, on the 28th of August, seem to have been without the excuse of an inexorable necessity. Still it must be admitted that the Punjab and its 10,000 disarmed Sepoys were guarded by only 4000 men, the 81st at Lahore, the 27th at Rawul Pindee, and the 70th and 87th, with a few batteries of artillery, being all that could be spared for the purpose of keeping the North-west Provinces. There were 628 Sepoys shot or blown from guns by the military, 1370 shot or blown from guns by the civil power, 86 hung by the military, and 300 hung by the civil power, total 2384, during this reign of terror, in the Punjab. On the 30th of May the 71st Native Infantry at Lucknow attacked their officers, but were driven out of the cantonments by the 32nd regiment and the artillery.



ENTRANCE INTO LAHORE.

The retrograde movement of Havelock caused the deepest gloom and alarm. At Lucknow the condition of the dauntless garrison was deplorable. Fortunately there was in command a man of equal capacity and courage, Sir Henry Lawrence, who had under him officers of great ability and determination.



LUCKNOW.

The city which had lately been the capital of a kingdom was still swarming with the desperate men whom the overthrow of the house of Oude, and of all its dependent princes, had left without support or means of subsistence. In extent the city was equal to Paris, and was estimated in 1856, the time of the annexation, to contain more than one million of inhabitants, but this was probably a great exaggeration.

At the very first rumour of the outbreak, which soon raged round the capital and separated the small garrison from all communication with the outer world, Sir Henry Lawrence took measures for the safety of his post. In our connection with native states it is usual to have in each capital a kind of *imperium in imperio*, where lives, not so much in the capacity of ambassador, as of a monitor and censor, the British Resident, the watchful guardian of British interests, in which light he appears to native eyes as a spy, armed with tremendous powers, who must be deceived, if possible, at all points. It so happened that the Residency at Lucknow was commandingly situated on the bank of the Goomtee river, well placed for defence. It consisted of one large block or central pile of buildings, with guard-house, several detached houses or compounds, with a considerable space of open garden-ground upon one side, and was separated from the mass of the city, except in one place, by a high wall. With immense energy, Lawrence stored the houses with food, munitions, and forage, and as at the time he was master of the place, having come suddenly upon the city before the disaffected could make head, he was enabled to make great progress in the works of defence; and impressing gangs of coolies, he speedily had succeeded in converting the buildings inside the Residency into magazines, and inclosing the place with a line of earthworks and ramparts well garnished with guns. The sites which commanded the Residency were destroyed. All the English and the natives and Sikhs who were well affected, as well as the half-castes or Eurasians, who accompany all British stations, were told off to their posts, the mainstay of the defence of course being the one European regiment, Her Majesty's 32nd, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Inglis.

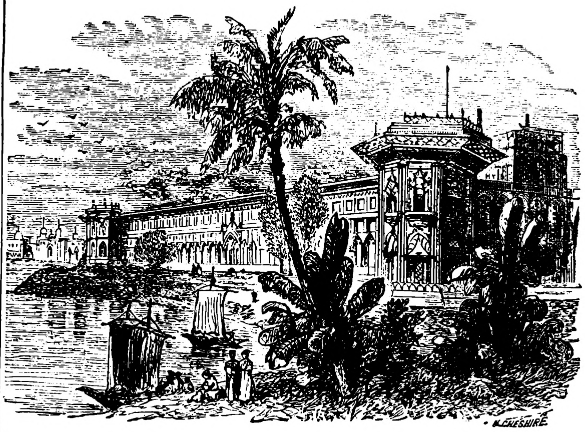
This was in the middle of July, and the heat was exceedingly great. Cholera and small-pox soon broke out in the crowded garrison. It must have been a remarkable proof to the natives of the unpleasant resolution of the men, whose destruction they were meditating, to see that the judges sat, that sentences were pronounced, and that the guilty were remorselessly punished. Before Lawrence resigned himself to a passive attitude he struck one vigorous but unlucky blow. Hearing that a large body of mutinous Sepoys and of the followers of the Oude Talookdars, who had now risen against the British Government, were assembled at Nawabgunge, about two days' march from Lucknow, Sir Henry Lawrence put himself at the head of a small column of 300 men of the 32nd Regiment, 250 Sepoys and Sikh cavalry, 36 mounted Europeans, an Oude battery of 6 guns, 4 guns of a European field battery, and an 8-inch howitzer, and set out to attack them. But before he was altogether prepared for the encounter, he found the enemy in strength at a place called Chinhut, on the road to Nawabgunge. They were well posted, and provided with a considerable number of guns, from which they opened a heavy fire, and displaying the qualities that made the Oude soldiers the best in our old army. They advanced with unusual courage to attack the column before it had well deployed. The day was intensely hot, and at the first outburst of fire from the enemy, the bheesties, or water-carriers, deserted the force, and the native gunners abandoned their guns. The 32nd regiment advanced against the village in which was the centre of the rebel force, but they were driven back, and at that moment the enemy came round both flanks and threatened to envelope the column. The small handful of European cavalry behaved admirably; but in the end they had to fall back, and the whole force gave way. In fact the affair of Chinhut was a great disaster. The column, pursued to the very bridge over the Goomtee at Lucknow, left more than 200 killed and 4 guns in the hands of the victorious rebels, who at once poured across the river, below the fire of the guns from the Residency, and proceeded to invest the place. Sir Henry Lawrence was not cast down. He gave orders for the destruction of the Muchee Bawn, a detached post outside the Residency; encouraged the garrison by his presence and words at their posts; and prepared for a desperate defence. The city was up in arms at once. The Oude regiments, the police and the swarming population had at once fraternised with the victors of Chinhut, and having established cannon at every available point, and throwing masses of matchlock men and musketeers on the tops of the houses and in the upper storeys, they directed in a few hours a cannonade and a storm of musketry on the garrison of Lucknow. In vain did they toil on night and day, repulsing every attack, until the rebels, better instructed as to the true means of reducing the place, undertook to sap and mine, and so blow in the defences. But here again they found the enemy of as much resolution and of greater skill.

On the 28th of July, having sprung their first mine, the enemy attempted to storm, but were repulsed most gallantly. On the 10th of August they blew in a wall and formed a great breach on the south side of the Residency. They sprung another mine a few minutes afterwards on the eastern front, and under cover of the two explosions they made a very gallant attack. But the English and natives were fighting for their lives; and conspicuous amongst the defenders were an Italian, Signor Barsotelli, and a French author, Geoffroy. Eurasians, Sikhs, Sepoys, and Europeans manned the ramparts and resisted every attempt to enter, driving the mutineers back with a loss of nearly 500 men.

The same day Nana Sahib placed himself at the head of the mutineers at Cawnpore, and inclosed Sir Hugh Wheeler and the detachment of British troops in the barracks, which were quite incapable of offering any efficient defence. For seventeen days the enemy kept up an uninterrupted fire of artillery on the wretched intrenchment within which were congregated the men, women, and children, and the scanty force of the unfortunate Wheeler; every attempt they made to come to close quarters was met and resisted with such energy that the Sepoys and their allies desisted, and contented themselves with the slow and horrible process of starving them out under the pressure of artillery fire. On the 24th Nana Sahib made overtures for a surrender, and proposed to allow the garrison to go to Allahabad, where he offered to escort them if they would give up all their treasures and their stores; this offer of the Nana was accepted, and for two days he affected to be preparing the means of transport; numerous boats were assembled at the river side below the city, and on the morning of the 27th the little column marched with thankful hearts down to the shore, and were embarked in the flotilla which had been prepared for them. But no sooner were they on board than the Sepoys and matchlock men, who had been secreted in the houses and the plantations on the bank, commenced a terrible fire of musketry, and two pieces of artillery were unmasked. But three of the boats got away down the river, pursued by the shot of the guns, by which two were riddled and swamped. The fugitives who were not killed were now taken on shore and carried back to a building which had been used for balls and private theatricals, the men being put apart. The officers and men were soon afterwards shot or hacked to pieces, but the women and children were detained.

Neil, with a few companies of the 2nd Madras Fusiliers, and 250 of the 10th Regiment, was despatched by rail to Benares, where the 37th Native Infantry, a wing of a Sikh Regiment, and an Irregular Cavalry Regiment, were giving tokens of an insubordinate spirit. Having disarmed or dispersed the troops and punished the disaffected with an unsparing hand, Neil marched to Allahabad, where there was a garrison of 60 European invalids, the 6th Native Infantry, a wing of the Loodhiana Regiment, and a squadron of Irregular Oude Cavalry. On the 6th of June the news of Neil's proceedings at Benares reached Allahabad, and the 6th Native Infantry immediately revolted. Neil was a man of action, and his presence inspired the Europeans with confidence. On the 15th he attacked Allahabad, and on the 18th occupied the city; but the victors sullied their laurels and disgraced their cause by excesses "worthy," says M. Valbesen, "of the worst days of Tamerlane and Nadir Shah." These excessive severities brought with them their own punishment. Cholera broke out, and the column could not move because not a soul was to be found to help the army. It was not till the 30th of June that 400 British and one regiment of Sikhs left Allahabad for Cawnpore. On the 2nd of July Neil was directed by Sir H. Lawrence not to advance with less than two complete European regiments. Neil halted a few days and was superseded by Brigadier Havelock, who made haste with the 78th Regiment and detachments amounting to 1200 men to march on Cawnpore. On the 13th of July the rebel cavalry attacked them at Futtehpore, but were readily repulsed. Next day Havelock carried the positions on the Pandoo Nuddee, within 25 miles of Cawnpore, taking 16 guns and inflicting a heavy loss on the insurgents. On the 16th of July he encountered 20,000 men outside Cawnpore, gave them a signal defeat, and entered the town a conqueror, with a loss of only 105 killed and wounded. But he was too late to save. All that was left was vengeance. When the news came that Havelock was approaching driving the Nana's forces before him, and that his columns had carried the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, the native leaders resolved on a step which would shut the door of mercy on their followers. They ordered what is called and will be known to all time as the "massacre of Cawnpore." In the well in which the victims were thrown was buried for long years, perhaps for ever, all sympathy between the Englishman and the Indian.

The march of Havelock's column was marked by terrible manifestations of feeling, the natural results of such inhuman acts perpetrated by an inferior race upon those who had at least desired their confidence, and appeared to have won it by the long years of security and peace which their government had bestowed. But Havelock's attempt to relieve the garrison of Lucknow, which was maintaining an heroic defence, was not successful at first. He had to fight the enemy again and again, but always victorious, always adding, however, to the incumbrances of sick and wounded which retarded the advance of his small column. Cholera appeared amongst the troops once more. The heat was frightful, for it was in the very intensity and fervour of an Indian summer that he had to conduct his operations. He fell back from Busherutgung to Unao and to Mungulwar, opposite to Cawnpore, in order to receive reinforcements. But while he was there the rebels gathered in threatening numbers. He marched against them on the 5th and on the 11th, struck them heavy blows at Busherutgung, but at last had to fall back upon Cawnpore itself, whence he made, in conjunction with the little column of General Neil, an attack on Bithoor, routing the rebels for the ninth time in less than a month.



EMPEROR'S PALACE, DELHI.

"Make short work of Delhi," was the simple and confident order of the Governor-General to General Anson ere the wires were cut—words which explained how misunderstood was the real nature of the revolt. Help from Calcutta there was none. Troops from England were sent round the Cape, but the expedition to China permitted the Governor-General to receive very timely succour. Lord Elgin did not hesitate to assume the responsibility of ordering troops from Singapore to Calcutta, and thus assured the supremacy of English rule in the capital. On the 8th of June the force under Sir Harry Barnard appeared before the walls of the city of Delhi. The feeble army upon which such a gigantic enterprise as the capture of this extended fortified place devolved, was composed of the 9th Lancers, two squadrons of Carabineers, a battalion of the 60th Rifles, the 75th Regiment of Foot, the 1st and 2nd Regiments of Bengal Fusiliers, a battalion of Ghoorkas Sirmoor, a detachment of Engineers, eight 18-pounders, 4 mortars, and 4 howitzers. The position of the troops has been compared, not without reason, to that of the allied armies before Sebastopol. They were too feeble to invest the place. The fire from the walls was so powerful as to prevent any approach. The Sepoy leaders used their numbers in making repeated sorties, and wore out the men by constant alerts. There was no quarter on either side. On the 19th of June the brigade of Nusseerabed, consisting of the 15th and 30th regiments of native infantry, and two batteries of artillery, which had arrived in Delhi, prepared for an attack upon the English lines. Next day, by a rapid and dexterous flank movement, the rear of our camp was surprised, but at last the Sepoys were repulsed with a loss of 300 or 400 men, while our loss was about a quarter. On the 23rd of June a more serious action, in which we lost 150 men, was brought on by an attack on the Subzeemundee. On the 25th of June the 8th Regiment, and on the 30th the 61st Regiment arrived, as well as the 1st Punjab Regiment, and a squadron of the 5th Punjab Infantry, so that at the commencement of July there were 6600 men encamped before Delhi, of whom 3000 were Europeans. On the 5th of July Sir Harry Barnard died of cholera. If not a brilliant general, he was certainly a gallant soldier, and his death caused sincere regret to the army. Major-General Reed, who succeeded, almost immediately surrendered the command to Major-General Archdale Wilson, who had passed all his life in the service of the company without having acquired any greater reputation than that of being a careful officer. Brigadier Chamberlain became Adjutant-General, and Lieut.-Colonel Baird Smith succeeded in the direction of siege works. On the 9th of July a small body of Sowars surprised an advanced post and dashed in upon Tombs' guns without any warning. This proved incontestably that the irregular cavalry, who were on guard, had relations with the enemy. They were at once sent back to the Punjab, and a native battery, from which several men had deserted, was disarmed. On the 14th of July the Sepoys attacked the advanced posts, were repulsed, and pursued under the walls, whence a heavy fire opened, which threw Chamberlain's force into disorder. They were pursued by the Sepoys, and it was with difficulty that the 1st Fusiliers succeeded in checking the enemy's advance. Chamberlain was wounded, and 200 English, among whom were 16 officers, were killed or wounded. Sieges, demoralising to most armies, exercise a peculiarly depressing influence on the English soldier. But Wilson was a strict disciplinarian, and succeeded in inspiring the men with some degree of contentment and confidence. Divisions sprung up in the ranks of the enemy. The Sepoys were in open revolt against the authority of the officers of the king, who threatened to abdicate and go to Mecca. All these things were made known in the English camp by Hodson's spies. On the 24th of August, intelligence came that a force with 18 guns had quitted the city to seize a siege train on its way to the camp. About 2000 men and 16 guns, under the orders of Nicholson, in a short combat, dislodged them from their positions, took 13 guns, their tents and ammunition. In the absence of Nicholson, the Sepoys from the city attacked the camp, which confirmed the suspicions that the *espionage* which profited us so much, also gave advantages to the enemy. Meantime, the prolongation of the siege caused great encouragement to the disaffected throughout India, and caused uneasiness at Calcutta and at home. On the 6th of September, reinforcements, raising the total of the English army to 11,000, of which 3300 were Europeans, arrived. Next day the first breaching battery was traced. On the 10th another was erected, and by the 12th, 50 guns were opened upon Delhi. This fire threw the inhabitants of the city into the greatest consternation. A vast population precipitated itself through the gates, seeking safety in the open country where no English cavalry obstructed its flight.

The walls were breached by the night of the 13th, and it was resolved to assault the following morning. To Nicholson, with the 75th Regiment, 1st Bengal Fusiliers, and 2nd Punjab Infantry, was confided the attack on the Cashmere bastion; Brigadier Jones attacked on the right of him with the 8th Regiment, the 2nd Punjab Fusiliers, and the 4th Punjab Regiment. The third column under Campbell, consisting of the 52nd Regiment, the Kumaoun Battalion, and the 1st Punjab Infantry, marched against the Cashmere gate direct. Major Reed led the fourth column, composed of the Guides, the Cashmere auxiliaries, a Ghoorka regiment, and some scratch companies, formed of different European regiments, to the Lahore gate. A fifth corps, composed of native infantry, was left in reserve. The Cashmere gate was blown in by Salkeld, lieutenant of engineers, aided by Sergeant Carmichael and Sergeant Burgess, all of whom fell mortally wounded. But the enemy maintained a vigorous fire from the houses, and the army and the country had to lament the loss of Nicholson, and of 67 officers and 1104 men, killed or wounded, or about a quarter of the whole force engaged. Long ere the city was taken the soldiers commenced to pillage, and so great was the disorder, that Wilson was at one time thinking of evacuating the city he had won. But on the 15th order was to some degree established. On the 16th the combat recommenced; it was not until the 19th, however, the standard of Victoria floated on the tower of Selimguhr, and the foot of the infidel defiled the sacred floor of the Divan Khas, on which is inscribed, "If there be a paradise on earth, it is here! it is here!" Mahommed Shah, with his harem and family, sought refuge in the Kootab, a curious tower seven miles from Delhi. Negotiations were opened with the Sultana Zaanut Mahal for their surrender, which they agreed to on the guarantee of their lives. On the 22nd of September, Hodson received the submission of the king, one of his sons, and of the sultana, but Aboo Beker, the heir presumptive, and two of his cousins, still remained in the tomb, which was an enormous building containing many subterranean chambers and passages. The next day Hodson sent in a messenger to demand the surrender of the princes. They asked that their lives should be guaranteed. Hodson replied, "No conditions!"—a bold reply, seeing that he had with him but 100 Sowars and Rajah Ali, a member of the royal family who was in the English service, while 3000 or 4000 Sepoys, and servants of the royal family, were demanding with loud cries permission to fall upon the enemy. The princes resolved, nevertheless, to surrender, and came out in a small country carriage drawn by two oxen. They were followed by a crowd, whom Hodson ordered to halt at once. They fled to the tomb. Hodson demanded their arms, which, wonderful to relate, they surrendered. But the crowd again followed the princes, and Hodson, doubting whether they could be carried in safety to the city, with his own hand killed them in the carriage, one after the other. Mirza Mogul had been the chief in the insurrection, Mirza Sultanet had been conspicuous for his cruelty, and Aboo Beker had been active in the massacre of the 16th of May. But the crimes of these princes did not excuse the brilliant partisan for tarnishing his epaulets with the blood which should have only flowed under the hand of the executioner. The fall of Delhi ruined, beyond recovery, all chance of the insurrection in Central India.

Havelock, after his return to Cawnpore, had the mortification of being superseded by Sir James Outram, who had been his chief in the Persian expedition, and the latter was making every preparation to march to the assistance of his gallant subordinate, who was fairly invested at Cawnpore. At Futtepore, higher up the river, there was a band of mutineers, under the rajah and several chiefs, amounting to about 10,000 men; on the south he was menaced by the Gwalior Contingent. Opposite to him, and between him and Allahabad, the road to which they could easily intercept, lay the great body of the Oude mutineers. Agra was also besieged; Delhi had not yet been taken, and to hold Cawnpore, which was a vital point, Havelock had not 1000 Europeans. Ere Outram could complete his operations, Sir Colin Campbell, having arrived at Calcutta to take supreme command of all the military forces, and to conduct operations in the East, appeared upon the scene.

Sir Colin Campbell, regardless of all remonstrance, directed General Outram to lay hold of the 5th and 90th regiments, and march to Allahabad. On the 5th of September, Outram left that city long before the bulk of his troops had joined, and with 1,450 men marched to the assistance of Havelock at Cawnpore. On the 15th Outram reached Cawnpore. There were six days still between that date and the day on which Brigadier Inglis stated that the last of his rations would fail. Next day Outram published his general order, which touched every heart in the force. With the characteristic generosity of his nature, Outram informed Havelock that he did not intend to supersede him, and that he would act as a volunteer under his orders. Ere he marched, he despatched a small column under Eyre to clear his flanks of mutineers who had crossed from Oude and menaced our communications. This service was most gallantly performed, and on the 19th, Havelock, with the 64th, 84th, 78th, 5th, 90th regiments, the Madras Fusiliers, Maude and Alphert's 9-pounder batteries, four 24-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, under Vincent Eyre, 340 Sikhs, 109 volunteer horse, and 300 gunners crossed the Ganges from Cawnpore by the newly-prepared wooden bridge and invaded Oude. On the 21st, the very day on which Inglis declared he must surrender, the force, in two brigades, one under Neil, of the Madras Fusiliers, and the other under Hamilton, of the 78th, had a brush with the mutineers and rebels at Bussherat Gunge, captured some guns, and halted for the night. On the 22nd, they continued their advance without any opposition, and marched fifteen miles, which seems a little distance to those unaccustomed to Indian marches, but for a force moving with heavy guns and stores for thirteen days was a very creditable performance. Next day Havelock found the enemy drawn up to bar his entrance into Lucknow where the main road passes by the walled garden of the Alumbagh. The position was well chosen, but the enemy did not make a very formidable resistance. The British artillery, admirably served, especially the heavy guns, soon compelled them to give way in the open. The 5th regiment carried the gardens of the Alumbagh, the cavalry charged and cut down the Sepoy gunners at their guns, and thus, turned and attacked in front, the whole force retreated to Lucknow in great confusion. This success was rendered all the more agreeable to the troops by the intelligence, which Sir James Outram announced to the exulting soldiery, that Delhi had fallen on the 14th. The walled inclosure of the Alumbagh, which was a quadrangle with flanking towers and gateways, offered great advantages as a base of operations, and the baggage was stacked, and reserve ammunition parked, and a garrison of 250 men posted in it, while the main body of the troops set out next day to execute a plan which, after much deliberation, was resolved upon by Havelock and Outram and the senior officers. Havelock wisely determined to make no rash move into the city, which now lay, with its vast extent of gilded domes and towering minarets, before him. The enemy showed a bold front, and opened fire continually from a long line of defences which they had cast up towards Cawnpore; and as Havelock was assured that the garrison of the Residency who now saw safety at hand would never dream of surrendering, he rested his men on the 24th, a repose which was somewhat disturbed, however, by a charge of 1500 Sowars upon his baggage-train, which, for a time, created great confusion and caused some loss.

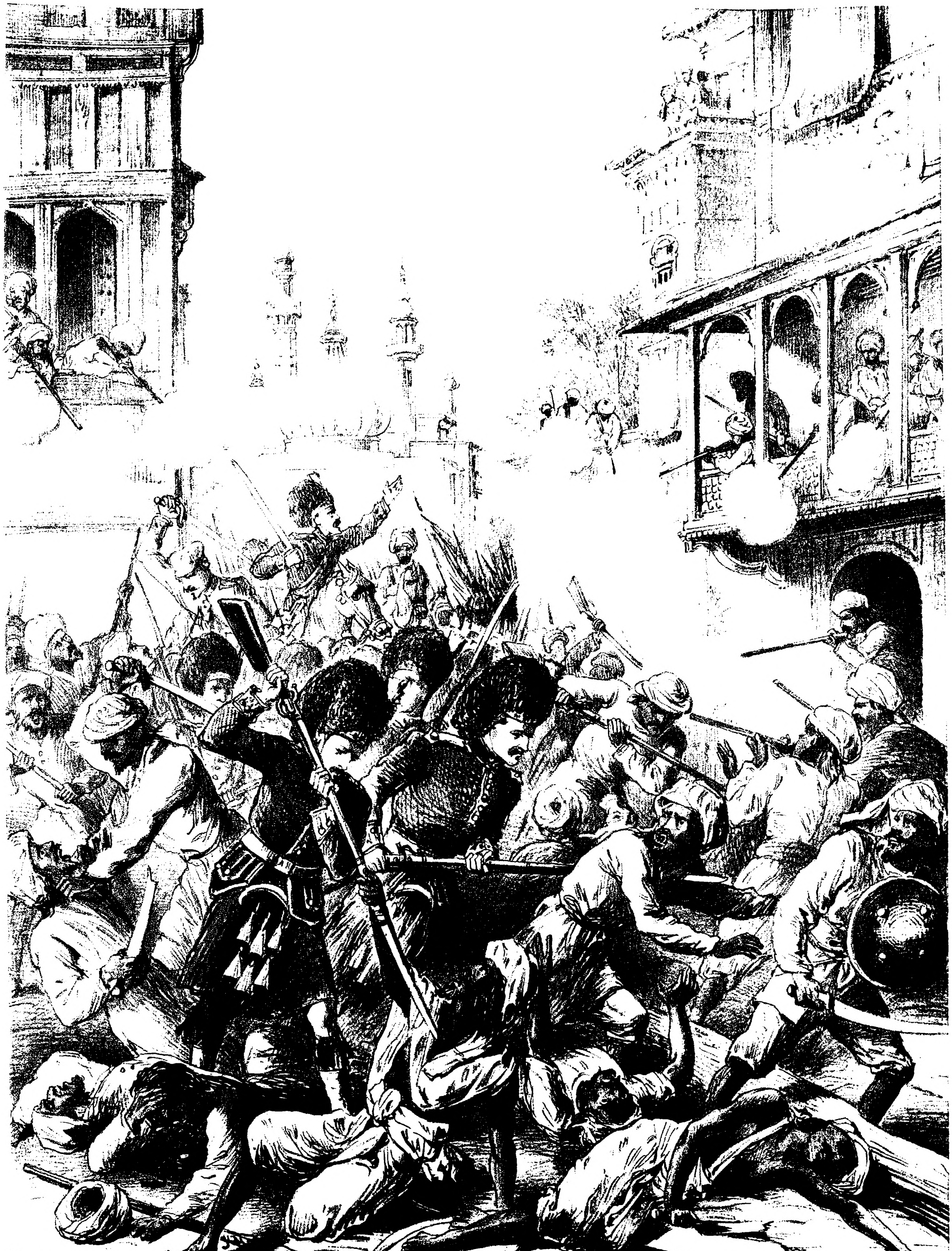
It was not an easy matter to decide on the course which a column, obliged to march through a great city, where the houses, flanked frequently by the angles of tortuous lanes, offered shelter to the enemy, and where the streets were barred by mounds of earth and artificial obstructions, should take. Outram's suggestion we know now would have been the best. It was to advance from the Alumbagh to the Dilkoosha, a palace and grounds close to the Goomtee, to the east of Lucknow, thence cross the river, and march along the left bank, where there is open ground and but few houses, attack the Iron Bridge which spans the river close to the Residency, and so effect a junction with the garrison. Havelock adopted a direct advance immediately in front of the Alumbagh; at the entrance of the road to Lucknow, called the Shahbagh, there was a bridge over a canal, which the enemy had fortified. It was decided to attack this bridge, and having seized it to march one column to its right, so as to avoid the narrow streets of the main city, and then force a passage to the Residency by the palaces and gardens in the open country. On the 25th this plan was executed. Neil and Outram moved the two columns towards Lucknow, but the latter was soon arrested by a tremendous fire of artillery along the narrow road, and for some time it appeared doubtful whether the bridge could be carried; but a very resolute and gallant movement of Neil and the Madras Fusiliers upon the guns enabled them to carry the post by the Cawnpore road, and, after a pause to get the men well in hand, the column marched, as if minded to force its way through the town straight upon the Residency. In that direction, therefore, the enemy swarmed. The column had been on its way some time before the enemy perceived that they had been foiled by a feint, and streaming away from the main streets of the city hastened to bar the roads between the houses on the eastern face and the Residency, and threw a great body of troops into the Kaiserbagh. Fortunately the royal residences and huge buildings of the native princes, stretching over great spaces of ground, surrounded by lofty walls of stucco and plaster, though not proof to cannon shot, afforded effectual cover to the soldiers once they could break in. Covered by the 78th, who stood fast in the houses of the suburbs at the junction of two roads inside the Shahbagh bridge, the column filed away rapidly to the right, turning the defences of the enemy. The 78th were attacked furiously, and the baggage was exposed to repeated charges. The anxious garrison of the Residency, listening for the renewal of the sounds which cheered them during the fight at Alumbagh, were alarmed as the thunder of the guns and the roll of musketry ceased. Suddenly the tumult broke out again, and the column working its way on from one of these to the other, approached the Residency, where the gallant garrison was now eagerly waiting to meet them. The 78th and the cavalry, following a direct route, fortunately came upon the rear of the Kaiserbagh battery, which they stormed, and then joined the main column, which at this time presented the appearance of a rather disorderly force, for it was broken up in these great palace gardens. There was now a halt ordered within a quarter of a mile of the Bailey guard of the Residency, but every yard of it was swept by the concentrated fire of infantry and artillery. Every house concealed an enemy. Outram, fearful lest some mischance should mar the enterprise, counselled a halt for the night, while Havelock was of opinion that they should continue the advance and complete the relief. The order was given. The instant that the 78th Highlanders and Brazier's Sikhs appeared with the generals at their head, they were exposed to a tremendous fire; but still the column held on its way. Neil fell as he was directing the column under an archway in the street. Highlanders and Sikhs rushed up the main street with loud cheers, and when Outram appeared on horseback at the Bailey guard, and dismounted in front of Atkins's guns, one grand cheer from the relieved garrison gave a welcome never to be forgotten.

We can scarcely imagine the joy of that moment. Worn soldiers and civilians, the women and children, who had toiled so long, rushed to embrace their deliverers. There was but one dark spot in the brightness of their joy. The wounded and their escort were attacked by the enemy, and most of them were killed, but the resistance of the escort was so gallant, that it offered an opportunity to Outram to give to Dr. Home and Privates Ryan, Halliwell, and MacManus the Victoria Cross. The total loss of the relieving force was 196 killed and 339 wounded. But Lucknow was relieved, and the news, coming as it did fast after the fall of Delhi, diffused joy and hope throughout the English and filled the mutineers and rebels with despondency. Two courses were now left for Outram to pursue: to hold the Residency, or march out with the women and children, and deliver them at Cawnpore. There were two objections to such a course: one was the inevitable loss that would be sustained in a running fight; for although the British had forced their way into the Residency, and had inflicted, perhaps, heavy losses on the enemy, there were still tens of thousands of Sepoys, matchlock men, thousands of horse, and batteries of artillery, which could harass their march. The other was the disadvantage of abandoning the hold which they had acquired on the capital. The transport at their disposal was quite unequal to the carriage of the supplies and stores which had been accumulated in the Residency. Outram therefore resolved to remain. Inglis was left in command of the Residency, the works of which were strengthened; and Havelock occupied the palaces and the large inclosures extending from the Residency by the banks of the Goomtee towards the Dilkoosha. As soon as their determination was made plain, the enemy renewed their attacks; but although they suffered some losses, the reinforced garrison could easily resist the assaults, reduced in intensity, as well as the feebler fire of musketry, which were now directed against them, until the force which was being organised by Sir Colin Campbell could march to their relief.

On the 5th of November Sir Colin Campbell reached Cawnpore, where a force of 4,550 men, including the Naval Brigade, under Captain Sir William Peel, with 8 guns, the 93rd Highlanders, the 5th, 8th, 23rd, 53rd, 64th, 75th, 82nd, 90th, 1st Madras, 9th Lancers, Hodson's Horse, a detachment of Sikh cavalry, two Sikh regiments, and 40 guns had been directed to concentrate. He had strengthened the post at Alumbagh, which was placed under the command of Brigadier Hope Grant, and on the 11th, Sir Colin Campbell, leaving General Windham with 500 men to guard the *tête de pont* at Cawnpore, crossed into Oude to relieve Outram and Havelock. The enemy had contented themselves with a close investment of the place, but it was a work of difficulty and danger to communicate with the outer world. Outram was enabled, however, through the zeal and courage of Mr. Kavanagh, of the uncovenanted service, to send out plans of the approaches to Sir Colin Campbell, a service for which the Victoria Cross, in addition to a reward of 2,000*l.*, and promotion, was worthily bestowed. On the 14th, Sir Colin Campbell marched upon the Dilkoosha and the Martiniere, thus turning the defences which the Sepoys had prepared along the direct road which had been taken in the previous advance against the Residency. The Dilkoosha and the Martiniere were carried after much opposition, and the army halted, repulsing a sortie from the city. Next morning the column moved to the right, and forced its way up to a walled inclosure, loop-holed and flanked, within which was a two-storied palace, called the Secunderabagh. Peel's heavy guns soon battered a breach in the garden. The 93rd, 53rd, and Brazier's Sikhs dashed in and found the place swarming with Sepoys, of whom nearly 3,000 were actually shot or bayoneted within the walls. The Shahnujeef was next battered, and was carried by the 93rd. There still lay between Campbell and the British garrison one other palace called the Moteemahul, the mess-house of the 32nd regiment, and the observatory, the advance towards which was covered by the fire from the Kaiserbagh; but the superior skill, courage, and discipline of the assailing force enabled them to win their way until Outram and Havelock, coming from the Residency, met Sir Colin Campbell, amidst the cheers of the beleagured troops and delighted garrison. Sir Colin Campbell was still full of anxiety, for when he left Lucknow he knew that the Gwalior Contingent, consisting of 10,000 trained infantry, with cavalry and well appointed artillery, had arrived at Calpee, and he felt convinced that they would, on learning of his march to relieve Lucknow, immediately make an attack on the weak entrenchments of Cawnpore, under Windham, defended by raw recruits and detachments of many different regiments.

The Gwalior Contingent advanced from the road to Calpee. Windham, however, had received reinforcements, and hearing that the enemy were moving down as if to intercept his communications, moved out of his entrenchments with 1,500 men and 8 guns on the 26th, and attacking a force of 3,000 men on the Pandoonudee, routed them and captured three of their guns, losing 14 killed and 78 men wounded in the encounter. On the night of the 26th the enemy drew up close to the position of the British outside the town, and took up a line with their front covered by heaps of old rubbish and brick kilns, with their left towards Cawnpore, and their right in front of the entrenchments to the *tête de pont.* This position was more extended than the force at his disposal could enable Windham to occupy with effect; he had only ten field guns drawn by bullocks, while the Contingent had at their disposal four times as many guns. The enemy, though not advancing very rapidly, showed great confidence, holding to the points they were enabled to reach amid the broken ground under the superior fire of their guns. There is reason to think that some of the troops did not display all the coolness and courage desirable under the situation, and one field-officer, at least, gave an evil example to his men. Certain gunners who were left with the pieces preferred returning with the bullocks which were driven off by the native drivers. Windham perceived the immense importance of securing the bridge at all hazards, for if that were broken down by the enemy's fire, the communications of Sir Colin Campbell's army would be in jeopardy, and the Ganges would be placed between the two forces; so, moved by that consideration and by signs of faint-heartedness in some of the detachments, he gave orders for a retreat upon the *tête de pont*, which was executed in a manner which caused it to resemble a rout. The camp fell into the hands of the enemy, who, pressing on rapidly, established themselves in the town, and came down to the river, closing in upon the earthworks of the bridge-head, on which they directed a heavy fire in the morning. Meantime, Sir Colin Campbell, having left 3,000 infantry and volunteer cavalry under Outram at the Alumbagh, was marching down from Lucknow towards Cawnpore. The garrison, women, children, civilians, and baggage, extended in a train nearly ten miles in length. He brought them all away by an admirably devised scheme through a line of pickets behind the walls of the palaces, down towards the road to Cawnpore, under the very eyes of the enemy, who fired, indeed, upon the line of retreat, but were quite unaware that the whole force was escaping. One great gloom accompanied their success. Havelock died; he enjoyed but a few days the knowledge that his services were recognised and appreciated by his queen and country, and ere the preparations for the retreat were completed, his illness so far increased, that he had to be borne from the spot, where culminated his fame and his services, in a litter. He had been ailing for some time, but still, with indomitable spirit, with which he usually controlled the expression of all his feelings, he concealed his malady so well that, except in his wasted form and pallid face, no one could have told he was struggling with a terrible foe—dysentery, the symptoms of which wearied him ever since the 20th of September. On the 23rd, General Outram visited him and bade him a farewell, which proved to be for ever. The old soldier was perfectly calm, and said to Outram, "I have for forty years so ruled my life that I might face death without fear whenever it came to me." His body reposes in the Alumbagh. It was with saddened hearts those who had fought under him set out upon their way to Cawnpore. On the 27th, as they halted at Bunneq, the sounds of a distant cannonade reached the camp. On the 28th, Campbell moved to Windham's help, sending on Hope Grant with Peel's guns in advance towards the bridge, which was already under fire of the enemy, in all haste. The attack had been renewed with vigour. Windham, fighting desperately, directed several sorties, dreading that the Sepoys would establish their batteries so as to effect the consummation so much feared. The arrival of Sir Colin very soon arrested the siege; the Gwalior Contingent at once retreated from the dangerous vicinity of the English army. They did not go far enough, however. They lingered within a convenient distance of the English general, who feigned not to perceive them while he was occupied in passing over the rescued garrison, women and children, and sending them on to Allahabad. On the morning of the 6th, Sir Colin Campbell directed Windham to attack the enemy. The order was gallantly executed; in two hours Windham had his revenge in the possession of the enemy's camp, and in the full rout of his late assailants, who with a loss of all their guns but three, and an immense quantity of baggage, plunder, and thousands of cattle, were chased along the Calpee road in wild disorder. Sir Colin Campbell thus effected the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, but he had left Lucknow and Oude in the hands of the rebels.

It was necessary that he should remain at Cawn-



THE RELIEF OF LUCKNOW.

pore until he could collect a force to clear that newly annexed kingdom of the rebels, and at the same time procure transport for his army, secure the garrison, women and children, who were coming down after the relief of Agra, and his communications with Delhi. Colonel Seton marched with a great column of horses, camels, elephants, and baggage, fighting a severe engagement on his way, at a place called Gungaree, in which the Carabineers and Hodson's Horse were particularly distinguished. He had repeatedly to engage bands of the enemy on his march through the Doab before he could make Cawnpore; but he did so well that he was rewarded by the K.C.B. Sir Colin Campbell moved out of Cawnpore along the main trunk road, and while a force under Walpole was clearing the left bank of the Jumna, attacked the Nawab of Futtehghur on the Kalenudee, on the 3rd of July, routed him, took all his guns, and occupied the town and citadel, and the depôt of the Gun-Carriage Agency, which contained an immense store of clothing, timber and cloth. Here he halted while he was preparing a plan of campaign, subject to the approval of Lord Canning, against the rebels across the Ganges, who, having their principal armies round Lucknow and Bareilly, at which place Khan Bahadoor had declared himself King of Rohilcund, held the whole tract of country from Nepaul and the foot of the Himalayas down to the river. Lord Canning was governed in his view of the case by political more than military considerations, while Sir Colin Campbell turned his attention to the latter. In deference to the opinion of the Governor-General of India, he resolved, first, to recover the position of Lucknow, to clear Oude, and then strike the enemy in Rohilcund. There was some delay caused by the tardy movements of the Nepaulese; but on the 27th of March, Sir Colin Campbell crossed the Ganges at Cawnpore, and advanced towards Lucknow with a very complete little army. Time was not lost, however, because the delay gave full opportunity to the general to inflict severe punishment on bands of the enemy in the Doab. Jung Bahadoor entered Goruckpore, and promised to co-operate with our troops on the line of the Goomtee on the Bombay side. Sir Hugh Rose was directed to march towards Saugur, and thence to Calpee, so as to cover the left flank of the army, while Whitelock, with a force from Madras, marched upon Banda. As Sir Colin was on his way, Brigadier-General Franks, with 6,000 men, British and Nepaulese, came up the right bank of the Goomtee from Benares, and having defeated the enemy, who tried to bar his way to Lucknow, in two engagements, was close enough, on the 4th of April, to offer a hand to Sir Colin's force. They encamped with their right resting on the Goomtee and their left extending from the Dilkoosha towards Bankes's Bungalow. The defenders had thrown up a great embankment along the canal, calculating that Sir Colin Campbell would try, as before, to force his way into the city. Outram, who had suggested the idea of crossing the Goomtee above Lucknow and marching by the right bank, so as to gain possession of the Iron Bridge, was placed in command of a column of cavalry, infantry, and field artillery. On the night of the 4th of April a bridge was thrown over the river from the camp to the east of the Martiniere, and in the morning the enemy were disagreeably surprised by the appearance of our pickets covering the *tête de pont.* They came out with a great display of cavalry and foot, regulars and matchlock men to attack this force, but they yielded very soon to the application of some rifle shots and shell. When a second bridge was completed on the 5th, Outram, making a detour through some rough ground, had some mishap in an illguided charge of the Queen's Bays, in which they lost their major, Price, but reached the Racecourse, where he encamped. The Martiniere in front of the Dilkoosha was hammered remorselessly from the batteries worked by Peel's sailors, and the guns of the enemy were soon silenced. At two o'clock the storming party, consisting of the 42nd Highlanders, the 4th Punjaubees, supported by the 38th, 53rd, 90th, and 93rd, advanced from the Dilkoosha, and the Martiniere was carried with very little loss; meantime, Outram, marching from the Racecourse, turning the works of the enemy, so that in a short time the two forces were in communication across the Goomtee, but still outside of the city. Sir Colin Campbell resolved to proceed regularly by breaching the various strongholds with his big guns, so as to husband his forces and save the lives of his men. The Begumkhotee, the Secunderabagh, and the Shahnujeef were stormed or taken in succession, not without loss, especially that, much to be deplored, of Hodson, the *beau ideal* of a cavalry chieftain. Finally the Kaiserbagh was taken, but still Lucknow yielded but sullenly, for in the narrow lanes, temples, and closed palaces were hordes of rebels and Sepoy mutineers, and the retinues of the Talookdars of Oude. On the 15th, Outram crossed the Iron Bridge, and working his way down towards Sir Colin Campbell, fixed his quarters at Bankes's Bungalow; the British, aided by the Ghoorkas under Jung Bahadoor, gradually advanced, through streets filled with wounded and dying men, who received scanty compassion from the conquerors. On the 19th, when the Moossabagh, a large country seat to which the mass of the Sepoys had fled, was taken, Lucknow was ours, and with it might be said to have fallen, for the first time, into our actual possession, the kingdom of Oude. It was not without many a hard, if desultory, fight—combats distinguished by the endurance of the troops in the midst of an Indian summer, reversing all the experience and the prophecies of those who declared that the English could not stand a campaign in the heat or in the wet season—that Rohilcund and Oude were actually cleared.

The part taken by the Talookdars, or great chieftains, was considered so heinous by the Governor-General, that he issued a proclamation which caused much angry feeling and controversy. Ignoring—perhaps with political foresight—the circumstances under which Oude was so recently annexed, and the feelings which would naturally lead the great chiefs to support the cause of the Begum of Lucknow and her son as representatives of the deposed king, Lord Canning confiscated the whole of the property, which they held somewhat as feudal barons, and which was, in fact, nearly the whole of Oude itself; those who made submission and received pardon, if allowed to hold land at all, would have to depend entirely upon the pleasure of the crown. Sir James Outram was strongly opposed to this measure, and as Chief Commissioner, and from his previous knowledge of the chiefs, his opinion should have had much weight. Outram resigned, and was succeeded by Sir R. Montgomery. Lord Ellenborough wrote off an imperious letter to Lord Canning, which led to angry discussion and to his resignation. But, notwithstanding the opposition at home and in India, the measure was carried; though, in its application care was taken to confirm, as far as it possibly could be done, the original proprietors in their new tenures, and to punish only those who refused to submit, chief among whom was one Baineemadho.

No sooner had Lucknow fallen than Sir Colin Campbell moved to complete his work by clearing the rebels out of Rohilcund towards the north-west, while Lugard was sent down the Ganges towards Gorruckpore to sweep the district of the bands of Koer Sing, and to liberate Azimgur. Penny was directed to march from Roorkee, and co-operate with the force under Brigadier Jones, all making for the common objective point of Bareilly. A column, under Walpole, was despatched, consisting of a fine Brigade of the 42nd, 79th and 93rd Highlanders, under Adrian Hope, with cavalry and guns, up the left bank of the Ganges to meet the force under Sir Colin Campbell, which was to cross from Futtehghur. On his way, Walpole encountered at Royea a body of rebels in a mud fort, under a lame old fanatic, called Nurput Sing, which he attacked with his infantry. They were received with a sharp fire. Adrian Hope was killed and the Highlanders were repulsed. The fort was abandoned in the night. Walpole, continuing his march, joined Sir Colin Campbell, the united columns entering Shahjehanpore on the 30th of April without meeting any enemy. Leaving a garrison, which was soon attacked briskly by the partisan, called the Moolvie, Sir Colin Campbell advanced to Bareilly, in front of which city he was encountered by the force of Khan Bahadoor. On the 25th of May, some Gazees made a very gallant charge, in which they were nearly all killed, and a dash of Sowars caused some confusion amongst the camp followers, the Rohilcund rebels with their famous cavalry offering but a brief resistance. As they were engaged to the south of the city, the column under Jones entering from the north cleared them out rapidly. A few minor operations placed Rohilcund in our hands. North of the Ganges as everywhere else the rebellion was yielding to the skill and superior courage, armament, experience, and combination of the British leaders. Amongst all these operations none was more distinguished for the difficulty of the work to be performed and the completeness with which that work was done than the march of Sir Hugh Rose with what was called the Central Indian Field Force, which had to reduce an enormous tract of country, support the tottering thrones of Scindia and of Holkar, and reduce the strong fortress of Jhansi. His course was marked by a rigid, we had almost said a merciless, infliction of punishment on mutineers and Sepoys. He literally had to fight his way almost daily from the 15th of January till the 21st of March, when Jhansi was bombarded, and after a very bold attempt of Tantia Topee to raise the siege, it was taken by storm, on the 3rd of April, after a desperate resistance which cost us three hundred killed and wounded. On the 5th of May was fought a battle at Koonch. On the 22nd of May was fought a severe and decisive action at Calpee, and the campaign, in which, to use the words of the general to his soldiers, "the troops had marched more than one thousand miles, and taken more than one hundred guns, without a check," appeared to be over.

But there was a strange reverse of fortune to shake our sense of security. Tantia Topee, entering Gwalior, incited the people to make common cause with the fugitives, and when the latter approached Scindia from Calpee, he was deserted by his men, and obliged to fly to Agra, which he entered on the 3rd of June. Nana Sahib was at once declared Peishwa of the Mahrattas. Sir Hugh Rose was obliged to hasten back, and on the 17th of June, Scindia was once more seated on his throne by the hands of the British. On the 28th of the same month, Sir Hugh Rose, worn out by the labours of the campaign, resigned his command and returned to England. The remarkable career of Tantia Topee, the cause of great trouble to many a flying column, is particularly worthy of notice. His constant evasions of all the measures taken to bring him to action resembling so much the numerous escapes of Abd-el-Kader, as to cause the news that Tantia Topee had been killed, or had been surprised, to be received with the same diffidence as used to be shown for the French bulletins announcing the final overthrow of the famous Arab chief.

Lord Clyde (for Sir Colin Campbell had now been rewarded by the well-deserved elevation to the peerage) crossed the Ganges from Allahabad into Oude on the morning of the 2nd of November, reduced the Rajah of Amethie, occupied the fortress of Shunkerpore, attacked and took Dhondiakeera. Then, turning back to Lucknow, he organised columns to make a clean sweep of the Sepoys and of the Talookdars' men out of the numerous hill forts which bordered the north of the kingdom, and eventually succeeded, by the end of the year, in driving the Begum, Nana Sahib, Baineemadho, and all their followers, into Nepaul, where many of them perished miserably of disease and hunger, and where there is every reason to believe Nana Sahib also met his fate. There were sporadic encounters between these small columns and scattered bands, mostly flying for their lives, and holding together, as sheep, for mutual protection, through the earlier part of 1859; but when Feroza Shah, one of the royal family of Delhi, had been disposed of, and Tantia Topee taken and hanged in April, the war was practically at an end. No struggle more arduous had ever tested the powers, and worthiness to rule, of a conquering race. History gives no such example of a terrible peril encountered with such fortitude, no precedent of a mutiny so extensive, and no analogy, in all its bearings, to the uprising of a people which was either caused or supported by an immense military organisation.

Ere the rebellion was completely stamped out, a great change was resolved upon in the government of India. The East India Company was abolished as the governing body, and the crown assumed the direct control of the affairs of the empire. The queen of Great Britain became empress of India. A secretary of state, a great officer and member of the cabinet, assisted by a council, was thenceforth to administer these vast dominions, with the large powers of a governor-general and viceroy. The change was announced to all the chiefs and races of India by royal proclamation, read at Allahabad on the 1st of November, copies of which were sent to the chiefs still in arms, offering them pardon if they surrendered before a certain day. This proclamation might be regarded as the Magna Charta of the Indian people; and well will it be if its letter and its spirit are observed. The queen of England declared that she would scrupulously maintain all treaties and engagements made with the native princes by the East India Company; that she desired no extension of her present territorial possessions, and would sanction no encroachments on those of others, while permitting no aggression upon her own. "We shall respect," goes on the proclamation, "the rights, dignity, and honour of the native princes as our own, and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, shall enjoy that prosperity and necessary advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government, and we hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territory by the same obligations and duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and these obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Firmly relying, ourselves, on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the consolations of religion, we disclaim alike the right or desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects."

A curious difficulty, which caused Lord Clyde serious uneasiness, and was at one time supposed to be fraught with the perils of a second mutiny, arose out of the transfer of the jurisdiction of the company to the queen. The British soldiers of the company's service refused to be transferred to the queen's service without their consent; and the danger of a mutiny was so great that the government, which acted without much firmness or judgment in dealing with the men, had to offer them the right of taking their discharge, and of sending them home at a cost of no less than a million sterling. From the moment that they were brought face to face with a white mutiny, the government resolved to abolish the local Indian army, and from that time there has been a struggle between the officers of the queen's and of the Indian army; class contending against class for the benefits which each supposes itself to have lost in consequence of amalgamation. Many wise men opposed the project, most of all, Sir James Outram, who declared his conviction to be that no amalgamation could take place till the last of the officers of the old Indian army had expired. On the motion of Mr. Henley, the rights of these officers were guaranteed by a clause which was passed, without much consideration, because, in offering a guarantee that none of them should be damnified in any way by the change, Parliament was promising more than it could effect.

The pride with which the nation heard of Havelock's successes, the elation which followed such deep depression, were converted into an outburst of sorrow on the news of his death England lost her hero just as she had found him. The hand which was raised to crown him with laurels was lowered to lay a cypress wreath on his tomb. The Puritan traits of the man as they were revealed to her were congenial to the religious feelings of the middle classes, and the name of Havelock was for a time on every lip, and men were furious and indignant at the neglect and stupidity which had shrouded his merits and impeded his career. But there was by no means assured success in the suppression of the formidable revolt. Sir Colin Campbell, having left a strong garrison in the Alumbagh, and posts along the road to Cawnpore, sent down the women and children and the wounded to Calcutta, and set out westward along the trunk road to clear off the levies which were gathering there to cut up our communications and to secure the route to Agra. On the 2nd of January he arrived at the Kala Nuddee, or Black River, on which the rajah of Futtehghur had taken post with a strong force of sepoys, matchlockmen, in a fine position, defending the bridge over the stream; but the enemy fled after a short resistance, leaving their guns in the hands of the British, and abandoning the town and fortress of Futtehghur without a blow.

The cost of this struggle was, of course, enormous; but it was the Indian tax-payer and the native who had to bear the burden, and as the deficit, which was 8,800,000*l.* in 1858, rose to 14,750,000*l.* in 1859, it was necessary to devise a special means of taxation and account-keeping to put the house of the Indian exchequer in order.

SECTION VIII.

Political action during the year was considerably influenced by a new Reform agitation, which was commenced by Mr. Bright, animated no doubt by the fact that a conservative government was in office. But there was good ground for demanding from that government some measure upon the representation of the people, because in the royal speech it had been specially recommended to their attention. Her Majesty said that she could not doubt but that they would give the subject a degree of calm and impartial consideration proportioned to the magnitude of the interests involved in the result of their deliberations. On the 28th of February, Mr. Disraeli introduced a bill to carry into effect the intentions thus announced. He said he did not wish to base representation upon population, but to combine population with property. He proposed to give a vote to holders of 10*l.* a year in the funds, Bank stock, or East India stock, of 60*l.* in the Savings Bank, of pensions of 20*l.* a year, to lodgers or occupiers whose rent was 20*l.* a year, to holders of university degrees, to clergymen, physicians, qualified surgeons, barristers, and properly qualified schoolmasters. He further proposed that the suffrage in counties and boroughs should be assimilated, a 10*l.* franchise being given to the former; to add four members for Yorkshire, West Riding, two South Lancashire, and two Middlesex; to reduce the number of members of nine boroughs from two to one, and to give the seats to Hartlepool, Birkenhead, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Burnley, Stalybridge, Croydon, and Gravesend. Although these provisions seemed to be framed in a liberal spirit, they did not please the liberal party. Mr. Bright, Mr. Roebuck, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Baxter did battle against the bill; and at the same time, the government was shaken by the opposition of two of their own members, Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley, the latter of whom objected to identity of suffrage as fatal to the constitution of the country, and the former regarded the lowering of the county franchise to that of boroughs as destructive of conservative principles. Mr. Henley, indeed, went so far as to say that since the Reform Act of 1832 the people had a less share in the representation than they had before when they exercised control through the "scot and lot" voters and freemen. The debate which followed the resolution of Lord John Russell, that it was neither just nor politic to interfere in the manner proposed by this bill with the freehold franchise in England and Wales, and that no readjustment of the franchise would satisfy the House or the country which did not provide for a greater extension of the suffrage in cities and boroughs than was contemplated in the present measure, was remarkable for the excellent speeches on both sides; but on the 1st of April a decisive majority of thirty-nine in a house of six hundred and twenty-one members forced Lord Derby to the alternative of resignation or dissolution. The vote was, he said, equivalent to a vote of "want of confidence," and the condition of parties in the Commons made it almost impossible to carry on the queen's government. Lord Derby made a statement to the house with the passionate dignity as well as the eloquence which distinguished his addresses; and he was but feebly answered by Lord Granville, who took up the onerous burden of defending Lord John Russell, whose restless energy, enabling him to overthrow government after government of foes and friends, had been attacked with unsparing severity. Lord Palmerston denied that the vote was intended as one of censure, and condemned the advice given to the queen to dissolve parliament. On the 9th of April, parliament was prorogued in anticipation of the dissolution. The elections went completely against the government, and it was obvious that the ministry were in such a complete minority that it was only a question of a few hours how long they would hold office. Lord Derby was accused of an alliance with the Roman Catholic party, which he indignantly denied, and he relied upon his known character as the best answer to those who attributed to him personal motives in his retention of office. It was supposed by the liberal party that it was their duty to assist, at all hazards, in the construction of that which had never existed, except as a dream, or as the project of far-seeing statesmen, a "kingdom of Italy," from the Trinacrian promontory to the Alps, from the Adriatic to the Gulf of Leghorn. On the 7th of June the queen opened the new parliament. Ere the house met, an analysis of the list of the members returned to the Commons had led many to form an opinion that Lord Derby would not meet the new parliament, but those who were more conversant with constitutional practice and precedent confidentially anticipated that he would follow the course which he actually adopted. On the 13th of June, after three nights of eloquent and energetic debate, the amendments to the address, moved by Lord Hartington, as a party measure, in pursuance of a meeting at White's, was carried in a house of six hundred and thirty-seven members, the names absent from the division list being those of the Speaker, of the member for Aylesbury (where there was a duplicate return), of ten absent liberals, and four absent conservatives, one seat being vacant. Lord Granville was sent for by her Majesty, but, upon some objections being offered by him, Lord Palmerston was called upon to form an administration. A new cabinet was announced, which held its first sitting on the 20th of June, under the presidency of Lord Palmerston. Lord Campbell became lord chancellor; Lord Granville, president of the council; the Duke of Argyle, privy seal; Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, home secretary; Lord John Russell, foreign secretary; the Duke of Newcastle, colonial secretary; Sir Sydney Herbert, secretary for war; Mr. Gladstone, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir Charles Wood; secretary for India; the Duke of Somerset, first lord of the admiralty; Lord Elgin, postmaster-general; the Earl of Carlisle, viceroy of Ireland; Mr. Cardwell, chief secretary; and Mr. Milner Gibson, first commissioner of poor laws. A few days afterwards came the news of the battle of Solferino, and almost immediately was to be observed, by those who look under the surface and read between the lines, that reaction which is so often to be observed in the public mind when some cause which the public has espoused with warmth seems suddenly to be overwhelmingly triumphant. There was a sense of insecurity, caused by a want of alliances, notwithstanding the *entente cordiale* with France, which found expression in the eloquent words of Lord Lyndhurst, who, in his 88th year, speaking to the House of Lords, on the 5th of July, uttered these remarkable words:—"If I am asked whether I can place reliance on the Emperor Napoleon, I reply with confidence that I cannot, because he is in a situation in which he cannot place reliance on himself. He is in a situation in which he must be governed by circumstances. I will not consent that the safety of this country should be placed on such contingencies. His reliance is based on a distinction in private life, which is equally essential to the character and grandeur of a nation. It will be necessary for our defence that we should have a military force sufficient to cope with any power or combination of powers that may be brought against us. The question of money expense sinks into insignificance. It is the price we must pay for our insurance. It is but a moderate price for so important an insurance. I know there are persons who will say, 'Let us run the risk.' Be it so; but, if the calamity should come, what words can describe its extent, what imagination paint the overwhelming ruin that would fall on us? I shall be told, perhaps, that these are the timid counsels of old age; but, my lords, for myself, I should run no risk. Personally, I have nothing to fear. But, to point out a possible peril, and how to guard effectively against it, that is surely to be considered, not as timidity, but as the dictates of wisdom and prudence. I shall terminate what I have to say in two emphatic words —*Vae victis*, words of solemn and most significant import."

It was towards the close of this year that the trumpet note was sounded which led to the terrible civil war between the North and South. On the 16th of October, old John Brown, a fervent abolitionist, having collected a band of enthusiasts like himself, attacked the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, on the Potomac, inside the state of Virginia. He overcame the military who occupied it, and for a long time held possession, but was attacked by an overwhelming force despatched from Richmond, captured, and tried for high treason. His demeanour before his judges was that of a man animated by a lofty purpose and a high resolution, and there was something prophetic in the words which he addressed to his judges when asked what remarks he had to make with reference to his sentence:—"Gentlemen, make an end of slavery, or slavery will make an end of you." He was hanged on the 2nd of December. The song, "John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave," became the Marseillaise of the Northern legions, and to its sounding chorus their feet tramped through many Southern cities ere three years had expired.

The discovery of gold in the Hudson's Bay Territory directed upon the soil of the company an immense horde from all parts of the mining world. Mr. Douglas, the governor, an able and painstaking man, had plainly no machinery to control a vast floating population who destroyed the ordinary life of the colony, interrupted its commerce, and carried away in wild excitement the native inhabitants. The government therefore introduced a measure for the resumption of Vancouver's Island and territory belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, under the name of British Columbia. Mr. Douglas was appointed first governor. The hopes expressed when this step was resolved upon, of a great career for British Columbia have not been quite realised, and the immense natural wealth of Vancouver's Island has not been adequately developed.

SECTION IX.

We must now turn to events on the continent. The language used by the French government late in the previous year had excited suspicion in Austria, and caused uneasiness to those who, like Lord Clarendon, were anxious to maintain the *status quo;* and when the emperor, at the reception of the foreign ambassadors, on New Year's Day, turning to M. Hübner, said, in a tone of studied displeasure, "I regret that our relations with your government are not so good as they have been, but I beg to assure the emperor my personal feelings towards him are not changed," an immediate rupture was apprehended, although the *Moniteur* issued a formal declaration that there was no ground for any expectation of war between the two countries. Whatever may have been the intentions of the emperor of the French, the Italians, resolute in pursuing what many politicians treated as a dream, continuing their agitation against the several governments into which Italy was divided, found powerful support in the policy of Cavour and of Victor Emmanuel. Ten days after the emperor made the significant remark to the Austrian minister, Victor Emmanuel, addressing the Sardinian chambers, uttered the remarkable sentence that, while he respected treaties, he could not be insensible to the cry of suffering which reached him from Italy. The alliance between the dynasty of Napoleon and the house of Savoy was now rendered closer by the marriage of the Prince Napoleon, the cousin of the emperor, to the Princess Clotilde, the eldest daughter of the king. Austria, seriously alarmed, issued a manifesto, in which she called upon the German states, as members of the Confederation, to aid her in case she should be called upon to defend her Italian possessions. She also drafted strong columns of troops into her Italian provinces, and, increasing the garrisons of Cremona and Piacenza, poured men into the Milanese, and on the line of the Ticino and the Legations. The duchies of Tuscany, Modena, Parma, were represented by the Sardinians as being ground by an oppressive tyranny, which was rendered all the more grievous because the tyrants were supported by an Italian power. Whatever truth there might have been in these allegations, it may be remarked that there was no natural right on the part of these states to overthrow the just rule of those who had as much claim to the dominions which they governed as the house of Savoy had to much of its possessions. There never had been at any period of history such a political existence as an Italian kingdom, including all the portion of the soil which extends from the base of the Alps to the foot of Calabria. Still the national impulse was irresistible; the greatest of poets, the ablest of statesmen, the noblest of patriots, had continuously sung and written, spoken and worked, for a common end—the union of their country under one leader. The house of Savoy, ambitious of ruling over a people of singular frugality and military capacity, furnished them with such an one in the field, whilst Cavour applied the whole powers of his wonderful intellect and his unrivalled skill in political intrigue to the same end. Although Garibaldi was a declared republican, and the sworn foe of kings, Victor Emmanuel did not hesitate to summon him, and seek his assistance in the struggle which rapidly became inevitable. Austria contracted a loan of 6,000,000*l.* sterling, which was met by a Sardinian loan of 2,000,000*l.* Cavour, in an able despatch, retaliated on the Austrians, and declared that it was their hostile preparations which justified the steps Piedmont was obliged to take. The English minister, apprehensive of the consequences of a war which might spread over Europe, anxiously sought to allay the irritation which was fast arising in the face of these preparations, and of the angry speeches and acrimonious despatches which found such eager listeners. Our ambassador demanded that Austria would not move a soldier across her frontier in Italy without previous conference with France, but Count Buol said he could not give such an assurance, as it would be a surrender of the sovereign power of Austria; but, in return, asked what would England say to Piedmont if she attacked Austria; to which Lord Augustus Loftus could only reply that the event would be like the mouse attacking the lion. The Austrian reply to our representations seems unanswerable. Count Buol declared that Austria would not be the aggressor, and that if England wished for peace, she should address herself to France and Piedmont, and tell the Emperor Louis Napoleon that she would not passively look on if he commenced hostilities. Lord Cowley, sent upon a special mission to Vienna, for which he was supposed to be specially fitted by his experience, conciliatory manners, and intimate acquaintance with the French court, had no better success. It was in this state of affairs that Russia proposed that a congress should assemble at once to consider the relations of Italy with Austria, but the idea, happy as it seemed to be, was not carried out, because Austria objected to the presence of Sardinia as one of the powers to take part in the deliberations. Meantime, friendly demands were made by the British cabinet that the great powers should disarm simultaneously. Towards the end of April, Austria, losing all patience, sent a peremptory demand to the king of Sardinia that he should disarm his troops within three days, or that war would be declared against him. This most injudicious and masterful proceeding alienated from Austria many of her best friends, who believed that hitherto she had only been pursuing a course of self-defence and of protection of the just rights of others. A proclamation was issued by the king of Sardinia to the army which was worthy of a nation about to fight for existence and freedom, and a manifesto from the hand of Cavour vindicated the cause of Piedmont. "Austria," exclaimed the king, "tears to pieces treaties which she has never respected. The Italian nation henceforth is free by right, and I can conscientiously fulfil the oath I took on my father's tomb. Let us," he added, "place confidence in Providence, the bravery of the Italian soldiers, and in an alliance with the noble French nation." It may be observed that the order of this sentence is rather curious, and that if it is meant as a climax, Cavour evidently had more faith in the French nation than in Providence. "As for myself," he continues, "I have no other ambition than to be the first soldier of Italian independence." The emperor of Austria, on the other hand, issued an address to the army, and a manifesto to his people, in which he gave a very different account of the operations between the two powers. He accused the Piedmontese of continuing, with the Italians, hostilities against the rights of his crown, and of fomenting a pernicious agitation against his dominions. He had treated them with every consideration and forbearance, and they had never desisted from continual aggression, and he was about at last to seek redress for his grievances by the sword; a sword which was sanctified, inasmuch as it was a defence of all that is held most dear to humanity. The Austrian minister, in an appeal to all the courts of Europe, declared that if Piedmont desisted from the intrigues, the people of Italy would be at rest and prosper, and that the government of Austria in Italy was not only lawful and just, but benevolent. He did not hesitate to make the direct charge that it was France which was striking down the hopes of the friends of peace—that it was the Second Empire which, desiring to give substance to its ideas, thought the time had arrived in which projects long meditated on in silence might be matured. On the 26th of April, France, through a speech of the minister to the Chamber of Deputies, announced her resolution. Piedmont, he said, was threatened with invasion, and France could not hesitate to answer the call of an ally to whom she was bound by sympathies strengthened by recent confraternity in the field, and by an alliance between the reigning houses. The emperor announced that he would place himself at the head of the army, leaving to France the empress and her son, and to the patriotism of his national guard the safety of his frontiers and of their homes. On the 29th of April, the Austrian army, under the command of Count Gyulai, crossed the Ticino, and thus struck a blow before the French were ready for any counter demonstration. The news produced a profound excitement in Paris. Strangers, either as residents or visitors, are always delighted at any such *increment* of their pleasure as may be produced by a war in which they take no immediate part, beyond that of being the population of a great city, nurtured in continual illusions which no reverses can dissipate, and who consider a declaration of war as the inevitable prelude to triumphal bulletins, announcing a long chain of victories. Although the Sardinians had made great preparations for the encounter, they hesitated to march immediately to drive the Austrians across the Ticino. The king announced, on the 2nd of May, that he would take the field with his army in person. Five divisions of infantry under Durando, Fanti, Cialdini, Mollard, Cucciari, and a division of cavalry, under General Lamberg, were drawn out on a long curved line from Alessandria towards the frontier, with their right close to Vercelli. The Austrians, whose movements after they had crossed the river, and arrived on the line of the Po, were marked by that want of decision and slowness which is so often fatal in war, and has so frequently characterised the proceedings of Austrian generals, remained inactive, awaiting the coming storm. They knew that the French were descending Mont Cenis, and that the imperial guard, and two divisions, having arrived at Genoa by water, were crossing the Apennines, and descending into the valley of the Scrivia. The first encounter took place at Genestrello, on the 20th of May, from which the Austrians were obliged to retire. This was followed by a more serious action at Montebello, in which a part of a division under Forey, aided by 500 Sardinian cavalry, completely beat the Austrians who attacked them. Gyulai, who seems to have completely lost his head, instead of throwing the whole of his force upon one portion of the allies, ere they had well effected their junction, allowed them to so enwrap his lines that, his flanks being menaced, he was compelled to fall back across the river Sesia. Engagements at Vinzialla, Cassilino, and Paestro, were all in favour of the Sardinians. But the first serious victory, determining indeed the course of the campaign, occurred on the 4th of June, at Magenta. Marshal MacMahon won his dukedom; his arrival with his corps at a critical moment, when the French, repeatedly checked in an attempt to carry a strong position, were about to suffer a serious reverse, saved the day. Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan in triumph on the 8th of June. Close after the retreating Austrians, who were rapidly followed up, defeated at Malegnano on the very day that the emperor arrived, pressed the allies. The Austrians were followed and pursued to the line of the Mincio, where they turned round and faced the advancing enemy. The Austrian right rested upon the Lago di Garda, upon the rising ground from the shores of the lake along the ridges of Desenzano, with their centre at Solferino; the French and Austrians occupying an extended line rather obliquely to their front, with the intention of forcing the passage of the river at several points at once. This design was frustrated by the sudden resolve of the Austrian generals, animated by the presence of the emperor, to cross and attack the enemy. The series of actions which ensued—for it was not a great ranged battle, but a continuous succession of combats, attacks, and charges—lasted from four in the morning till dusk, when the Austrians sullenly retired, leaving the field of battle in the hands of the enemy, who, however, seemed but little aware of the greatness of their victory, and rested content with their first successes. No less than 21,000 Austrians were killed or wounded, and 7000 were taken prisoners out of the army of 170,000 which they brought into the field. The French and Sardinians numbered 145,000, and lost 17,000 killed or wounded. The Austrians fell back within the famous fortifications of the Quadrilateral. The emperor remained for some days at Villeggio, the head-quarters, whilst negotiations were being carried on for an armistice. The situation was sufficiently formidable; the heat was developing sickness in the troops, and the ill-success of the Piedmontese in sustaining the attack of the Austrians on the right at Solferino had not inspired their allies with any great confidence in their capacity for the more serious trials which were necessary in operations against an army covered by entrenchments, and defended by the most formidable regular fortifications in the world. The emperor of Austria met Napoleon at Villafranca, and to the great indignation of the Italians, an armistice, to extend from the 8th of July to the 15th of August, was announced. On the 12th of July, Napoleon returned to Paris, the truce of Villafranca having been provisionally signed on the previous day. In this treaty it was arranged that the two sovereigns would favour the crown of an Italian confederation under the presidency of the Pope; Austria ceding to the emperor her right over Lombardy, excepting Mantua and Peschiera, the ceded territories would be handed by the emperor to the king of Sardinia. Venetia to remain under the dominion of Austria, and to form part of the Italian confederation. The grand-duke of Tuscany, and the duke of Modena to return to their duchies, and grant a past amnesty; the emperor to ask the pope to introduce reforms in his states, and a complete amnesty for all persons compromised in the recent operations. Austria was induced to accept these terms, hard as they were, first by the defeat of her arms, and, secondly, by the disappointment which she experienced in the hope she had entertained of receiving support from Germany. "Notwithstanding the sympathy felt for her just cause," wrote the emperor, in an address to his subjects, "in the greater part of Germany, our national allies refused to take cognisance of the importance of the conflict." The emperor little foresaw that in seven years more that same German people, or rather the great rival state, which was already seeking the destruction of Austrian supremacy, would deal his power a deadly blow in the field of battle.

On the 16th of July, the Emperor Napoleon re-entered Paris in triumph, and four days afterwards he explained to his ministers that, when his army had reached the walls of Verona, the struggle had changed its character, militarily and politically, and that he found himself in the face of Europe in arms, ready to dispute his success, or to aggravate his reverses, while in front was an enemy entrenched behind great fortresses and protected on its flank by neutral territory. He could only go on with the support of revolution, and he had stopped, not from weariness, or exhaustion, or the abandonment of a noble cause, but from regard to the interests of France, and, as soon as her interests were imperilled, he concluded peace. On the 14th of August, the army of Italy made its triumphal entry into Paris, with many of the generals, officers, and men, in its exulting columns who, eleven years afterwards, were, on that same day, headed back by the armies of the invader, and driven under the walls of Metz.

After some discussion as to foreign affairs, and the warlike preparations going on in France, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward the budget, which provided an increase in the income tax to ten pence for one year, a proposition which very nearly caused a ministerial defeat, the third reading of the bill being carried by a majority of nine only. In the House of Lords the defeat, so narrowly escaped below, was accomplished, the second reading of the bill being negatived, after a lengthened debate, by a majority of eighty-nine. This event produced intense excitement. It was denounced as an infraction of the privileges of the House of Commons. On the motion of Lord Palmerston, who subsequently proposed and carried a resolution, affirming the exclusive right of the House of Commons, a committee was named to search for precedents as to the privilege question, and report thereon. Among other measures carried during this session, were an address to the crown, as to entering into a commercial treaty with France; a bill to license refreshment houses to sell wine, which was carried by a majority of seventy-four; and a proposed adjustment of the excise duty on paper, with reference to the proposed French treaty. The army and navy estimates of the year, both of which were of unusual magnitude, caused the subject of national defences to be fully discussed, more particularly by Lord Lyndhurst and Mr. Sidney Herbert. Sir De Lacy Evans moved an address to the crown for the abolition of purchase in the army, which was, however, rejected by two hundred and thirteen to fifty-nine. On the 25th of July, Lord Palmerston's scheme of national defence, which was founded on the report of the defence commission, as to the fortification of dockyards and arsenals, was affirmed in principle by two hundred and sixty-five votes against thirty-nine, and the bill itself was carried by large majorities in both houses. The affairs of China caused considerable discussion in parliament, and rendered necessary a supplementary budget, in order to provide for its expenses. On the 13th of August, the Indian budget was brought forward by Sir Charles Wood, who also moved for liberty to introduce a bill for the reorganisation of the Indian army, which was carried by a large majority, notwithstanding violent opposition. In matters bearing on religious education, Sir J. Trelawny's bill, on the abolition of church rates, was again defeated in the House of Lords.

The budget for the year was estimated at 64,340,000*l.* income, and 69,207,000*l.* expenditure, showing a deficiency of 4,867,000*l.*, which the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to make up by adding 4*d.* to the tax on incomes above 150*l.*, and diminishing the malt credits from eighteen to twelve weeks; and he calculated that from these two measures he would raise nearly the sum which would be required.

The feelings of a certain portion of the House of Commons was unmistakably expressed in a discussion on a motion of Lord Elcho, that it was not consistent with the honour or dignity of England to take part in the conference to which we had been invited to arrange the preliminaries of peace between France and Austria. When parliament was prorogued by commission, the queen's speech declared her Majesty had not yet received the information to enable her to decide whether she might think fit to take part in the peace conference or not.

The Circassians, about whose cause there had once been so much popular sympathy, were subjugated by the Russians, and Schamyl was sent prisoner to St. Petersburg without a word of remark.

SECTION X.

THE royal speech on the opening of Parliament, on the 24th of January 1860, referred to the congress which had assembled for the purpose of discussing the question of the pacification of Italy, and announced Her Majesty's acceptance of an invitation to send a plenipotentiary to assist thereat, on the distinct understanding that no force was to be used to make the Italian people accept any particular form of government. Her Majesty referred to the reverses that we had sustained on the Peiho, the threatened collision as to the Island of San Juan, and the equitable and conciliatory provisional arrangement which had been proposed by the United States government, and which it was hoped would result in an amicable settlement of the question, in a manner conformable with the rights of the two countries, as defined by the first article of the treaty of 1846. Her Majesty expressed her pride and gratification at receiving such extensive offers of voluntary service—a striking manifesto of public spirit, as also an important element in our system of national defence.

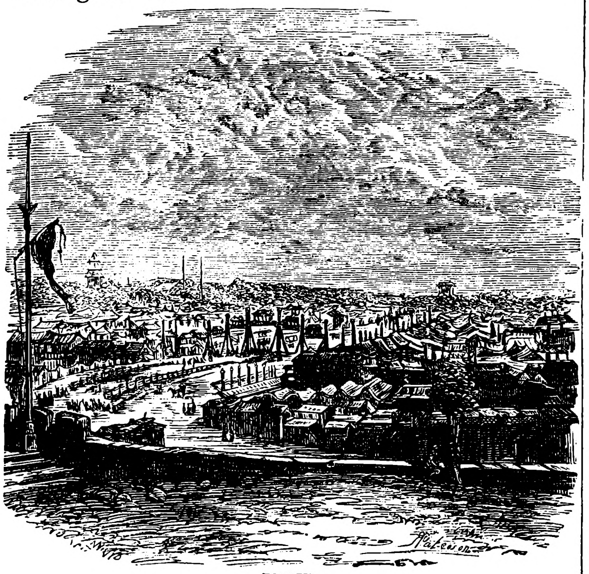
On the 17th of January, Mr. Cobden repaired to Paris, as a plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of commerce. There is reason to believe that the step was taken on the initiative of the emperor, and that Lord Cowley was, in the first instance, requested to ascertain by a personal interview with the British ministry how such a treaty would be received. In adopting this step, the emperor evinced great moral boldness, for the mass of the French people, manufacturers, and growers of raw produce, were opponents of free trade doctrines, and did not believe in their efficacy. The satisfaction with which this news was received in England was speedily somewhat chilled by the intelligence that Savoy and Nice were about to be ceded to France by Italy, as a reward for the services which she had rendered in securing her unity and independence. Lord John Russell, with that readiness to express opinions on all matters of foreign policy, which he was little disposed to enforce by anything but words, directed Sir James Hudson to express to Count Cavour the opinion of the government, that "it would be a blot on the escutcheon of the house of Savoy if the king of Sardinia were to yield to France the cradle of his ancient and illustrious house." The emperor answered these representations by a statement, which appears to have been justified, that the people of Savoy desired to be annexed to France. There were hot debates on the subject in parliament, but the result was not satisfactory to either party; and the interference of France in the affairs of Italy seemed to create considerable excitement and annoyance. In one of these, Mr. Bright exclaimed, much to the edification, no doubt, of the Savoyards, "Perish Savoy rather than that we should involve the government with the government of France in a matter with which we really have no interest." Eventually the states were annexed, and it seems improbable that any attempt will be made to un-Italianise them. On the 10th of November, the Villafranca preliminaries were ratified at Zürich by a definite treaty; but still the Italians were not satisfied. The emperor's advice to Victor Emmanuel, to form an Italian confederation, was not favourably received. The new kingdom of Italy was divided into seventeen provinces, the vacant dukedom being offered to the prince of Carignan by the people. Garibaldi announced that he would leave the military service till Victor Emmanuel should again call his soldiery to arms for the redemption of the country, when he would find a weapon and a place by the side of his brave companions. It was left to the people of Tuscany, and the duchies of Parma, Modena, and the Legations, to decide by a vote whether the people would form a separate kingdom, or become annexed to Sardinia. They decided by an immense majority on the latter. Austria protested against the annexation of the duchies; Prussia protested against the annexation of Savoy; and there, so far, the matter ended. But Francis II. of Naples, looking uneasily around, saw a very real danger, and, when he sought for help, was lectured by the ambassadors and ministers of the foreign powers at his court on the necessity of granting reforms. Romagna separated itself from the papal government; and the king of Sardinia had the modest assurance, when receiving the homage of the people of Emilia, to say that, in uniting them to his ancient provinces, "I do not intend to fail in my deep devotion to the chief of the church. I am ready to defend the independence necessary to the supreme minister of religion—the pope, and contribute to the splendour of his court, and pay homage to his sovereignty."

The pope denied that the suffrage was spontaneous, and concluded a long and able letter thus:—"I pray the Lord to grant you that grace of which, in your present difficult position, you have so great need." Then he issued a letter apostolic, pronounced the major excommunication against the invaders and usurpers of the Pontifical States; but he did not express any objection to the cession of Nice and Savoy. The treaty was signed on the 24th of March.

Early in April there were disturbances in Palermo, Messina, and Catania; and on the 5th of May, Garibaldi, who had protested against the annexation of Savoy and Nice, evaded the Sardinian authorities at Genoa without difficulty, and sailed with two thousand men, and, landing at Talamone, issued a proclamation to the people of Sicily. On the 10th of May, he landed at Marsala, and assumed the title of Dictator of Sicily, in the name of Victor Emmanuel of Italy. On the 15th of May, Garibaldi defeated the Neapolitan army at Calatafimi; Palermo fell, Messina was bombarded, and in a very short time every trace of the rule of the Neapolitan Bourbons was overturned in the island; then, as soon as Melazza had been reduced, organising his forces, he made a daring expedition to the mainland. The king of Italy himself appealed to his general to allow Sicily to try a popular vote, the favourite panacea for all political troubles, but Garibaldi replied, "Such is the present state of things in Italy that I cannot obey your majesty's injunctions, much as I should like it; and I am called for and urged on by the people of Naples." The Neapolitans agreed to evacuate the whole island, except the citadel of Messina. Landing at Spartivento on the 19th of August, Garibaldi marched for Reggio, which was taken by surprise. He was denounced in a manifesto by the king of Naples, to all the European powers, as "a daring '*condottiero*,' at the head of all the force which revolutionary Europe possesses." But he defeated the Neapolitans, and entered Naples in triumph from Salerno. To show the common understanding between Garibaldi and the Sardinian government, we have now to observe how Cavour acted. On the pretence that the pope had troublesome and irregular mercenaries, Cavour declared that Sardinia would invade the Papal States unless they were disbanded. The Emperor Napoleon intimated that if the Sardinians invaded the Pontifical States, he should be obliged to oppose them. But on the 10th of September, the day after Victor Emmanuel had been proclaimed king of Italy at Naples, 50,000 Sardinian troops entered the states. On the 12th, the fortresses of Pezaria, Ferno, Urbina, Perugia, and Spoleto, were seized or taken by assault. This highhanded proceeding produced a great excitement and warm interchange of diplomatic notes. Lord John Russell warmly espoused the cause of the Italian unionists, and expressed his satisfaction at the progress of events in earnest despatches to Sir James Hudson. Meantime, Garibaldi, expelling the Jesuits from Naples, declared the estates of the crown belonged to the state; captured Ancona, defeated the Neapolitans on the Volturno, and, decreeing the incorporation of the kingdom of Naples with Italy, met Victor Emmanuel between Triano and Sepranzaro, where the head of the house of Savoy for the first time saw the red shirt of the man who gave him a kingdom and a united nation.

Early in November, Victor Emmanuel entered Naples, and Garibaldi retired to Caprera a few days afterwards. His army was disbanded, the principal officers being received into the service of the Italian kingdom.

At the commencement of the session, the queen's speech announced to the country that her Majesty had entered into an engagement with the great powers to afford the Sultan military assistance, to enable him to establish order in Syria, where the Druses had massacred numbers of the Christian population. No steps were taken on the part of England to carry out this stipulation, but a French expedition landed on the coast of Syria, occupied Damascus, and added considerably to the prestige of the emperor. Lord Dufferin accompanied the troops as British commissioner, and his despatches throw a strong light on the deplorable intrigues and violence which distracted the population, and on the weakness of the Turkish government. General de Hautpool was charged with the execution of the measures considered necessary for the government of the Lebanon and the tranquillity of Syria; and the occupation, which caused some uneasiness in the minds of those jealous of French influence, only ceased in June 1861. Further eastward there were troubles brewing, where, indeed, they were to be expected. The treaty of Tien-tsin, forced upon China, contained a stipulation, odious to the court and to the mandarins, that ambassadors should be appointed and reside at Pekin. Mr. Bruce, Lord Elgin's brother, was appointed as plenipotentiary to present his credentials to the emperor in person, and to require the execution of the treaty. The French ambassador was instructed to co-operate with him. On their reaching Shanghai, the Chinese exerted all the arts for which they are famous to impede the ambassadors. They wished to exchange ratifications at Shanghai, or to send them across by land to Pekin. The ambassadors, however, resolved to go by sea, and proceeded with the squadron, under the orders of Admiral Hope, to the entrance of the Peiho river, where the Chinese had made preparations to resist the passage, Prince San-ko-lin-sing having been sent down from Pekin to delay and obstruct the diplomatists. Here the ambassadors were detained by endless excuses and impediments. The Chinese put chains across the river, and, engaged busily, night and day, in fortifying the entrance and strengthening the forts, dissipated any delusions as to their real object. On the 25th of June, Admiral Hope proceeded to force an entrance, and landed a strong division of marines and sailors on the mud-banks, in order to carry the principal fort, while the gunboats engaged the batteries. Ere the force landed, the *Plover* and *Lea* grounded, the *Cormorant* was riddled, and the *Kestrel* was sunk by the heavy guns unexpectedly opened upon them. The sailors and marines were equally unfortunate; 252 were killed or wounded out of the small force—three-fourths of the officers among them; and 25 were killed and 93 wounded on board the squadron. A gallant sailor, Tunell, in command of a United States frigate, sent off his boats to assist in collecting our wounded, and justified his interference by the saying that "blood is thicker than water" The news of this disaster created great excitement. The Indian government was directed to prepare a force to teach a severe lesson to the Chinese. Lord Elgin was appointed plenipotentiary on the part of England, and Baron Gros on the part of France. They encountered a misfortune at the outset, which, however, was not ominous. The ship which carried them was wrecked in the harbour of Point de Galle, and the ambassadors lost their papers and baggage; on the 21st of June, 1860, they arrived at Hong Kong, and proceeded to join the force at the mouth of the Peiho river, under the command of Sir Hope Grant and of General Montauban. An *ultimatum* was forwarded to Pekin to demand the immediate execution of the treaty, which the Chinese council treated with contempt. On the 13th of August, the allied troops having previously dispersed a force at Tangchow, and captured 45 Chinese guns, attacked the Taku forts. The walls were breeched, and a storming party from both armies carried the place, in spite of the desperate resistance of the Chinese, who left 400 of their guns in possession of their enemy. Tien-tsin was occupied, the Chinese authorities pretending to prepare for the reception of the ambassadors at a camping ground beyond Tangchow. A treacherous attempt was made to massacre the ambassadors; and Messrs. Parkes and Locke, Mr. de Norman, Captain Brabazon, Lieutenant Anderson, Mr. Bowlby, of the *Times*, and some French officers were seized and inhumanly treated, so that some of them died. On the 25th of September, the allies attacked the Chinese camp, and on the 6th of October they advanced upon Pekin. Messrs. Parkes and Locke and others were released, but when Lord Elgin heard of the torture and death of their companions, he resolved upon destroying the summer palace, in which Baron Gros refused to participate. The buildings were fired and totally destroyed. On the 24th of October, the Chinese signed a declaration in the form of a treaty, expressing the emperor's deep regret at the conduct of the garrison of Taku, agreeing to pay eight millions of taels as a war indemnity, to permit British subjects to reside at Tien-tsin, and to receive ambassadors at Pekin.


PEKIN.

When the third session of the sixth parliament of Queen Victoria was opened by her Majesty in person, she could congratulate the country on the successes in China. The consolidation of the criminal law, the improvement of the law of bankruptcy and insolvency, and measures for facilitating the transfer of land, and to establish a uniform system of rating in England and Wales, were recommended to parliament. No amendment was moved to the address in the Lords, although Lord Derby made a vehement attack on the policy of the government in its foreign relations, and especially against the support given to the national party in Italy. "No doubt," he said, "all the people in Italy may be called Italians, as hounds, greyhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs, shoughs, water-rugs, and demi-wools are yclept all by the name of 'dogs'." The thanks of both houses were voted to the troops, and Lord Herbert especially referred to the cordial co-operation of both branches of the service; but some criticisms were passed on the destruction of the summer palace, which induced John Russell to explain that the French commissioner and general did not refuse to participate in it on account of its being an unjustifiable barbarism, but because he feared it might operate in breaking off the negotiations for the treaty. The queen in her speech made a graceful allusion to the differences between the Northern and Southern states of America. "It is impossible for me not to look with great concern upon any event which can affect the happiness and welfare of a people nearly allied to my subjects by descent, and closely connected with them by most intimate and friendly relations, and my heartfelt wish is that this difference may be susceptible of a satisfactory adjustment." It needed something more than wishes, however, to bring about such a consummation.

Let us turn for a moment to the United States, where, as the queen's speech indicated, the relations between the North and South had assumed hostile appearance. Mr. Jefferson Davis, a planter of Alabama, who had been in the Mexican war, took the lead in the foundation of the Confederate States, and delegates from these states assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 6th of February. Mr. Davis was inaugurated, on the 18th, as president, and offered the North goodwill and kind relations. "But if," said he, "passion and lust for dominion should cloud the judgment and influence the ambition of the North, we must prepare to meet the emergency, and maintain, by the final arbitrament of the sword, the position we have assumed among the nations of the earth. We have entered upon a career of independence which must be inflexibly pursued through many years of controversy with our late associates of the United States." It was impossible for the English people, or, indeed, for any who had not studied minutely the constitution of the United States, and the history of the various states which constitute the great republic, to understand the principles upon which the Southerners insisted as a justification of secession. The doctrine of state rights had never been thrust so prominently before an astonished world. But it was a doctrine which was very dear to the people, who had been taught to consider themselves each as a sovereign belonging to a sovereign independent state, which claimed their allegiance, but which was also their empire. Mr. Calhoun, a very able man, had striven zealously, in and out of congress, to stamp this dogma on the acts of the legislature, and to impress it on the minds of the people. It was believed to be right by the democratic party, and the greatest lawyers in the states upheld it. It may be questioned whether, if put in an abstract form to George Washington, and to the fathers of the republic who framed the constitution, they would not have admitted the validity of the arguments on which the Southern States insisted. Mr. Buchanan, the president, although filled with horror at the idea of the dissolution of the union, admitted that he had no power to force any state to remain which wished to secede, and he was supported in this view by the attorney-general. A curious question arose with reference to the Federal fortresses in Southern ports, such as Fort Pickens in Mobile, and Fort Sumter in Charleston harbour. These forts were garrisoned by United States regulars, but the state governments insisted on the right of occupying them as belonging to the states, and as being on their soil. As the day for the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln drew near, the excitement increased. Mr. Lincoln's inaugural address was received with a shout of indignation from the Southerners, but to us, now, it would seem that his language was moderate and guarded. He distinctly declared that he had no purpose, direct or indirect, of interfering with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. "I believe I have no lawful right to do so," he said; "and I have no inclination to do so. No state can, upon its own mere motion, get out of the union, and resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and acts of violence within any state or states against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary according to circumstances." He refused to open negotiations with commissioners from the Southern States to discuss the question of their rights and to arrange for secession; nor would he listen to any attempts to extract from him a promise that he would not reinforce the Federal garrison in Charleston harbour. But no active measures were taken to solve the question of the forts, although the South Carolinians showed their temper sufficiently by firing on the 9th of January at a vessel bringing reinforcements to the Federal garrison in Charleston harbour. Mr. Buchanan accepted this insult, and the people of Charleston proceeded to throw up batteries menacing the Federal forts, while the state busily engaged in arming and drilling volunteers and militia. An expedition was, however, prepared as secretly as possible to sail with troops and provisions for Charleston. Major Anderson, the officer in command of the Federal garrison, observing the preparations which were made to attack his scanty force, adroitly and quietly evacuated the forts on the mainland, and moved to Fort Sumter, built upon a shoal in the centre of the harbour. General Beauregard, who had been placed at the head of the troops of the state of South Carolina, summoned Major Anderson to surrender. As it was known that there was a Federal expedition at sea, it was resolved to open fire on the 12th of April. The fort was set on fire; and on the 13th of April the Federal garrison hauled down their flag and surrendered as prisoners of war.

The exultation of the South at this success was met by an outburst from the North so passionate and universal as for a moment to startle the boldest among those who were resolved upon secession. An unpardonable sin had been committed; rebels in arms had fired upon the symbol of sovereign power, and had dared to pull down the flag of the United States. On the 15th of April, President Lincoln issued a proclamation, calling out 75,000 militia from the various states of the union; two days afterwards, President Davis issued letters of marque and reprisal on the part of the government of the Confederate States of America, while Mr. Lincoln issued another proclamation placing the ports of New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, Savannah, &c. in a state of blockade, a measure which was attended with remarkable complications and difficulties. As soon as the blockade of the Southern ports was known in England, the government issued a proclamation of neutrality, which appeared in the *London Gazette* of the 14th of May, noting that hostilities had unhappily commenced between the government of the United States and certain states styling themselves the Confederate States of America; the queen warned all her subjects against enlisting in the sea or land service of either of the American belligerents, or supplying munitions of war, or equipping vessels for privateering purposes, or engaging in transport service, or doing any other thing calculated to afford assistance to either party. In arriving at the determination to issue this document, the government relied upon the acts of the president of the United States as full justification of their proceedings, and as proof conclusive that there was a state of war with all the incidents which are attached to it by the laws of nations; but it was resented by the Americans as a proof of covert ill-feeling, and as a hasty act of recognition calculated to comfort and aid the rebellion. An order in council, founded upon the proclamation, was issued, forbidding vessels of war or privateers from carrying prizes into British ports. In questions of broad general policy between the belligerents, the example of Great Britain was followed by the European states. In all the Northern states great meetings were held, money was voted for war, and the New England states were conspicuous for the energy they threw into the preparations. It was a regiment of Massachusetts volunteers which had first to test the reality of Southern passion. They were on their way, on the 19th of April, through the town of Baltimore, to Washington, now threatened by troops belonging to Virginia; in their passage the mob fired upon the regiment, or were fired upon by them, and it was with some difficulty the Massachusetts men fought their way through the streets to the railway station.

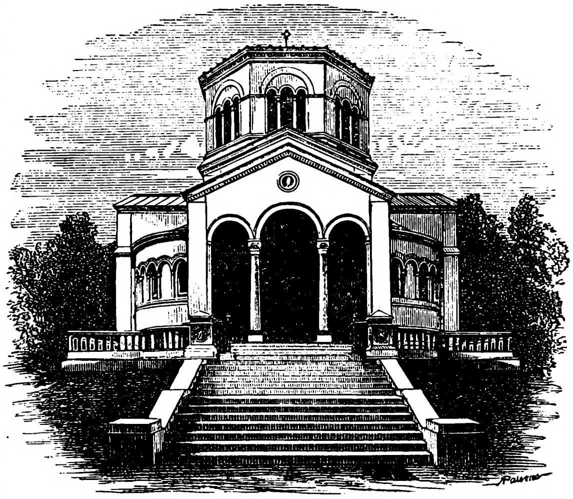
The example set by South Carolina towards the close of the year was followed by Mississippi on the 11th of January, Florida on the 12th, Georgia on the 19th, Louisiana on the 28th of January, Texas on the 1st of February; but Virginia did not secede till the 17th of April, Arkansas till the 6th of May, Tennessee till the 8th of May, and North Carolina till the 20th of May; but even in the non-seceding states the Federal ports, arsenals, and magazines, were seized whenever they could be got at, and on the 9th of January the levies of the South Carolinians, who were encamped on the shores of Charleston harbour, and engaged in throwing up works against Fort Sumter, fired on the *Star of the West*, which appeared off the harbour with the intention of throwing reinforcements and supplies into the fort. When parliament was opened (5th February), it was only natural that her Majesty should allude to the circumstances which were menacing the integrity of the United States; but the words which were put in her mouth were bald and uncongenial—and the expression of her "heartfelt wish that those differences may be susceptible of a satisfactory adjustment" meant as little—and were calculated to afford the quasi-combatants, both of whom were looking out eagerly for sympathy, as small satisfaction as anything that could be well said. It is all the more to be regretted that a decided line was not adopted, because the Americans on both sides might have expected a government which was all but actively interfering to promote the success of Garibaldi in Italy, and had no difficulty in taking a strong line in foreign politics, would have avowed some more active sympathy, and not have stood aside looking on at the preparations for a fratricidal contest with the remark that they hoped their differences might be susceptible of a satisfactory adjustment. The seceding states sent delegates to Montgomery to draw up a constitution, and Mr. Jefferson Davis was inaugurated as president on the 18th of February; but no notice was taken of American affairs in parliament till the 8th of May, when Lord John Russell, in reply to Mr. Gregory, stated that the Southern Confederacy must, according to the law officers of the crown, be recognised as a belligerent power.

On the 13th of May a proclamation was issued in the usual form, and on the following day Mr. Adams, the minister sent by the new government at Washington, arrived in London to replace Mr. Dallas. But Mr. Adams could have been the bearer of no new intelligence to our government. Two days before the president was inaugurated, the United States passed a tariff of an almost prohibitory character against foreign goods as a sort of manifesto against the free-trade declarations of the Southerners; and on the 4th of March President Lincoln, though he declared "he had no lawful right or inclination to interfere with slavery where it existed," asserted that the right of secession did not exist, and that all resolves and ordinances to that effect were void, and the people on both sides prepared to defend the principles and government for which they were contending by force of arms.

The Confederate congress passed an act to borrow fifteen millions of dollars, secured by an export duty on cotton, and it was confidently expected that England would not and could not allow any blockade to interfere with the supplies of that necessary article; and on the 3rd of May President Lincoln called for forty-two thousand volunteers, ordered an increase of twenty-two thousand men to the regulars, and of eighteen thousand seamen to the navy. The New England states responded with alacrity, and a lawyer, named Butler, a senator and general of valour, occupied Baltimore with two thousand men, strengthened the garrison of Munro, and established a camp on the main land. Moving out on a reconnoissance, on the 10th of June, he was met by a Confederate force, and obliged to retire with some loss. The main force of the Northerners concentrated round the capital, and occupied the heights of Arlington over against it on the right side of the Potomac, in the state of Virginia, under the command of Brigadier-General McDowell. The Northern press was loud in the demand that this army should be "led on to Richmond," where the Confederate congress was now sitting, and the Southern levies, under Beauregard, were advanced to a position to cover the state capital from attack. On the 20th July, McDowell put his forces, consisting of about twenty thousand men, mostly volunteers, into motion, and occupied a position over a small stream, called Bull Run, without opposition, intending to seize next day on the railway terminus at Manassas Junction, for which purpose he advanced early in the morning of the 21st in three columns, but he was weakened by the unexpected defection of three thousand Pennsylvanian volunteers—whose service expired on that very day, and who "marched off the ground to the sound of the enemy's guns"—and discouraged by the want of discipline of his troops. The Confederates under Beauregard were strongly posted, and well covered, but the attack of the regulars on the right forced them to give way a little, and the Federals were gaining ground, when trains from Richmond came up with reinforcements which came on their flank, and checked their progress. They recoiled before an aggressive movement of the Confederates, fell into disorder, which was augmented by false alarms of cavalry, and at last, abandoning guns and baggage, broke up in panic and fled towards Washington, which was thrown into agitation, but not alarm, by the terrified fugitives in the streets. But the victorious Southerners, inexperienced in war, and ignorant of the value of instant pursuit, and fatigued, perhaps, by their long struggle under a Virginian sun, allowed the golden moment to pass, and were arrested at Centreville by a reserve of Germans under Blenker.

A retired officer of the regular army, who was engaged in the management of a railway, named McClellan, obtained some success in Western Virginia over the levies led by another regular officer, named Garnett, who was fighting for state rights, and when McDowell was defeated at Bull Run, that success gained him the nomination to the chief command in the field. He set to work to organise the volunteer battalions which poured from the Northern and Western states into something like an army, and was enabled to resist the pressure of those who were angry and impatient at delay by recalling the misfortunes of his predecessor. The Federal fleet reduced Forts Hatteras and Clark, and effected a lodgment on the coast of North Carolina at the end of August, but they were not able to prevent the escape of the *Nashville* steamer, which commenced a series of very destructive operations against commerce in the British Channel; and the first attempt of McClellan to make a movement into Virginia was attended with a disastrous repulse at Bull's Bluff. At the beginning of the year 1862, however, the United States sloop *Tuscarora* pursued the *Nashville* into Southampton waters, and she was only enabled to escape by the twenty-four hours' law allowed by our government. The distress in Lancashire caused by the closing of the mills soon became severe. Meetings were held in all the large towns, and a central relief committee established in Manchester.

Events in America were keenly watched and naturally much discussed, and as the printed discussions were in a language understood by the belligerents, they often caused anger and offence; for the Americans are in the habit of regarding this country as a sort of outlying suburb which they can treat as they please in family arrangements, but which has no right to express an opinion concerning them, being in that respect a foreign power. Soon after the prorogation of parliament, the queen paid her third visit to Ireland, and was accompanied, of course, by the prince consort, by the Prince of Wales, whose regiment was quartered at the Curragh, and Prince Alfred. The heir-apparent had left the university of Oxford, where the queen had visited him, and was serving at the Curragh, where, on the 12th of September, he made the first discharge of his duties in public by presenting a stand of colours to the 36th Regiment. The royal party were warmly welcomed; immense masses of people assembled to gaze on the rare visitors, but it is said that the cheers were not as hearty as they were when it was expected her Majesty would become an annual tourist in that part of her dominions. In the early part of the year the death of the Duchess of Kent, who was tenderly loved by her daughter, may be regarded as the first great sorrow which had ever cast its shadow over her heart; but the approaching marriage of the Princess Alice to Prince Louis of Hesse, the treaty of which was signed on the 14th of August, must have been a source of comfort to her, and restored to her the serenity and enjoyment which were soon to be so rudely shattered for ever in this world. From Ireland the queen and prince consort proceeded to Balmoral, but the court were at Windsor in November, when the news arrived that the Royal West India mail steamer *Trent* had been stopped at sea by the United States man-of-war *San Jacinto*, Captain Wilkes, which had fired a shot across her bows to bring her to, had been boarded by an armed party, who, notwithstanding the protests of the captain and mail agent, arrested four passengers, Messrs. Mason, Slidell, McFarland, and Curtis, and carried them as prisoners on board the American frigate, from which they were transferred to a gaol. A cabinet council was summoned the moment the news was made known (on the 28th of November), and two days afterwards a special messenger was sent to Washington with despatches from Earl Russell (for he had been raised to the upper house in the summer) to Lord Lyons, setting forth the detention of the *Trent* on an innocent and lawful voyage, and the arrest of her passengers, and expressing a trust that when the matter was brought under the consideration of the United States, the government would of its own accord offer such redress as alone would satisfy the British nation —the liberation of these gentlemen—and then transfer them to British protection, with a suitable apology for the aggression which had been committed. A delay not exceeding seven days was to be allowed for an answer; if no answer, or any but compliance with the demands of government were given, Lord Lyons was to leave Washington. It has been alleged, and perhaps may have been thought by some, that the course pursued by the British government on this occasion indicated a desire to pick a quarrel with the United States, and to humiliate the government and the republic by seizing on this act of Captain Wilkes as a pretext for imperious demands when her hands were tied, and when she was engaged in a death struggle with a giant insurrection. No allegation can be more unjust; no imputation more scandalous. It was not the fault of Great Britain that she had to demand reparation for an outrage on her flag. It was not the fault of Great Britain that the act met with enthusiastic approbation in the Northern States, and that the demand for reparation became necessary because the United States government did not at once repudiate the outrage, and send the prisoners in the *San Jacinto* to be delivered up, with an apology, at the nearest British port. Mr. Seward, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, an able man and an inexhaustible despatch writer, was informed of the contents of the despatch by Lord Lyons on the 19th of December. On the 26th of December he sent a despatch to Lord Lyons, in which he argued out the matter, answering these five questions: Were the persons and their despatches contraband of war? Might Captain Wilkes lawfully stop and search the *Trent* for them? Did he properly exercise that right? Having found them, has he a right to capture them? And did he do so in a manner recognised by the law of nations?—which he answered as may be imagined, though he was obliged to admit that Captain Wilkes had no special instructions to stop the *Trent*, and that if she had contraband of war, he had no right to let her proceed on her voyage. On these two grounds, Mr. Steward consented to restore the prisoners, and on the 27th of December Lord Lyons announced the intelligence in a despatch which reached London on the 9th of January. The prisoners were liberated, and sent on board a British man-of-war in rather a clandestine manner; and the temper of the Americans in the matter may be judged from the fact that Mr. Seward kept the decision secret to the last moment, and requested the co-operation of Lord Lyons lest there should be a violent outbreak against the prisoners. Captain Wilkes received the thanks of congress, and was fêted at Boston, where he received a gold-hilted sword, and became the hero of the hour all over the Northern States because of the indignity he had put upon us. But when the news of the concession to our demands arrived, and the dread of having to engage in a hateful but necessary contest was removed from the public mind, there was a profound regret and consternation upon the nation at a calamity, sudden and unexpected, which deprived the queen of husband, friend, and counsellor, and the empire of a trained intelligence for which no substitute could be found. On his return from a visit to the Prince of Wales, then pursuing his studies at Cambridge, in the first week in December, the prince consort complained of indisposition which partook of the character of a feverish cold, but it was thought that rest and seclusion in his room, and care, would soon dissipate the symptoms. On the 11th of December a bulletin, announcing that he was suffering from fever unattended by unfavourable symptoms, but likely from its symptoms to continue for some time, caused uneasiness and surprise; but when, three days later, it was announced that Prince Albert was dead, the feeling became one of horror, of intense grief for his loss, and pity for the queen. It was felt at once that the blow was mortal to her happiness. The nation would live on, but the light which had burned so brightly and purely in the home of the ruler was extinguished for ever. Throughout the three kingdoms there were the outward signs of mourning, and on every tongue were words of sincere regret. From every pulpit sounded the well-deserved eulogies which follow to the grave the great and good; and when, on the 23rd of December, his remains were borne, without any grand parade, but in sufficient pomp, to their temporary resting-place in St. George's Chapel, the people evinced its sympathy with the sorrows of their widowed monarch. The churches were draped in black, all business was suspended, and the "decent mourning," which the lord chamberlain prescribed, was worn by all the rich and many of the poor in all the towns. In the words of Dean Milman, in his sermon at St. Paul's, "It was felt from the highest to the lowest that a great example was removed from us—an example of the highest and humblest duties equally fulfilled—of the household and every-day duties of the husband and father, practised in a quiet and unostentatious way, without effort or aid, as it were, by the spontaneous workings of a true and generous nature. No waste of time in frivolous amusements, in vain pomp and glory, but usefulness in its highest sense; schemes of benevolence promoted, plans for the education of the people suggested and fostered with prudent and far-seeing counsel, and with profound personal interest; great movements for the improvement of all branches of national industry, if not set on foot, maintained with a steady and persevering impulse; in short, notwithstanding foreign birth, a full and perfect identification of himself with English interests, character, and social advancement." A certain severity of tone somewhat militated against his acquisition of the popularity which genial princes of less sterling worth have reached in England, but no one ever stood so high in popular respect, even though he in some measure kept aloof the high nobility by the maintenance of the distinctions between his position as consort of the queen and theirs as subjects, however great, which he conceived to be necessary.


MAUSOLEUM AT FROGMORE.

Death was indeed busy this year among the princes. Frederick William IV. of Prussia, the Duchess of Kent, Cavour, Sultan Abdul Medjid, Hieng-fung, emperor of China, Prince Adam Czartoryski, and Prince Gortschakoff, were gathered to their fathers, with many others; and great events almost justified the superstitious, who were terrified by the appearance of a brilliant comet, and by an eruption of Vesuvius, which destroyed Torre del Greco. Wars abroad, disastrous fires, great storms, murders of unusual atrocity, shipwrecks, and railway accidents, a series of assassinations of their superiors by soldiers at home, an attempt on the life of the king of Prussia, the overthrow of the Italian Bourbons, losses at sea, dissensions between Austria and Hungary, insurrection against the Turks in the Herzegovina, the union of Hayti to Spain, famine in the North-West Provinces of British India, are to be recorded in the annals of this year, the close of which almost saw us engaged in war with the United States, and certainly much irritated against their government for destroying harbours their fleets could not blockade, by sinking vessels laden with stones at the entrance, which Lord Russell denounced in a despatch as "a plot against the commerce of nations—a project worthy only of the times of barbarism—and unjustifiable even as a scheme of embittered and sanguinary war." The census which was taken this year showed a total of 29,334,788, as compared with 27,511,926 in 1841; but the effects of the famine in Ireland were visible in a striking decrease, 5,764,543 being returned there, as against 6,552,385 in 1841—a total diminution of 787,812 persons, which, as compared with the usual rate of increase, represented a loss of more than a million of souls. A great trial was now to be borne by the masses which had been forced into concentrated life and industrial activity, in the energy and capital of the manufacturers of Lancashire, for the cotton famine was at hand. The Federal, or, as we must call it in virtue of its victories, the United States, government had succeeded in establishing such a blockade of the Southern ports as effectually checked the export of cotton soon after the declaration, and the desperate doings of an occasional blockade would not justify any maritime power in treating the blockading force as inefficient, although at first the efforts of the Washington government in that respect were certainly treated with the tenderness they required. But the Southern States rested the whole failure of their independence on the theory that England could not exist without their cotton, and that, to use their own words, "Cotton is king." Their leaders relied on that theory as an unquestionable fact, and whilst the Northern States were preparing to invade and overwhelm them with enormous masses by land, and were stifling them by shutting them up by sea, they seemed almost indifferent to the danger which menaced them, and confined their efforts to the establishment of their authority in states such as Missouri and Tennessee, where there were Federalists in the field.

Meanwhile in a very opposite quarter, and almost on the very day when the president of the United States was disclaiming any right or intention to meddle with slavery, millions of slaves were set free, for the Czar Alexander, on the 2nd of March, emancipated the serfs throughout his dominions. The king of Sardinia, directed by the genius of Cavour, of which he thought little, and sustained by the desires of the various Italian races for freedom from their hereditary sovereigns, had achieved, with the aid of Garibaldi, such successes as justified him in changing his style and title, and on the 19th of March his ambassador informed Lord Russell that his master had assumed the title of king of Italy. Eleven days after he was informed that the queen, acting on the principle of respecting the independence of nations, would receive him as envoy of Victor Emmanuel II., king of Italy. In the middle of the year, an event which nearly embroiled this country in an enterprise which had a disastrous effect on the empire of France occurred. By the resolution of the Mexican congress, under the control of Juarez, "a whole Indian," the new president was invested with dictatorial powers to suspend payment of their bonds for two years. France had certain special claims against Mexico, and the bondholders in England were numerous. The Spaniards were also interested in the matter; and on the 31st of October a convention was signed between the three powers to demand protection for their subjects, and an expedition of six thousand French, a Spanish detachment, and a British squadron, with seven hundred extra marines, was despatched to Mexican waters. The Spaniards landed at Vera Cruz on the 17th of December, and occupied the fortress of San Juan d'Ulloa; but as the French resolved to march on Mexico to obtain satisfaction by force, instead of holding the ports, a conference was held in the March following at Orizaba, at which the representatives of Spain and Great Britain resolved to withdraw from the expedition, adhesion to the objects of which had been formally refused by the United States, and France was left to pursue her career alone. The empire then seemed strong enough for the work. France had sent an army to Syria to protect the Christians against the outrages which the Turkish governors were unable to repress or punish, had arranged a frontier line with Sardinia, had purchased Monaco for four millions of francs, come out of the Chinese war with a full share of the laurels, had seen the remains of Napoleon as a palladium of military glory enshrined in the Invalides, had negotiated through Mr. Cobden a treaty which bound her more closely with England than military co-operation and alliance. The new king of Prussia, who succeeded to the throne on the first day of the year, had visited the emperor at Compiègne, and the king of Holland had lent his inferior lustre to the congregation which assembled there. The fleet of France was so formidable as to excite uneasiness, if not jealousy, and her ironclads were admitted to be types worthy of imitation. Her army was believed to be quite capable of maintaining its best traditions. But in that remote land and on that expedition lay the germs of the ruin which fell on the emperor. A letter from the duke of Aumale might taunt him with falsehood, and a history of the Crimean war, written by an eloquent English writer, might cover him with scorn and contumely, but with France prosperous, and "taking the lead" in foreign affairs, he might disregard such puny assailants.

On the 6th of February, 1862, parliament was opened by commission, and the calamitous and irreparable loss of the prince consort was alluded to in words which must have come from the heart of the widowed queen, who, whilst suffering most acutely under that awful dispensation of Providence, admitted, however, the soothing influences of the cordial assurance from all classes of her subjects of their sympathy with her sorrow, as well as of their appreciation of the noble character of him the greatness of whose loss to her Majesty and the nation is so justly and universally felt and lamented. On the same day the Prince of Wales set out on a tour to the East, from which he returned early in June, and the seclusion and grief of the queen were too profound to permit her to take part in the direction of affairs; but she was much gratified by the subscriptions to the memorial fund which was established to raise a suitable monument, and suggested that an obelisk on the site of the exhibition would be the most suitable means of doing so.

Soon after the commencement of the session, the new minute of the privy council on national education, which had been promulgated during the recess, became the subject of debate in both houses. Lord Granville, while denying that there had been an attempt on the part of the government to hurry the new minute through parliament, went on to describe its proposed effect, and disclosed facts that had hitherto been hidden, but were eventually to conduce to the more solid basis on which national education was afterwards to rest. Of the 2,200,000 children who ought to be brought into the inspected schools, he stated 920,000 alone attended them, and only 230,000 in reality received the requisite instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Having explained, at length, the advantages he expected would accrue from the new system, he proceeded to review the objections that had been made to it, especially those which might be said to be drawn from a religious point of view, and pointed out the advantages to be derived by enabling the children of the poorer classes to attend evening schools, and the teachers to earn additional sums by the increased intelligence of their pupils. Scotland, he said, was to be excluded from the operations of the new minute, and he concluded by assuring their lordships that the government had not neglected the duty they owed to the taxpayer and to parliament, while he trusted that the new code would result in the advancement and extension of education in all parts of the country. In the House of Commons, Mr. Lowe gave an equally full description of the revised code, evoking from Mr. Disraeli severe comments on the manner it had been introduced, and an attack from Sir J. Packington in which he accused Mr. Lowe of inconsistency. The general opinion of the country, however, was that the subject should be discussed in a fair and friendly spirit, and the whole measure was generally regarded rather as a preparatory system than a ratified institution. After prolonged debates, the government accepted certain limited modifications which were eventually agreed to.

On the 3rd of April, Mr. Gladstone made his financial statement in a committee of ways and means, entering at great length into the state of the revenue and expenditure. The chief points in his exhaustive speech were the propositions to modify the wine duties, and to commute the hop duty, suggestions that Mr. Disraeli impugned as unsound and fallacious. Several debates in consequence followed, in which the chancellor of the exchequer defended the financial arrangements of the government with great spirit, although he, subsequently, abandoned the duty on private brewing which had occasioned so much opposition. The Inland Revenue Bill was nevertheless accepted in the Commons, and, after incidental discussions in the House of Lords, became law on the 30th of May. Meanwhile Sir G. C. Lewis had carefully entered into a full explanation of the expenditure for and condition of the land forces, and, in reply to Sir De Lacy Evans, had explained that the government were not as yet prepared to take any immediate step in the direction proposed by General Evans in reference to the question of the purchase of military commissions; he did not believe, he said, that the army itself was opposed to a purchase system, and Lord Palmerston openly stated that in his opinion a system of selection was only serviceable in a despotic government, and that in England its consequences would be grave and pernicious. The motion of Sir De Lacy Evans was rejected by two hundred and forty-seven to sixty-two.

On the 1st of August, before parliament was prorogued, Mr. Cobden took occasion in the last debate of the session to offer observations upon the policy of Lord Palmerston's administration in relation to the legislation of the year, and he characterised the premier's foreign policy as one founded upon a phantom of French ambition and aggression, while he denounced the mismanagement of our armaments as monstrous. The debate however, was an unproductive one, though enlivened by the vigorous defence of Lord Palmerston and the cultivated acumen of Mr. Disraeli; on the 7th of August the session closed.

Among the disasters of this year may be especially counted the loss of H.M.S. *Conqueror*, which stranded on a reef of coral rocks, while sailing from Port Royal to join the British squadron stationed at Bermuda. The ship drifted on the rock by the force of a strong current, and notwithstanding the praiseworthy efforts made by her officers and crew to float her again, she was finally abandoned, but not until all her guns, stores, and ammunition had been saved by the wreckers. This disaster may be said to have inaugurated the series of misfortunes that have since befallen our navy. On the 16th of January another lamentable accident spread a gloom over the country by which two hundred and four human beings were consigned to a terrible death. Early that morning the ordinary number of men and boys had descended the Hartley coal pit, and were as usual employed in excavating its rich veins of coal, when a massive iron beam which formed part of the machinery of the engine pumping up the subterranean waters, suddenly gave way, and a mass of twenty-one tons fell crashing down the shaft, sweeping away every stage and prop in its headlong route, till it suddenly stuck several hundred feet from the bottom of the shaft, forming a support for the tons of earth that it had disturbed in its destructive course. Nine days and nights the pitmen, hastily summoned from other collieries, unflaggingly laboured in unceasing efforts to liberate their fellow-creatures below, but when at last a passage was made through the colossal obstruction, death in its most appalling character alone greeted their vision. Subscriptions were opened for the relief of the afflicted survivors, and the munificent sum of 81,000*l.* was collected in the short space of a month. This terrible catastrophe was not the only one chronicled in this year. Each month brought incidents inspiring the nation with horror and sympathy. Railway accidents were numerous, murders abounded, and society was shocked by frequent scandals. In France, political organs were chiefly occupied in discussing what line of policy that country should adopt in the Italian question, and considerable sensation was produced by a speech made by Prince Napoleon in the senate, in which he energetically propounded the theory that the pope ought to reign at Rome without governing there, while he advocated the withdrawal of the French troops. As may be supposed, however, the debate ended, according to French oratorical fashion, in personal invective; but it would be well to quote the opinion held by the emperor at this time. "The object," he said, in a letter addressed by him, on the 20th of May, to M. Thouvenel, the minister of foreign affairs, "is to come to a combination by which the pope would adopt what is great in the idea of a people that aspires to become a nation; and on the other hand, that that people should recognise what is salutary in a power the influences of which extend over the whole universe. On a *primâ facie* view, considering the prejudices and hatreds equally violent on either side, a favourable result seems to be despaired of. But if, after examining into the question, reason and common sense are appealed to, it is gratifying to believe that truth, that divine light, will finally penetrate into every mind, and show the supreme and vital interest which induces, which obliges the partisans of the two opposed causes to come to an understanding and to a reconciliation. First of all, what is the interest of Italy? It is to put away from her every danger that threatens her, to diminish the enmity she has caused, to upset everything which opposes her legitimate ambition of reconstituting herself. To overcome so many obstacles, they must be taken coolly. Italy, as a new state, has against her all those who hold to the traditions of the past; as a state that has called revolution to her assistance, she inspires distrust in all men of order. They doubt her power to put down anarchical tendencies, and hesitate to believe that a society can firmly find a basis upon the very elements which have upset so many others. Finally, at her very gates she has a formidable enemy, whose armies and illwill, easily understood, will for a long time be an imminent danger." "On the other hand," he continued, "the Holy See has an equal interest, if not a stronger one, in this reconciliation; for, if the Holy See has zealous supporters among all fervent Catholics, it has against itself all the liberals of Europe. In politics it is looked upon as the representative of the prejudices of the *ancien régime*, and in the eyes of Italy, as the enemy of her independence, the most devoted partisan of reaction. This is why the pope is surrounded by the most violent adherents of fallen dynasties, and this company is not of a nature to procure for him the sympathy of the people who upset these dynasties. Nevertheless this state of things does less harm to the sovereign than it does to the head of religion. In Catholic countries where new ideas have a great hold, men who are most sincerely attached to their faith feel troubled in their conscience, and doubts enter their minds, not knowing how to reconcile their political convictions with religious principles which seem to condemn modern civilisation. If this state of things, so pregnant with danger, should be prolonged, there would be a risk of political dissensions leading to lamentable dissensions in faith itself. It is therefore in the interest of the Holy See, as well as in that of religion, that the pope and Italy should be reconciled; for it would be a reconciliation of modern ideas; it would keep 200,000,000 Catholics within the pale of the church, and give a new lustre to religion by showing faith supporting the progress of mankind. The pope brought to a reasonable view of the state of affairs would understand the necessity of accepting everything which can bind him to Italy; and Italy ceding to the counsels of a wise policy would not refuse to adopt the guarantees necessary for the independence of the sovereign pontiff and for the free exercise of his power. This double object might be attained by a combination which, maintaining the pope master in his own domain, would remove the barriers which now separate his states from the rest of Italy. To be master in his own domain, independence must be ensured to him, and his rule freely accepted by his subjects. It must be hoped that it would be so, on the one hand, when the Italian government would take the engagement towards France to recognise the States of the Church and the limitation line agreed upon; on the other hand, when the government of the Holy See, returning to ancient traditions, would sanction the privileges of the municipalities and of the provinces in such guise that they would, so to say, govern themselves; for then the power of the pope, soaring in a sphere elevated above the secondary interests of society, would be free from responsibility, which is always heavy, and which only a strong government can stand." The year, however, passed away without any decided policy being adopted, though much attention was called to this remarkable solution suggested by Napoleon.

At home the influence exercised on politics by the American contest was proved by the absolute adhesion and support of the government by the conservatives, for which Lord Derby accounted in a speech at the Mansion House on the 1st of May, by their desire not to involve the country in a new series of embarrassments arising from the divided state of parties. The country was prosperous, and the great exhibition of the year had been brilliant and successful. When the chancellor of the exchequer introduced his budget on the 15th of April, although he had to announce an expenditure of 70,000,000*l.*, he could boast of a surplus of 1,823,000*l.*, which he proposed to apply in reducing the income tax from 10*d.* and 7*d.* to 9*d.* and 6*d.*, and to abolish the duty on paper; and when parliament was prorogued by commission on the 6th of August, there appeared to be no likelihood of any complication to cause apprehension of danger or rupture of the peace.

Among the more important treaties and conventions signed during this year may be mentioned the treaty between her Majesty and the United States of America for the suppression of the African slave trade, signed at Washington on the 7th of April, and ratified at London on the 20th of May. By this treaty the two high contracting parties mutually consented that those ships of their respective navies which should be provided with special instructions for that purpose might visit such merchant vessels of the two nations as should upon reasonable grounds be suspected of being engaged in the African slave trade, or of having been fitted out for that purpose, or of having been engaged in the African slave trade, contrary to the provisions of the treaty. In order, however, to avoid disputes, the treaty further stipulated that the right of search should not be exercised except by vessels of war authorised for that object, and only upon merchant vessels and not upon a vessel of the navy of either of the two powers, while it was agreed that the reciprocal right of search and detention should only be exercised within the distance of two hundred miles from the coast of Africa, and to the southward of the thirty-second parallel of north latitude, and within thirty leagues from the coast of the island of Cuba. In the same month the ratifications of another convention were exchanged at London by which her Majesty and the king of Denmark agreed to a mutual surrender of criminals, provided that the laws of the country where the fugitive accused might be found should justify his apprehension and commitment for trial.

The opening of the new year was the date of a new era in American politics. President Lincoln issued a proclamation that all slaves within the Confederates States henceforth were free, and that the reach of the Federal authorities would maintain that condition. This was a war measure, pure and simple, but it did not dispose of the "domestic institution" altogether. The black people were invited to garrison forts and man vessels, and President Lincoln invoked the considerate judgment of mankind, and the favour of Almighty God, on this "act of justice warranted by military necessity," which phrase shows that the justice would not have been done but for the military necessity which dictated, not "warranted," it. As Lord John Russell, in one of those despatches for which we paid in Alabama damages, remarked, the proclamation emancipated slaves where the states exercised no jurisdiction, but it did not decree emancipation where it could be carried into effect. It was not a declaration of a principle, but a measure of war of a very questionable kind. The day after this proclamation, the Confederates, under Braxton Bragg, were finally repulsed at the close of three days' hard fighting by the Federals under Rosencranz at Murfreesborough. In the east the government of Washington made another great effort to break through Lee's guard, and seize on Richmond, and a new but not untried general was selected from the Federal officers to try his fortune. Hooker had a fine and well-appointed army. Lee was losing in each engagement his best and his only soldiers, for he could procure no recruits from the exhausted populations of the Southern States, and all the world fed the armies of the North with men. On the 2nd of May, Hooker led his forces across the Rappahannock, and was received by Lee with his usual skill. The battles or gigantic skirmishes which took place reflected the highest credit on his admirable disposition, but the success of all his movements was mainly due to General (Stonewall) Jackson; and although the Federals were obliged to cross the Rappahannock, and were thoroughly defeated, the Confederates were plunged into the greatest grief, as though they had lost the battle, by the death of that gallant soldier, who died shortly after the retreat of the enemy, of a wound received in the arm. The distress which had been felt soon after the war broke out in our cotton-using districts, though borne so well, had in it special claims to relief, for it was the result of a manufacture specially fostered by the legislature and by the capitalists of the country; and as the contest waxed fiercer, the future grew darker for the cotton operatives, as Mr. Jefferson Davis discouraged cotton planting, in order that the Southerners might grow grains for food. After his defeat, Hooker was superseded by Meade, who was ordered to make another effort to overcome the indomitable Lee; but it was now late in June, and the end for which the government of Washington strove seemed as distant as ever.

There were in England many men of character and influence who thought that the time was come when the Southern States should be recognised. Lawyers held that by the original compact between the sovereign States the doctrine of secession was justified; politicians conceived that disruption of such a powerful confederacy as the United States into two republics was a desirable object. Free-traders desired to see the protective system of the North broken down. A host of reasons, in fact, induced thousands who had no animosity to the Federal government, or the North, to work for the success of the South, in a contest for the end of which millions sighed; and the only speedy end seemed to be the recognition of the Confederate States. But the public men who led both parties with remarkable prudence and firmness resisted all pressure and every temptation to make a premature declaration; and although Mr. Gladstone, in a speech out of parliament, said Mr. Jefferson Davis had "made the South a nation," his example was not followed by the members of the government or the chiefs of the opposition. The party which argued that we ought to recognise the South relied much on the known opinions of the Emperor Napoleon, who was believed to have made overtures, at an early period of the war, to the English government to join with him in doing so; but all doubts respecting his views were set at rest in a debate which arose on the formal motion of Mr. Roebuck, on the 30th of June, for the recognition of the Southern States as an independent power, when the honourable member stated that his Majesty had given him authority to state to the house that his feeling was stronger than ever in favour of recognition, and that he had instructed his ambassador once again to ask her Majesty's government if they would join him in it. The emperor said he could not again make a formal application to England, because the government had sent his former despatch to America, where it got into Mr. Seward's hands, who showed it to the French minister at Washington! The time, however, was near at hand when the temper and mettle of the Southern blade was to be put to a test to which prudent counsels would not have subjected it. The cabinet at Richmond was becoming weary and alarmed. Their forces had withstood every aggressive movement from the North; but the Federals were dominant at sea, every port was closed, and down the Mississippi were coming flotillas which enabled the Northern troops to cleave the Southern States in two, and threatened to reduce their resources to the verge of annihilation. Besides that, the growing impatience and despondency of the Atlantic states, and the existence of a large party favourable to state rights there, encouraged the Richmond government to expect the greatest results from a successful aggressive movement, which would liberate Maryland, and thrust a Confederate force on the flank of the Northern communications. Early in June, Lee, finding that the Federals opposite Fredericksburg were in such a position as gave him little chance of success in any direct attack, by well-concealed flank marches transferred the bulk of his forces to the upper Potomac, swept through the Shenandoah valley, and invaded Pennsylvania and Maryland. If they could but reach Harrisburg, they would strike a heavy blow, indeed, at the Federal cause. The consternation which prevailed was proved by the frantic proclamations and acts of the Federal government. Hooker was dismissed. Meade was put in command. The president called for ten thousand men from Maryland, fifty thousand from Pennsylvania, thirty thousand from Ohio, ten thousand from Western Virginia. The Federal army, watched by Stuart's cavalry, fell back after the enemy, but did not cross the Potomac till the 29th, just as Lee was preparing to attack Harrisburg. It was the most critical moment in the war. Lee was deprived of his cavalry, for he had left Stuart to bring on the Federals, and when the latter turned to the Potomac, they interposed their force between Lee and Stuart, who did not join till after the beginning of the operation; but he fell on the advancing Federals on the 1st of July, at Gettysburg, with Hill and Ewell's divisions, drove them through the town, captured five thousand prisoners and several guns, and halted to await the arrival of the rest of his troops. The Federals, however, did not retire far, but took up a strong position so near at hand that Lee, obliged to renounce his attack on Harrisburg, could not avoid an engagement, as he could not retire nearer to his base of operations in face of such a force, and carry off his trains through the hill roads. On the 2nd, Lee attacked Meade, and carried some parts of the position he occupied; but the Federals fought with constancy and courage, threw up earthworks, entrenched their front, and presented a bold line when the Confederates engaged them, perhaps, with less than their usual *élan* on the morning of the 3rd of July, and with failing supplies of ammunition. They were repulsed after a desperate onslaught. Next day Lee awaited attack, but he was in full retreat at night, because he could not hold his ground owing to want of supplies; and his jaded troops made but little way through an awful storm, so that the rear did not get away from Gettysburg till the morning of the 5th. They were overtaken and attacked on the 6th by the Federal horse, which was driven back, but when they reached the Potomac the following day, the rains had rendered it unfordable, and they had to construct a pontoon bridge, over which they leisurely retired without any serious interruption from the Federals. It is stated that the losses at Gettysburg on both sides amounted to fifty thousand men. This was a great result for the Northern army, and the Washington government was still further inspirited by the fall of Vicksburg, which surrendered on the 4th of July, after forty-eight days' siege. But the attempt to enforce conscription led to frightful riots in New York, and Charleston was subjected to distant bombardment. In September, however, a gleam of hope came from Tennessee, where, on the 19th and 20th, Braxton Bragg won a very severely contested action at Chickamanga, against his old enemy, Rosencranz, after Cumberland Gap had been carried by the Federals under Burnside, and broke in between the two Federal armies. Mr. Davis withdrew Mr. Mason from London, as there was no intention of receiving him as accredited minister of the Confederate States, and, determined to extort the position of an independent republic by force, he directed Lee to resume the offensive against the Federals. On the 9th of October, Lee crossed the Rapidan, and Meade fell back before him rapidly over Bull Run, where he entrenched his front in front of the great defences now constructed on the Potomac to guard Washington, and thus foiled Lee's attempt to bring him to an engagement. On the 7th of November, Meade, hearing that Lee had sent two whole corps to help Bragg in Tennessee, moved out of his entrenchments and drove the Confederates back from the Rappahannock, on their old position on the Rapidan, and there both armies remained watching each other till the year closed. The war in the west still went on. Grant, reinforced by Sherman, attacked Bragg at Chattanooga on the 25th of November. The combat was long, bloody, and well contested. The Confederates were in a most formidable position. But Grant had hit on the secret of success; he could bear losses, and could sacrifice life, because he could refill his ranks. Once a Confederate fell, there was no recruit to take his place. He attacked again and again, and at last broke through the left centre. Bragg retired at night, and as he was unsuccessful and unpopular, he was replaced by Hardee, the officer in charge of the left, which had held its own; and the close of the year found the Confederates resolute to continue the struggle.

There was no war to disturb the national repose of Europe, because Russia and Prussia were quite agreed as to the policy to be pursued in Poland, and Europe looked on the horrible massacres of the Poles, provoked by their desperate resistance to conscription and national degradation, with unquailing eye.

There was not a tear shed for the luckless race—not an arm lifted up. But voices were raised in the British parliament, and the emperor of the French manifested his sympathy for the gallant people so cruelly abused by the Northern powers. The conscription which was opened in Russian Poland "was designed to make a clean sweep of the revolutionary youth," to shut them up in the ranks of the army, to kidnap the opposition, and carry it off to Siberia; and the revolutionary youth rose in arms. Langiewicz led them in desperate encounters; but Prussia and Russia entered into a treaty to crush the revolt. In vain the emperor of the French invited Russia to tranquillise Poland. In vain Lord John Russell instructed our ambassador to state that the British government viewed with the deepest concern the condition of Poland, and entreated Prussia to grant an amnesty and a constitution. Langiewicz was beaten; Microlawshi was beaten. The Russian government struck a blow at Polish independence in the name of Polish freedom, and an imperial ukase punished the nobility for their high-spirited nationality by abrogating their federal privileges, and arraying the peasants against the nobles. The czar offered an amnesty later on, but the Polish central committee, relying on the interference of France and Austria and the sympathy of England, refused it. There were debates in the Lords and the Commons on the severities and atrocities perpetrated in Poland, and the claim of the czar to the sovereignty was denounced as a violation of the treaty of Vienna. The great powers, France, Austria, and England, placed six points before Russia—a general amnesty, a national representation, Polish administration by Poles, liberty of conscience, the use of the Polish language in business, a regular system of recruiting. Prince Gortschakoff declined to discuss them on the ground that they were already, or would soon be, decreed, and the insurrection was stamped out. What became of the six points, let Poland tell to-day. The relations of the states of Europe were so complicated, there were such difficulties between the little state of Denmark and her German subjects, between Germany and Denmark, between Prussia and Austria, that the emperor of the French conceived the idea of addressing the sovereigns of Europe, and asking them to meet in Paris, in language which bears the stamp of an earnest desire for peace, and for the relief of suffering humanity. To the queen he wrote: "Called to the throne by Providence and the will of the French people, but trained in the school of adversity, it is perhaps less allowable for me than for others to ignore the rights of sovereigns and the legitimate aspirations of the people. Thus I am ready, without any preconceived system, to bring to an international council, in a spirit of moderation and justice, the ordinary portion of those who have undergone so many different trials. If I take the initiative in such an overture, I do not yield to an impulse of vanity, but because I am the sovereign to whom ambitious projects have mostly been attributed. I have it at heart to prove, by this frank and loyal overture, that my sole subject is to arrive, without convulsion, at the pacification of Europe. If this proposal be agreed to, I beg your Majesty to accept Paris as the place of meeting. If the princes, allies and friends of France, should think fit to enhance by their presence the authority of the deliberations, I shall be proud to offer them cordial hospitality. Europe will, perhaps, see some advantage in the capital whence the signal of confusion has so often arisen becoming the seat of conferences destined to lay the basis of a general pacification. I take this opportunity of renewing to you the assurances of the high esteem and inviolable friendship with which I am, Madam my sister, your Majesty's good brother, NAPOLEON."

Lord John Russell declined on the part of the queen, conscious that there were burning questions, which might be unpleasantly raised against ourselves, in case we went into a congress in our usual monitorial attitude; and although it is too much to say that the events which subsequently caused three wars—two of immense magnitude and results—might have been averted, it is obvious that they might have been revealed in their full imminence and magnitude to those whose interests they would have affected, and have thus induced concessions and modifications, depriving them of their mischievous results. Before the year was over, Lord John Russell had to address the great powers, soliciting them to meet in congress at Paris! He, however, restricted the objects of the conference to the settlement of the differences between Germany and Denmark by the signataries of the treaty of London, for there was now danger that the claims of the crown of Denmark to the allegiance of the duchies would be resisted, and that Germany would aid the insurgents. The little kingdom had a claim to our support. It was not for the first time the royal house of England had intermarried with that of Denmark, but the union of the Prince of Wales this year to the Princess Alexandra, daughter of the heir to the throne, had given the liveliest satisfaction to the nation, who were enchanted with the description of the grace, beauty, and charming character of their future queen. The marriage was arranged during the visit of the young prince to Germany. But it was not a state compact, it was founded on mutual attachment; and the love which the prince and princess felt for each other was a guarantee of their future happiness. The Princess Alexandra was escorted from Denmark by a fleet, and her entry into London on the 7th of March was the most remarkable spectacle of our times. There was a jubilant multitude in the streets, in numbers equal to the population of many a state. All the estates of the realm had vied in doing honour to the bride, whose loveliness exceeded the warmest reports, and won every heart. Never was London so gay, so profuse in all the blazonry of popular rejoicing, so decked out in flags and colours, so rich in allegorical devices, triumphal arches, so prodigal in outlay. On the 10th the wedding was celebrated with unusual splendour and pomp in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Bridal banquets were held in all the great towns in the kingdom; the cities and towns were illuminated, and London shone at night one perfect chrysolite. Less than three weeks afterwards the brother of the Princess of Wales, George of Denmark, was proclaimed king of Greece; and the senate of Athens tendered its thanks to the queen of

England for her intention of renouncing the British protectorate over the Ionian Islands, which were to belong to the new kingdom. On the same day the king of Denmark issued a proclamation, in which he announced that Holstein was to have independent rights, but that Schleswig was to be annexed to the crown of Denmark. In 1848 the effort to effect the union of Schleswig and Holstein by force failed, and the questions raised by the German populations against the Danish crown were left unsettled, but the federal troops were engaged, in compliance with the treaty of 1850, to pacify the Holsteiners. They refused to withdraw till the Danish government entered upon conditions respecting the administration of Holstein and Lauenburg; and in 1852 Denmark engaged not to incorporate Schleswig with Denmark proper, and to establish an organic, homogeneous constitution for all parts of the monarchy. A rigsraad was established, but the Germanic Diet demanded its abrogation, because it had not been first submitted by the king to the provincial assemblies of Holstein and Lauenburg, and in 1858 the constitution was abrogated; thus Holstein and Lauenburg were placed under the direct control of the crown, till a new constitution could be established. Holstein demanded a constitutional union with Schleswig, and that alone; and the diet demanded of the king of Denmark that the assembly should exercise full powers within the duchy, till another constitution for a united parliament could be framed. Lord John Russell proposed the notable expedient, in 1862, of giving legislative and special control to the assemblies of each of the four, Denmark proper, Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg; to pass all acts *totidem verbis;* but the Danish government rightly replied that it would be hopeless to carry on government when it had to be controlled by four independent and co-ordinate parliaments; but they proposed, in the present instance, to decree that no law should be valid in Holstein till it had been sanctioned by the assembly, and made many concessions. The Germans were, however, quite determined to pick a quarrel with Denmark. The way they did it was ingenious. There was a provision made in the ordinance, that, if the assembly of Holstein disagreed with the rigsraad in respect to any general law, they might legislate for Holstein apart. Nothing could be fairer. But the diet professed to regard the proclamation or ordinance itself as a complete violation of the treaty of 1852. They demanded the repeal of it under the threat of federal execution, and a new law, almost identical with that of 1855, was about to be introduced when the death of Frederick VII., on the 15th of November, called the Prince Christian to the throne as IX. of his name; and immediately, in accordance with the treaty of London, May 1852, Duke Frederick of Augustenburg claimed the succession as duke of Schleswig-Holstein, as heir of the rights of the house of Oldenburg, the last prince of the Danish branch of the ruling house having expired. The diet decreed by a small majority that there should be a federal administration introduced in Holstein and Lauenburg, without reference to the right of succession thus disputed, and the Danes were summoned to withdraw in seven days. Altona was occupied by Saxon troops, and Prussia and Austria prepared to coerce the Danes by force. Our government sent Lord Wodehouse to Copenhagen, to induce the king to withdraw the constitution by which Schleswig was incorporated with Denmark, but failed, and the troops of the king and of the diet were divided only by the narrow stream of the Eyder, at the close of the year, which was to witness a very gallant but hopeless contest. The policy by which Prince Bismarck has made Prussia the most formidable power on land in the world was about to receive its first development when the Prussian chambers opened their sittings. On the 14th of February, the opposition and constitutional party carried an address against the ministry, which accused them of unconstitutional proceedings in the conduct of affairs. Bismarck at once cleared away the mist from their eyes. He said in effect, "We let you meet and talk. But don't imagine for a moment you will be allowed to exercise the smallest control over the affairs of state, or the expenditure of a penny. You talk to us as if we were your ministers. We are nothing of the kind. In England, where you seem to have got your foolish fancies about government, the ministers are appointed by parliament, and the sovereign must accept them. In Prussia, I tell you, the ministers are appointed by the king and are the king's ministers." And when the deputies went with their address to the king, he used very much the same language to them, and would not hear of their meddling with the raising of money or the mode of its outlay on any account. A bill for the reconstruction of the army, the measure by which the king prepared for all the marvellous successes of Prussia, was opposed by the deputies. Von Roon, the war minister, bearded the chamber, and defied the president, and the king and his ministers did as they pleased, without consulting the legislature, or whatever the mockery of parliament is to be called. His Majesty told the chambers his ministers possessed his confidence, and he would carry on government without them. The people of Germany called for a reconstruction of the Germanic Confederation. Thirty-five states, represented by one emperor, five kings, seven grand-duchies, one electorate, eight duchies, one land-gravate, eight principalities, and four free-towns, formed a band which met at Frankfort on the 17th of August. The king of Prussia declined to attend because the great power of Prussia and her interests were not properly represented in the constitution of the confederacy. The chambers were dissolved, in spite of the crown prince's remonstrance; and when the new deputies met the king, he told them he wished to act in harmony with them, "if they carried out his measures." They passed a resolution to recognise and assist the duke of Augustenburg. Great Britian offered mediation, but it came to nothing. The king of Prussia held resolutely to his own, and by masterly manœuvres forced Austria to take the path which led to her humiliation and defeat.

In our domestic history there were no such exciting questions, but there was still much to occupy the statesman and the politician. Our relations with America were unsatisfactory, for neither to the Northern nor to the Southern States were we agreeable. The sufferings of the factory operatives continued, but not unabated, for charity was lavish, and its generosity was controlled by wise heads; and in the midst of their own troubles, the Northerners chartered two ships, loaded them with breadstuffs and provisions, and sent them to Liverpool for the use of the Lancashire Distress Fund. In all 2,736,000*l.* was subscribed up to the 28th of April, of which Lancashire contributed 1,480,000*l.* With the exception of a riot among the Irish at Staleybridge, and another at Ashton, the people bore their privations without any demonstrations or "bread" *émeutes.* We were at peace with all the world. It is true there had been some irritation produced by the conduct of the Brazilian government in defending the arrest by the police of three British officers; but the king of the Belgians, who was arbitrator, decided that the mode in which the laws of Brazil had been applied to them was not meant to be nor was in reality offensive, so the Brazilians had the best of it. We had also a small war with the Japanese prince of Satsuma, for the murder of Mr. Richardson, and assaults on an English lady and two gentlemen the preceding year; and as his highness refused to make any amends, Captain Kuper led his squadron to the city of Ragosema on the 15th of August, and seized on three screw-steamers; whereupon the Japanese opened fire, but their batteries were speedily silenced, the town set on fire and destroyed, with an enormous amount of property, and the prince, brought to his senses, consented to pay 25,000*l.* in addition to the 100,000*l.* already paid by the Tycoon, and to apprehend the murderers. Towards the end of the year, there was another trouble in New Zealand; and the first Fenian convention assembled at Chicago. These were the most important events connected with our foreign relations, although Lord Palmerston did not think some of them worth noticing in his speech at Glasgow, when he was installed as lord rector of the university, so great was the interest for American affairs.

The proceedings in parliament during the session had been unusually tame, and legislation unimportant. The queen's speech announced that the Greeks had expressed a desire that Prince Alfred should accept the Greek crown, but "the diplomatic engagements of her Majesty's crown, together with other weighty considerations, have prevented her Majesty from yielding to the general wish of the Greek nation. If the republic of the Seven Islands should declare a deliberate wish to be united to the kingdom of Greece, her Majesty would be prepared to take such steps as may be necessary for a revision of the treaty of November 1815, by which that republic was reconstituted, and was placed under the protection of the British government."

Sir H. Storks dissolved the Ionian parliament on the 6th of August, and a new parliament was summoned, which voted unanimously the union of the isles to Greece. Our authorities at once prepared to retire, blowing up the fortification guarding the entrance to Corfu. The Prince of Wales took his seat in the House of Peers for the first time, and entered upon public life. Throughout the year he filled a large place in the public eye, and, with his youthful princess, presented himself to the people on several occasions of interest, where they bore their part right royally. Parliament voted 100,000*l.* a year for the prince, and 10,000*l.* for the princess, to be raised to 30,000*l.* in the event of his royal Highness's death.

The revenue for the year was estimated by Mr. Gladstone in his budget, which was introduced on the 15th of April, at 71,490,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 67,749,000*l.*, and he proposed to raise 133,000*l.* more by taxes on licences for certain trades, making clubs pay wine and spirit duties, &c., producing a surplus of 3,874,000*l.* He proposed further to take 3*d.* off the income tax, equalise it on incomes between 100*l.* and 200*l.*, and reduce the duty on tea to 1*s.* a pound. The government scheme was vehemently opposed, especially that part of it taxing charitable and trust funds; and deputations of such influence went up to Downing Street that the chancellor of the exchequer had to give way and abandon his plan, in which the weight of argument was all on his side, and the weight of public opinion on the other. In his speech, he put the case against the hospital management unanswerably: "St. Bartholomew's would have to pay so much under the scheme. When the managers tell me that the exaction of 820*l.* will compel them to dismiss 500 patients, I am entitled to ask, Why, then, do you spend 220*l.* in a feast? What right have you to eat up in an hour 150 beds? What are the circumstances of Guy's, of St. Thomas's, and similar establishments? Every year they are able to place 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* each in reproductive investments in land. They are thinking not merely of the sick, but of their own future aggrandisement and extension. I was informed the other day that St. Thomas's spends 15 per cent. of its income in improvements on land. Well, then, it is a matter for the state to consider whether the indefinite enrichment of such corporations—even of those instituted for the best of purposes—when entirely removed from the control of public opinion, the press, or parliament, is to go on without limit, and is to be augmented by contributions from the public purse."

The attention of the House of Commons was called to the case of Sergeant-Major Lilley, of the Carabineers, who was imprisoned for four weeks by Colonel Crawley at Mhow, and so much excitement was created by articles in the public press in India and at home that the government ordered that officer home for trial; and he was brought to trial accordingly, on the 17th of November, at Aldershot, for "unnecessary and undue severity," and for imputing to the adjutant blame in proceedings which he had directly ordered. The court sat for a month, and acquitted Colonel Crawley on both counts, and restored him to the command of his regiment; and several witnesses whose evidence was not considered creditable were dismissed the service or sent to other regiments. The religious questions which had been so long subjects of controversy were brought repeatedly to notice, but the heresies of Bishop

Colenso were the cause of much complaint and discussion. This reverend gentleman, who was distinguished for his mathematical attainments, had published a work in which he discredited much of the exact statements of the early books of the Old Testament by rigid analysis, as if he were investigating a problem in algebra. The Archbishop of Canterbury expressed his regret that a bishop should have published his crude sentiments. On the other hand, the high church party resolved to bring before the vice-chancellor's court at Oxford the teaching of Professor Jowett, who was charged by Dr. Pusey with taking part in a systematic attempt to revolutionise the Church of England. The Bishop of Capetown, whose suffragan the Rev. Dr. Colenso was, as Bishop of Natal, resolved to institute proceedings, as the latter refused to resign his see, and the Archbishop of Canterbury warned his clergy not to admit the bishop to administer in their churches. The Bishop of Natal repudiated utterly the assertion that he was unable to act as bishop or use the liturgy till the question of heresy had been determined against him. The Lower House of Convocation found that his book contained the gravest and most dangerous errors in the atonement, the inspiration of Scripture, and the agreement of the creeds therewith; but the assessor decided that the case should not be proceeded with. The Bishop of London, struck by the spiritual destitution of the metropolis, made an appeal, which ended in the foundation of the fund of 100,000*l.* to be raised every year to build churches, endow livings, pay curates, and extend church accommodation. The annual motion to abolish church rates was rejected by the small majority of ten in a house of five hundred and sixty members; and Mr. Bouverie withdrew his bill repealing the clause in the Act of Uniformity which prevented nonconformists graduating at the university.

The arguments before the judicial committee of the privy council in the case of the Rev. Mr. Williams and Mr. Wilson, who were charged with heresy in 'Essays and Reviews,' began on the 19th of June; but it was not till February the following year that Lord Westbury delivered judgment, reversing the judgment of a year's suspension of the court below; but this judgment made matters worse, because the archbishops of Canterbury and York did not concur, and issued pastoral letters which reopened the controversy and divided the church. In Scotland, too, there was a curious dispute raised in consequence of Dr. Candlish having taken exception to the queen's use of a verse from the Apocrypha on the monument to the prince consort at Balmoral. Lord Barcaple announced his intention of withdrawing from the Free Church in consequence, but Dr. Candlish explained that he did not speak for the Free Assembly or the Church, but for himself. The queen did not, however, make the step towards Rome which the doctor denounced and feared and detected in her quotation from the Apocrypha. Her Majesty paid a visit to Germany, and visited scenes very dear to her; and the efforts made to do honour to the memory of the prince consort gave occasion to renewed expressions of public sympathy, as well as of the inconsolable grief of the widowed queen. An Albert memorial in London was inaugurated on the 10th of June, and in Aberdeen on the 13th of October; but the House of Commons luckily refused the proposal to buy the Crystal Palace, which was made by government, as it is now a delightful suburban resort and a great amusement and attraction, though they resolved, after debate and division, to buy the land on which it stood. The determination of the government to prevent a violation of the law was proved by the seizure, on the 6th of April, of the *Alexandra* at Liverpool on a charge of intent to violate the Foreign Enlistment Act, the seventh clause of which constitutes the equipment of a vessel for war service against a foreign state with which her Majesty is not at war a misdemeanour. The case was tried before a special jury on the 24th of June, and the jury returned a verdict for the owners of the *Alexandra*, on the charge of the chief baron, who directed that, if the ship was built to order on a contract with persons who were to make what use of the ship they thought fit, the act was not infringed. This result caused much dissatisfaction in the Northern States, and the attorney-general moved for a new trial, on the ground of misdirection and of a verdict against evidence. The judges disagreed, and the application was refused, and the crown appealed to the court of error, exchequer chamber. Four of the judges were of opinion the court had no jurisdiction; three judges thought it had, and the question was referred to the House of Lords in last appeal, where there was also much difference of opinion, but the lord chancellor's view against the appeal was sustained by the majority, and the *Alexandra* was ordered to be released. The perilous adventure to which the French army had been committed in Mexico seemed to prosper. The emperor cast about for means of realising his project of establishing on the American continent a reaction against what he considered the predominance of the Teutonic over the Celtic race. He started with the determination to assist the Mexicans to establish a government which had a chance of stability, and of securing France a settlement of her injuries. Puebla was attacked by General Forey on the 29th of March, and after a gallant defence, on the 18th of May, capitulated. General Ortega demanded the right to march out with the honours of war, and carry off arms, baggage, and artillery, and, on being refused, disbanded his army, spiked his guns, blew up his magazines, and surrendered at discretion. On the 10th of June, General Forey entered Mexico. Juarez retired to San Louis Potosi. An assembly of notables was convened in Mexico, which resolved to offer the throne of the empire to Maximilian of Austria, and that gallant and unhappy prince accepted the ill-starred crown. Towards the end of the year Lord Elgin died, and Sir John Lawrence succeeded him as viceroy of India. A life "too short for friendship," long enough for fame, was ended by a sudden illness. One day before Christmas, William Makepeace Thackeray died.

Prussia and Austria declared they would deal without the intervention of the diet at Frankfurt with Denmark. In the middle of a northern winter, the Germans carried out their threat of federal execution, and the Prussian Marshal von Wrangel invaded Holstein in January 1864. Missunde was bombarded and burnt, and the Danes abandoned the famous Dannewerke and the heavy but obsolete artillery which defended it. On the 10th February, the allies occupied Schleswig, which was declared in a state of blockade; but the Danes would not accept the proposal of England to submit the dispute to the powers who had signed the treaty of 1852. Public sympathy was strong in their favour. The nationality of the Princess of Wales, who had rejoiced the nation in the birth of Prince Albert Victor Christian Edward, on the 8th of January, had much to do with the predilection, which was also founded on admiration for the courage with which Denmark withstood her mighty enemies; but the government declined to give material aid. On the 18th of March, the Prussians began the attack on Düppel, and on the 18th of April the lines were in the hands of the enemy. The Danes retired into Jutland. Lord John Russell, who had been exerting himself energetically to secure the adhesion of the great powers to a conference, although rebuffed by France, which could not forget that the project of the emperor had met with a very cold reception from England, at last secured the presence of representatives. The conference sat in London on the 25th of April, and on the 6th of May a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon, but Count Bismarck assumed a very haughty tone in dealing with it and with England. "The government of the king cannot consider itself in any way longer bound by the obligations it contracted on the 8th of May, 1852, under other circumstances. Prussia concluded this treaty with Denmark, and not with the other powers; the ratifications were only exchanged between Copenhagen and Berlin, not between Berlin and London or St. Petersburg. Even if—which we do not admit—the London treaty had been intended to create obligations between us and the neutral powers, these would become void, together with the treaty, as soon as the latter lapsed through non-fulfilment of its preliminary conditions."

Lord John Russell, always the most unfortunate of diplomatists, endeavoured to draw a boundary-line between Denmark and the duchies. The Germans demanded a line from Appenrade to Tondern. On the 22nd of June the conference broke up. Hostilities were renewed next day: but Denmark, without allies, could not make any head against the great military powers. A conference at Vienna managed the preliminaries of peace, by which the duchies were ceded to Prussia and Austria, Herr von Bismarck, with sardonic humour, inviting the British government to express approval of "the moderation" of Germany. Lord John Russell could not swallow such a demand, and wrote dryly:—"If it is said that force has decided this question, and that the superiority of the arms of Austria and Prussia over those of Denmark was incontestable, the assertion must be admitted. But in that case it is out of place to claim credit for equity and moderation." It must have been with some feelings of shame that such lines were penned; and it may well be imagined that when the Prince of Wales went to Copenhagen in September, Danish hospitality was much enforced to give a fitting welcome to the British prince who had married their favourite princess. The treaty was signed on the 30th of October, by which Denmark was amerced in money as well as in territory.

The great conflict between the Northern and the Southern States of North America was approaching its termination. President Lincoln now put at the head of the army a man who had in the West successfully developed his theory that the true way of reducing the South to submission was to operate in masses against the main body of the enemy, weakening them by constant actions, whilst great diversions were made on their flanks, with the view of cutting in on the rear and destroying their communications. In one of his early letters from the United States, the special correspondent of the *Times* compared the South to an oyster. Once the steel was inserted between the chinks of its armour, the body was soft and defenceless. Grant collected a large army at Fredericksburg, and whilst he was maturing his preparations, Lee and Longstreet, hearing he was in motion, broke up their camp and marched towards Fredericksburg, which they hoped to carry by out-manœuvring Grant. The two armies, however, came into collision at Wilderness, on the 5th of May, and a desperate encounter ensued, in which both sides claimed the victory; but Lee fell back on Spottsylvania, when he was attacked by Grant, on the 10th of May, with vastly superior forces. Grant tried again and again to turn Lee's flank, and the latter could only prevent the natural result of such superiority in number by the most skilful movements and resolute resistance.

In the end, after a series of engagements for nearly a week, in which the Federals lost forty thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners, Lee stood fast in a strong position, twenty miles north of Richmond. Simultaneously with these terrible encounters, Butler led an expedition by sea to the James River, to threaten Richmond from the south, and made good his landing after an encounter with Beauregard; whilst Sigel, who was ordered to clear the Confederates under Breckenridge out of the Shenandoah valley, was routed and driven back to Winchester. These operations were very exhausting to the Confederates, and Grant once more began to menace the right flank of Lee by manœuvring on the Pamunkey river, which he crossed on the 27th and 28th of May, at Hanover, twelve miles from Richmond. On the 1st of June, and on the 6th, Grant attacked his formidable opponent, but was repulsed on each occasion, and the Confederates, emboldened by their success, assumed the offensive on the latter occasion, but were repulsed by the intrenched front of the enemy. Foiled completely, Grant was now obliged to renounce his project, and transferred his whole army to the south of the James river, where he could have placed it without the loss of a man had he transported it by water from the Potomac. He had lost more than fifty thousand men, and gained nothing. This sudden movement nearly enabled him to surprise Petersburg, but the small Confederate force there made a desperate resistance, and Grant's troops were twice beaten back, so that he was obliged to open regular approaches against the place. The news that the *Alabama* had at last been brought to action and sunk gave great comfort to the government at Washington and to the shipping interest of the United States. She had been lying in Cherbourg harbour for some time, watched by the Federal steam frigate *Kearsage*, and on the 19th of June steamed out to meet her antagonist. Captain Semmes did not seek very close quarters; but when he was about a mile distant, he opened on the *Kearsage*, which immediately replied, both ships moving round and round in complete circles; but in less than an hour the *Alabama's* fire slackened, and she was observed to shape her course for the French coast, about nine miles distant. An English yacht was near at hand, and when the owner saw the *Alabama* disabled, he lowered his boats, but, ere he came up with her, the *Alabama* went down all standing. Semmes and about forty men and officers were saved. The army of the west, under Sherman, was besieging Atalanta, the capital of Georgia, which the Confederates, under Hood, attempted in vain to relieve by two spirited actions in the month of July, but it fell early in September; and the pressure on the South was increased by the gallant attack of the Federal Admiral Farragut, on the 15th of August, on Forts Morgan and Gaines, covering the Confederate flotilla and the city of Mobile. He reduced the forts, destroyed the flotilla, but he could not reach the city. Early in the same month, Grant, covering his attack by the explosion of a great mine, which blew up five hundred Confederates and laid bare their defences, attacked Petersburg, and was repulsed with great gallantry.

Sheridan was gradually acquiring the mastery in the Shenandoah valley, and Sherman began his march through Georgia, which dealt the first of the great wounds on the body politic of the South of which it bled to death; for he cut into the rear of the communications of the armies, destroyed their railways and supplies, took Savannah, five hundred guns, and twenty-five bales of cotton, and opened communications with Dahlgren's fleet. Butler, who never displayed any military capacity, but who was too troublesome to be left unemployed, made an attack on the defences of Wilmington, under cover of the fleet of Porter, but was beaten. But Mr. Lincoln, elected a second time president, could in his message at the close of the year announce material progress in the cause of the North, and report substantial victories. A Confederate raid from Canada against the town of St. Albans, Vermont, caused much ill blood, and encouraged the Fenian movement; and those who were arrested and brought to trial at Montreal were acquitted on a technical plea, which satisfied the Canadians. The Confederate government addressed a manifesto to foreign governments in November, arguing that they had made good their claim to independence, which Lord John Russell answered by declaring Great Britain would adhere to a strict neutrality. As a proof of sympathy with the South, however, certain noblemen and gentlemen raised a subscription destined for prisoners in the North, but Mr. Seward refused to allow the agent to visit them, "to distribute 17,000*l.* of British gold," and had the boldness to write to Mr. Adams that "the civil war was promoted and protracted by British subjects."

Parliament met on the 4th of February, and was opened by royal commission; for the queen's grief was still so profound and permanent that she did not appear in public till the flower-show at the Horticultural Gardens, where a statue of the prince consort was unveiled on the 30th of March. The royal speech declared the revenue had realised its expected amount, commerce was increasing, and there was reason to look forward to an increased supply of cotton from various countries. On the question of Schleswig-Holstein, the royal speech observed that the stipulation of the treaty of 1852 which declared that it was conducive to the preservation of the balance of power and of the peace of Europe that "the integrity of the Danish monarchy should be maintained, and that the several territories which have been hitherto under the sway of the king of Denmark should continue so to remain, was now applicable." A commission would be issued revising the forms of subscription and declaration required to be made by the clergy of the established church. In the debate which followed, the Earl of Derby made a graceful allusion to the birth of an heir to the Prince of Wales:—"It appears to me that as we advance in life, we look with a warmer and kindlier sympathy upon the opening prospects of those who are entering upon that career towards the close of which so many of us are hurrying. But I am sure there is not one of your lordships who does not view with the deepest interest the happy career of that youthful pair upon the birth of whose heir we are congratulating the sovereign. I am sure there is not one of your lordships who does not offer up a fervent prayer to the Throne of Grace that that bright prospect may remain unclouded, and that long after the youngest of your lordships have passed away from this scene, the throne of these realms may be occupied by the descendants of the illustrious prince and his new-born heir—'*et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.*'" To the policy of the government, the language of the noble earl was not complimentary:—"The foreign policy of the noble earl (Russell), as far as the principle of non-intervention is concerned, may be summed up in two truly expressive words—'meddle' and 'muddle.' During the whole course of his diplomatic correspondence, wherever he has interfered—and he has interfered everywhere—he has been lecturing, scolding, blustering, and—retreating. Seriously—for, though there may be something ludicrous about it, the matter is of too great importance to be treated only in a light and jocular manner—I cannot but feel as an Englishman that I am lowered and humiliated in my own estimation, and in that of other nations, by the result of the noble earl's administration of foreign affairs. Thanks to the noble earl and the present government, we have at this moment not one single friend in Europe; and, more than that, this country, the chief fault of which was that it went too direct and straight forward at what it aimed; which never gave a promise without the intention of performing; which never threatened without a full determination of striking; which never made a demand without being prepared to enforce it,—this country is now in such a position that its menaces are disregarded, its magniloquent language is ridiculed, and its remonstrances are treated with contemptuous indifference, by the small as well as by the great powers of the continent." Earl Russell defended the policy of the government. In the House of Commons the most important speeches were delivered by Mr. Disraeli on the one side and Lord Palmerston on the other. Eventually, in both houses, the address was agreed to without a division.

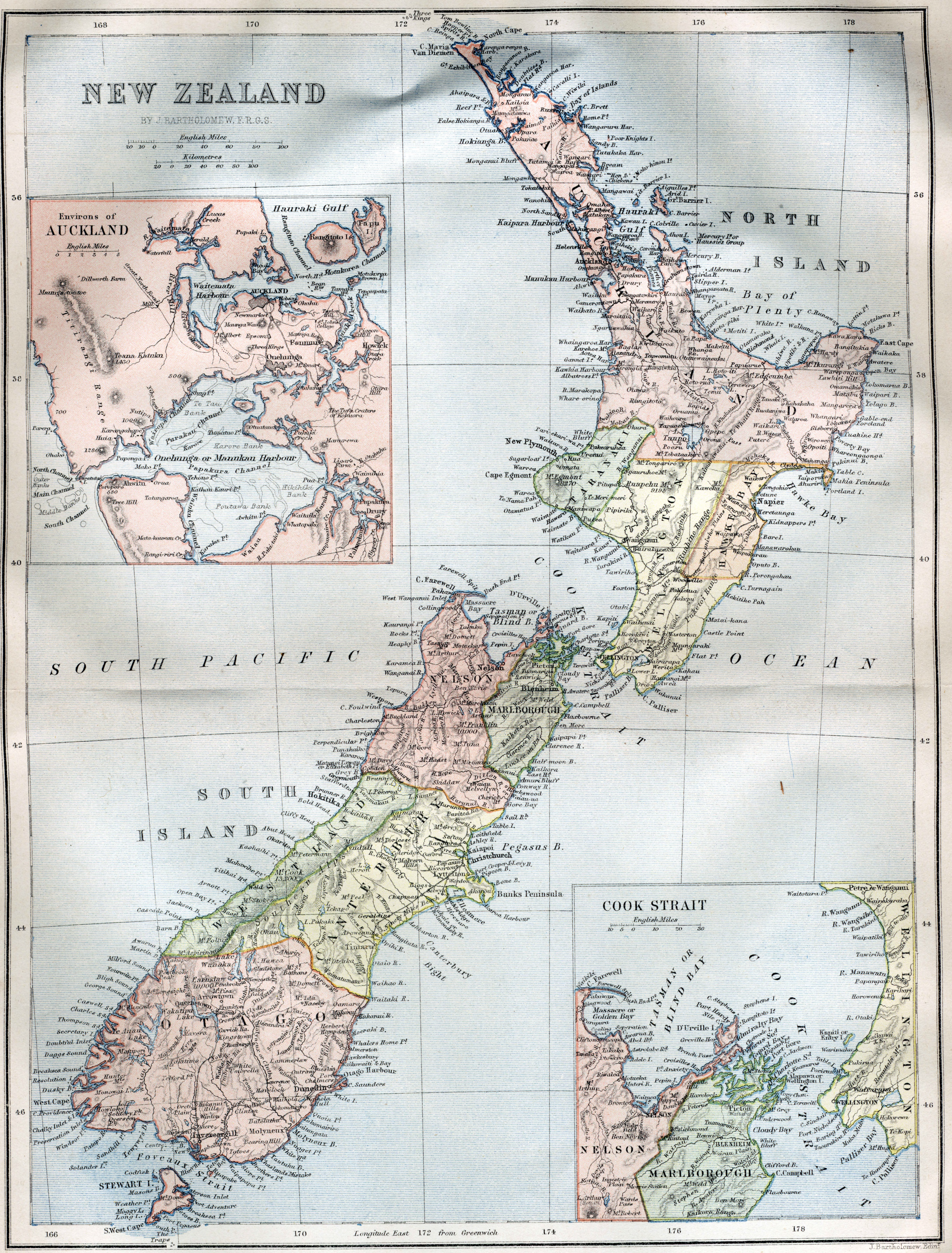
We remonstrated with Prussia and Austria, and our remonstrances were treated with contempt. The measures indicated in the royal speech were introduced. The Tests' Abolition Bill opened Oxford university to persons of any religious sect.

On the 7th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer introduced his budget. Our gross exports and imports amounted to 444,000,000*l.*, being about three times the value at which they stood in 1842, when parliament first began to set itself deliberately to the task of revising our commercial legislation, and representing as nearly as possible 1,500,000*l.* for every working day in the year—a magnitude of industry,' or of operations connected with industry, so vast that, if it did not stand upon uncontrovertible figures, it could hardly receive belief. He estimated the total amount of the expenditure for the year at 66,890,000*l.*, and of the revenue at 69,460,000*l.* With the surplus of 2,570,000*l.* he proposed to reduce the income-tax a penny in the pound, and to lower the fire-insurance duty from 3*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*, so far as stock in trade was concerned. The entire relief from taxation he estimated at 3,000,000*l.* The chancellor of the exchequer expressed himself as opposed to the repeal or even reduction of the duties on malt, which was advocated by professed friends of the agricultural interest. At a later period of the session, he introduced a measure conceding to some extent the demands of the anti-malt-tax party, in the form of a bill authorising the remission of so much of the duty as had hitherto been levied upon malt for the consumption of cattle.

On the 4th of July, Mr. Disraeli brought forward a vote of want of confidence in the government, founded on the failure of the London conference, in which regret was expressed that her Majesty's ministers had failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, thereby lowering the just influence of Great Britain in Europe, and diminishing the securities for peace. An animated debate arose on the amendment of Mr. Kinglake, which ran directly counter to the motion, and expressed satisfaction that the government had abstained from armed interference. There was certainly fair ground for imputing to the ministry that they had threatened and then refused to act; that they had led on Denmark by expectations they did not intend to fulfil. To declare that England could never act alone was unworthy of a British statesman, and Mr. Disraeli could appeal to the time when, without a tithe of her present resources, she had stood alone and braved a world in arms. The reply of Mr. Gladstone charged the leader of the opposition with want of courage in framing a resolution which did not directly call on the house to censure the ministers, whilst it inflicted a wound on the honour of England. The motion was rejected by three hundred and thirteen to two hundred and ninety-five, and the majority of eighteen was considered sufficient by the government. A similar motion was carried against them in the House of Lords. Before parliament rose, the powers and functions of convocation were brought under the notice of the House of Lords in reference to the synodical judgment they had pronounced on 'Essays and Reviews.' The lord chancellor treated convocation in the most insulting manner. He said:—"There are three modes of dealing with convocation when it is permitted to come into action and transact real business. The first is, while they are harmlessly busy, to take no notice of their proceedings; the second is, when they seem likely to get into mischief, to prorogue and put an end to their proceedings; the third, when they have done something clearly beyond their powers, is to bring them before a court of justice and punish them. . . . . . Not only did it require that convocation should be put into motion by the crown, but, it is said, no ordinance or sentence—nothing of which convocation might choose to pronounce—should have any validity until it had received the sanction of the crown; and if any attempt were made to give any force to them without that sanction, the parties so offending should incur the penalties of a præmunire. I am afraid my noble friend has not considered what the pains and penalties of a præmunire are, or his gentle heart would have melted at the prospect. The most reverend prelate and the bishops would have to appear at the bar, not in the solemn state in which we see them here, but as penitents in sackcloth and ashes." The tone and substance of these remarks were much resented and severely censured by the Bishop of Oxford and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 29th of July.

Whilst the Church of England was suffering from heresy and schisms, the Church of Rome was fortified by the support of the emperor, who, on the 15th of September, made a convention with the king of Italy in which the latter engaged not to attack the Papal States, and, to prevent invasion, to substitute Florence for Turin, and to permit a Roman army to be organised without protest, France withdrawing her troops in proportion, and the occupation to cease in two years. The pope, on the 8th of December, issued an encyclical letter "on the 10th anniversary" of the declaration of the dogma of the immaculate conception, to which there was an appendix of eighty propositions condemnatory of errors in religion, philosophy, ecclesiastical teaching, marriage, liberty, and the privileges of the Holy See. The pope further condemned biblical, socialist, and secret societies, and all persons who held that there was hope of the eternal salvation of those who do not belong to the true church, or that Protestantism was only another form of true belief, and equally pleasing to God.

There was a strong exhibition of feeling on the part of the populations of London and of other large towns on the appearance of Garibaldi in England.



NEW ZEALAND

BY J. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S.

English Miles
Kilometres
Environs of AUCKLAND
English Miles
Hauraki Gulf
Rangitoto I.
Waitemata Harbour
AUCKLAND
Onehunga
Onehunga or Manukau Harbour
Titirangi Range
NORTH ISLAND
AUCKLAND
Bay of Islands
North Cape
Three Kings
C. Maria Van Diemen
Hokianga R.
Kaipara Harbour
Hauraki Gulf
Gt. Barrier I.
Auckland
Manukau Harbour
Bay of Plenty
East Cape
Tauranga
Taupo
Poverty Bay
New Plymouth
Cape Egmont
Mt. Egmont 8270
Ruapehu Mt. 9195
TARANAKI
WELLINGTON
HAWKE BAY
Napier
Hawke Bay
Wanganui
Wellington
C. Palliser
COOK STRAIT
SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH ISLAND
C. Farewell
Tasman or Blind B.
NELSON
Nelson
MARLBOROUGH
Blenheim
Picton
Westport
Greymouth
Hokitika
WESTLAND
CANTERBURY
Kaikoura
Christchurch
Lyttelton
Pegasus B.
Banks Peninsula
Mt. Cook 13,200
Southern Alps
Timaru
Canterbury Bight
OTAGO
Lake Wakatipu
Queenstown
Te Anau Lake
Milford Sound
Dunedin
Otago Harbour
West Cape
Invercargill
Foveaux Strait
STEWART I.
S. West Cape
COOK STRAIT
English Miles
Tasman or Blind Bay
D'Urville I.
NELSON
MARLBOROUGH
BLENHEIM
WELLINGTON
Palliser Bay
168
170
172
174
176
178
166
36
38
40
42
44
46
Longitude East 172 from Greenwich

J. Bartholomew, Edinr.

The welcome given to the Italian republican was of the most exciting and enthusiastic description; the mob struggling in the streets to press his hand or catch a glimpse of his countenance. He reached Southampton on the 3rd of April. Garibaldi's entry, on the 11th, into London, partook of the character of a royal progress. The route was crowded with a dense mass of spectators. It was nearly four hours before the carriage of the Duke of Sutherland, in which he was seated, could make its way from Nine Elms to Stafford House. For ten days the excitement was kept up by a succession of fêtes, the most important being at the Crystal Palace on the 16th, where Garibaldi received an address from the London Italian Committee, and spoke to an audience computed at between twenty thousand and thirty thousand. A grand concert was given; the "Garibaldi Hymn" and the "National Hymn" were sung in strange harmony. Presented "with a sword from the Italians in London, he said, 'I thank you, Italians, for this beautiful present. I promise you I will never unsheath it in the cause of tyrants, and I will draw it only in support of oppressed nationalities. I hope yet to carry it with me to Rome and Venice." The City of London and many municipalities solicited the honour of a visit. Garibaldi left for Italy, somewhat unexpectedly, on the 22nd. In a parting address he said:—"I came here with the primary object of thanking the English nation for their sympathy for me and for my country, and this my first object is accomplished. . . . . If I have caused some trouble and disappointment to many friends, I ask their pardon; but I cannot draw the line between where I could and where I could not go, and, therefore, for the present, these are my thanks and my farewell." He was conveyed to Caprera in the Duke of Sutherland's yacht, accompanied by his noble host and members of his family.

Another adventurer of more illustrious lineage, but less honoured, was marching on his way to his grave. Maximilian landed at Vera Cruz on the 28th of May, and issued a proclamation, in which he assured the Mexicans he sought to save them from anarchy. "With the blessing of God, progress and liberty will not fail us if all parties, guided by a strong and loyal government, and preserving that religious sentiment which has distinguished our country from the most remote periods, unite to obtain the ends I have pointed out. The civilising flag of France, to which you are indebted for the return of peace and order, represents the same principles."

On the 7th of February, parliament was opened by commission, the royal speech containing reference to the continuance of the civil war in America, and the neutral policy which England had throughout sustained. Her Majesty also referred to the assertion of our rights in Japan; the tranquillity of India; the affairs of New Zealand; and the measures which were desirable in order to complete a revision of the statute law, and to concentrate the courts of law and equity. The condition of Ireland became the most prominent subject of discussion in the House of Commons early in the session, and indeed from time to time throughout its continuance. The most important debates arose on Mr. Maguire's motion for a committee to inquire into the tenure and improvement of land in Ireland; and that of Mr. Dilewyn, on the unsatisfactory position of the Irish Church, establishment, neither of which, however, obtained any practical results. The budget, which was brought forward on the 27th of April, and provided for a considerable reduction of duties, was received with much favour, as were also the army and navy estimates, both of which were framed on a considerably reduced scale. In foreign affairs considerable anxiety was occasioned by Canada, the president of the United States having given notice to terminate the existing convention against fitting out war ships on the Canadian lakes. This was considered to be an assumption of a hostile attitude, and consequently the defences of Canada became an important question. The report furnished by Colonel Jervis, a distinguished engineer officer, caused much excitement. A highly important debate ensued, which resulted in a vote of 50,000*l.* for the defences of Quebec. At this time considerable satisfaction was manifested in England at the termination of the civil war in America; while no little anxiety was caused by the treatment of the Abyssinian prisoners. An interesting debate took place on the latter subject, during which Mr. Layard asked derisively whether the government were to be called upon to march any army over the arid sands of the desert to the Abyssinian capital; and Lord John Russell assured the house that, whatever we might do, we were surely not going to undertake a war in the matter. Two authoritative statements each of which was falsified within a short period. Mr. Villiers' Union Rating Bill, which was passed this session, had reference to the law affecting the settlement and removal of the poor, and provided that all the maintenance of paupers within an union should fall on the union funds.

The religious controversies which had been agitating England so long extended their influence to France, and the French minister of justice opened the year with a circular to the bishops of the Gallican church, declaring that the encyclical contained propositions contrary to the constitution of the empire. But little importance was attached in this country to the struggle which gradually placed the Christian powers of the world in antagonism with the pope. We had our own renewed Reform agitation, and we had, moreover, the *Alabama* indemnity looming in the distance, for now the United States, strengthening every day, were sweeping the fragments of the Confederate armies before their victorious legions, and were looking abroad to avenge their wounded dignity, and to claim a recognition of their success. We had, moreover, a war in New Zealand, and had been compelled to make forcible demonstrations in Japan, as the royal speech announced to parliament. After a siege, or, more properly speaking, an investment, which had lasted for many days, the Confederates retired from Richmond, which was entered in triumph by General Grant, on the 2nd of March 1865. On the 7th of April, General Lee surrendered all that remained of that gallant army which had struggled so nobly for what they conceived to be their independence and their legitimate rights. Further resistance was hopeless. Lee, in reply to the summons of his successful rival, declared that he was not entirely of the opinion General Grant expressed, of the hopelessness of further resistance, but reciprocated the desire to avoid a useless effusion of blood. The officers were paroled; arms, artillery, and public property, surrendered; and officers and men allowed to return to their own homes. While the Northern States were celebrating, with well-deserved rejoicing, this great triumph, which was almost a complete re-establishment of the Federal authority over all the states of the union, there fell, not only on America, but on the civilised world, the news of an event which excited the profoundest indignation and horror. On the night of the 14th of April, President Lincoln, his wife, and two friends, were seated in his box at Lord's Theatre, Washington, when an actor, named John Wilkes Booth, entered the unguarded door, shot him with a pistol at the back of the head, and, leaping from the box to the stage with a dagger in his hand, and exclaiming, "*Sic semper tyrannis*," the motto of Virginia, escaped into the street. At the same time, a man, under the pretence that he was sent with a prescription for Mr. Seward, who was ill in bed, gained admission to the house of the secretary of state, attacked his son and the hospital attendant, who were in his way, and then struck Mr. Seward with a sharp weapon twice in the throat and twice in the face, inflicting terrible wounds. Major Seward and a servant, hastening to the scene, were attacked and seriously wounded, and the assassin escaped. Booth was shot down a few days later in a barn in Maryland; Harold, his accomplice, was taken. And early in June, Lord Russell informed the admiralty that, the armies of the Confederate States having surrendered or dispersed, the civil war in America was at an end, and that, henceforth, vessels of war carrying the Confederate flag would not be admitted into her Majesty's ports. On the 10th of May, previously, Jefferson Davis was captured by a party of Federal cavalry; and on the 26th of the same month, Kirby Smith, the last of the Confederate generals in the field, had laid down his arms. Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 6th of July, till the 12th, but a royal proclamation on the day of prorogation dissolved it, and writs were immediately issued for the new elections. Almost at the same time the king of Prussia solved in the old Alexander fashion the problem presented to him by the Prussian chambers, who were bold enough to exercise their constitutional right, as they imagined, by withholding the supplies. The king cut the Gordian knot by issuing a decree in which he assigned half a million of thalers for the construction of heavy guns, and left it to his ministers to fight it out with the affronted, but impotent assembly, which was aping the dignity and powers of the British House of Commons. Throughout July the election contests engaged the attention of the constituencies. Mr. Bright accused the administration, which had climbed into office under the pretence of its devotion to parliamentary reform, of a violation of its solemn pledges. "Its chiefs," he said, "have purposely betrayed the cause they undertook to defend, and have held for six years office, which, but for the promises they made, and which they have broken, they could not have obtained possession of for a day;" but the great tribune was not uncomplimentary to the prophet Disraeli, whom he described as a man of brains and genius, of great capacity and action, and wonderful tenacity of purpose and rare courage, who would have been a statesman if his powers had been directed by any ennobling principle, but who, unhappily, preferred worthless distinction as the head of a decaying party, fighting for impossible ends, to the priceless memories of rendering services to his country and to freedom." Mr. Gladstone was defeated at the university of Oxford by Mr. Gathorne Hardy, but, appealing to South Lancashire, he was placed third and returned; the first, second, and fourth members being conservatives. Before the new parliament met, a great blow was given to the moderate liberal-conservative party, if such there could have been without such a leader, in the death of Lord Palmerston, who expired at Brockett Hall on the 18th of October, and was buried with public honours in Westminster Abbey on the 27th of the same month. His death caused a considerable fall in the public funds; and throughout Europe it produced a remarkable impression; its importance being duly appreciated by all parties, although there were many who spoke and wrote of the event as a kind of public deliverance from the perpetual interference which had rendered the name of Palmerston so obnoxious to the aristocratic and despotic powers of Europe. Lord Russell was appointed to the office of first lord of the treasury, and Lord Clarendon to the foreign office, but the other members of the ministry retained their portfolios. Before the year closed, the unhappy episode of the negro outbreak in Jamaica divided the attention of the government with the increasing magnitude of the Fenian conspiracy. A trifling disturbance in Jamaica led to a riot which gradually was developed into an outbreak led by one Paul Bogle, which seemed to point at the extirpation of the planters and of the white population. The governor, Mr. Eyre, declared martial law, and proceeded to Morant Bay in the *Cornwall*, and superintended the summary measures which were thought necessary to suppress the revolt. Having unmistakably satisfied himself that Mr. G. W. Gordon, a coloured member of the house of assembly, was not only mixed up in the matter, but was, through his seditious language, the chief cause of the late rebellion, he directed the custos to capture him; but Mr. Gordon surrendered himself to General O'Connor. Governor Eyre had him transported to the *Wolverine* man-of-war, and conveyed to Morant Bay, where he was tried by court-martial, and hanged on the 23rd of October, and this step was approved both by the legislative council and house of assembly; but when the news came to England there was a great outcry, and indeed the details of the proceedings of the military parties sent out to chastise the insurgents were so revolting as to heat the popular indignation against Governor Eyre to such an extent as to interfere with the equitable examination of his motives

Flogging men, burning their houses, shooting them if they ran, were the least of the acts which Lieutenant Adcock reported to Brigadier Nelson as the enjoyments of his soldiers in their expedition. Sir Henry Storks was appointed as governor to supersede Mr. Eyre; and a royal commission of inquiry was directed to sail to Jamaica in order to hold an investigation of all the circumstances of the outbreak. Almost immediately on the termination of the contest in the United States, the Fenian movement received a great development, due, no doubt, largely to the disbandment of the armies of the union and the confederacy, which had left without employment a number of men who had been engaged in the war, and were accustomed to the use of arms and the excitement of campaigning for several years. The pope condemned Fenianism and freemasonry. The authorities of Washington denounced the Irish conspiracy, and on no side did there appear the smallest indication of any intention to support it, but, nevertheless, United States officers of militia and volunteers presided at the meetings and at a great congress held at Philadelphia. There were six hundred delegates, presided over by a head centre, each of whom was returned as the representative of a considerable body of persons, subscribers to the Fenian funds and adherents of the Fenian cause, which was, in one word, the establishment of a republic in Ireland, with the ultimate purpose probably of transferring the kingdom to the Federal government of the United States. On the 15th of September, the Dublin police surrounded the office of the *Irish People*, arrested all the persons whom they found on the premises; and simultaneously the leading Fenians were captured in other towns throughout the kingdom. Stephens, the most remarkable of the conspirators, was subsequently arrested, but made his escape from Richmond prison, nor was he recaptured, although a reward of 1000*l*. was offered for his apprehension. A special commission was issued for the trial of the Fenians captured in Dublin, and severe sentences were passed upon them, one, O'Donovan Rossa, being condemned to penal servitude for life.

The judicial committee of the privy-council could not speak so decidedly on the merits of the Colenso appeal, which was argued before them on the 14th of December and for four days longer. Dr. Gray, bishop of Cape Town, had deprived the Bishop of Natal of his episcopal office, on charges of heresy, upon which he had pronounced sentence. Dr. Colenso disputed the existence of such jurisdiction, and appealed to the head of the church, who referred it to the judicial committee to report upon.

The ordinary course of events in parliament was interrupted by certain transactions, which most seriously affected the official character of the lord chancellor. The first of these transactions was familiarly known as the Edmunds scandal, and caused great public attention. A Mr. Edmunds, who held some lucrative offices under the crown, had been reported by a commission of inquiry as a defaulter to the amount of 9617*l*., and the report was furnished to Lord Westbury, with a suggestion of the immediate dismissal of the delinquent. This had reference to Mr. Edmunds' appointment as clerk to the commissioners of patents; but he also held another in the House of Lords, which was not directly affected by it. Application was made by Mr. Edmunds' friends to Lord Westbury to support an application for a retiring pension in the event of his resigning this latter office. The lord chancellor promised this. The resignation took place, and the vacancy was at once filled up by the appointment of his lordship's second son; Lord Westbury, at the same time, presenting the Edmunds petition in person, and obtaining a pension of 800*l*. a year, without disclosing the fact of the petitioner having been found to be and still being a defaulter to the public revenue. A select committee was nominated to inquire as to the appointment and the resignation, and, in the report made, found all the charges proved against Mr. Edmunds, and partially censured Lord Westbury. The grant of the pension was immediately revoked. Concurrent with this painful disclosure, there happened another scandal, known as the Leeds bankruptcy case. A Mr. Wylde held the office of registrar to the Leeds district court, and retired on a pension of 600*l*. on the plea of ill-health. A Mr. Welch was appointed to succeed, on, as it was stated, the understanding that he should resign in favour of the honourable Richard Bethell, eldest son of Lord Westbury, as soon as that gentleman had procured a reversal of the order of outlawry which had been obtained against him. The select committee appointed to inquire into this matter reported, as far as regarded Lord Westbury, that his lordship exhibited haste and want of caution in granting a pension to Wylde; that the whole case was calculated to cause suspicion, and that an inquiry was highly desirable for the public interest. Mr. Ward Hunt moved a vote of censure on Lord Westbury, not imputing personal corruption, but "fatuous simplicity," in reference to the appointments he had made. Mr. Bouverie moved an amendment, more directly charging Lord Westbury with a laxity of practice and want of caution in sanctioning retiring allowances to persons over whom grave charges were pending, calculated to discredit the administration of his great office. This amendment was carried *nem. con.*, and on the following day Lord Palmerston announced the resignation of Lord Westbury, observing that this had been offered repeatedly, but had not been accepted. Lord Cranworth was appointed to the vacant seat.

The Reform party, which had achieved such successes in their long warfare with "the established order of things," had never deserted from hostilities, although from time to time want of generals reduced the main army to inaction. Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright had now acquired the fame and skill in political warfare which inspires confidence; and their demands for Reform were urged with every adjunct that oratorical skill and tactical ability can give to the advocacy of principles founded on abstract truth, if not always of practical application. Mr. Bright began the new year by orations against the restrictions of the franchise and laudations of the commercial classes, from which, he said, had come whatever there was of social, civil, or religious freedom in England, which tended somewhat to the class dissensions he so much deprecated; and he expressed an opinion about strikes as a reserve power among workmen not to be abandoned, which was more likely to find favour among them than his censure of its injudicious exercise. He incurred much disfavour from the sympathisers and friends of the Southern States by his invective against the Confederacy and constant and able advocacy of the North; but Mr. Cobden, whose health had been for some time failing, though in no respect less ardent than his great colleague in his vindications of his long-cherished views, was obliged to abstain from active participation in public meetings; and in such matters as the representation of minorities, advocated by Mr. Mill, he evinced conservative tendencies. On the 2nd of April, the apostle of free trade died, and it may be fairly said that a nation mourned his loss, for even his bitterest opponents mourned over his tomb; and among the eulogies pronounced in parliament over the deceased not the least touching was that of Mr. Disraeli, who said:—"There are some men who, although they are not present, are always members of the house—independent of dissolutions, or of the caprices of constituencies, or the course of time. I think that Mr. Cobden is one of those men. I believe that when the verdict of posterity shall be recorded upon his life and conduct, it will be said of him that he was, without doubt, the greatest politician that the upper-middle class of this country has as yet produced, and that he was not only an ornament to the House of Commons, but an honour to England."

On the 6th of February, parliament was opened by the queen in person, to the great satisfaction of the nation. The great events which occurred in Europe before the year was over become all the more impressive when we see how suddenly they were brought about. The world appeared tolerably calm, and the royal speech bore no trace of diplomatic foresight. It expressed satisfaction at our friendly relations with foreign powers, the close of the civil war in the United States, the renewal of diplomatic relations with Brazil, the outbreak in Jamaica, the commercial treaties entered into with Japan and Austria, the cattle-plague, and the Fenian disturbance in Ireland. On the subject of parliamentary reform, it said:—"I have directed that information should be procured in reference to the right of voting in the election of members to serve in parliament for counties, cities, and boroughs. When that information is complete, the attention of parliament will be called to the result thus obtained, with a view to such improvements in the laws which regulate the right of voting in the election of members of the House of Commons as may tend to strengthen our free institutions and conduce to the public welfare." The address was agreed to without a division in the House of Lords. In the Commons, the O'Donoghue sought to insert a paragraph admitting the obligations which existed to examine into and remove the causes of disaffection in Ireland, but was defeated by three hundred and forty-six to twenty-five votes. The conduct of Governor Eyre in suppressing the Jamaica insurrection and the policy of the government orders on the cattle-plague were discussed at subsequent sittings.

The year 1866 was to witness the abrupt and utter collapse of the pretensions of Austria to lead the German people and the first great step towards the realisation of Count Bismarck's policy to make her an Oriental power, and thrust her back upon the Sclavonic populations out of the Teuton races of Central Europe. The convention of Gastein, by which the plundered provinces of Denmark were divided between Prussia and Austria, did not by any means diminish the jealousy and hatred which existed between the allies. They had united to dismember Denmark; they had come to an agreement for the disposal of their acquisitions; but they felt like Tartar robbers dividing the spoil; each grudged his friend the share he was obliged to part with. Austria sold Lauenburg to Prussia for 2,500,000 thalers. The duchies were to be divided, and Kiel was to be established the harbour for the new German fleet. It would be out of place in a history of England to give an account of the complicated approaches by which the final disrupture was brought about. Prussia accepted the result without absolute confidence, although she was prepared for it; for the king and his ministers, Bismarck and Roon, had wrested out of the hands of parliament any means of controlling their absolute will in putting the army on a war footing. The Prussians were armed with breech-loading rifles, and the Austrian corps, which had served against the Danes, conceived a high idea of their superiority to their own rifle; but their boastful general thought to neutralise its influence by calling on them to use the bayonet. The great weakness of Austria lay in the disaffection of the Hungarians and in the scarcely smothered hostility of the king of Italy. Prussia entered into a secret treaty with the latter, and took steps to stir up insurrection in Hungary. It would be amusing, were it not revolting, to observe the hypocritical devices by which statesmen on both sides sought to throw upon each other the responsibility for the sanguinary war to which they were leading so deftly. Austria and Prussia armed. Each called on the other to disarm. The king of Prussia accepted a proposal to disarm in April. The emperor of Austria expressed his satisfaction, but explained that he was forced to keep up the strength of his troops in Italy, as Victor Emmanuel was preparing for an attack on Venice. Count Bismarck laughed at the excuse, and had the intrepidity to state, in reply, that armaments of a threatening character had not been made in Italy by Victor Emmanuel, and that if there had been, no doubt they would be discontinued as soon as Austria disarmed. He demanded the return of all extra troops to their homes and the reduction of the Austrian army to a garrison and peace footing. On the 5th of May, the Federal Diet voted by ten to five that Prussia should be summoned to give a formal declaration that her intentions were pacific. Two days afterwards the Austrian troops were obliged to retire from Schleswig, which they held in joint occupation with Prussia, before the superior forces of their allies, and they retreated into Holstein, whence Gablenz led them back to Austria in time to take part in the war. Manteuffel proclaimed a Prussian administration in Holstein. The convention of Gastein thus became a piece of torn paper. The Austrians demanded that the diet should mobilise the federal armies. The Prussian representative told the diet that self-preservation was more important than relations with a confederation which did more harm than good to its members. The great powers, of course, suggested a conference, and invited Austria, Prussia, Italy, and the diet to send representatives, to meet at Paris. Austria made one stipulation which caused the project to fail—that the negotiations should exclude any claim to an aggrandisement of territory, and should thus prevent Prussia claiming the duchies. The diet decreed, on the 14th of June, that the federal armies should be mobilised. The hand of Prussia had long been on the hilt of her sword. She drew it at once. The very next day a Prussian army under Prince Frederic Charles invaded the kingdom of Saxony and seized upon Leipzig. Another corps invaded and occupied Hesse-Cassel. The crown prince was already at the head of the army of Silesia, on the eastern flank of Bohemia. Herwarth von Bittenfeld led a corps along the Elbe to cover Prince Frederic Charles. The Austrians, under Benedek, had their head-quarters at Olmütz, and watched the passes of the mountain-chain which separates Bohemia from Silesia, and the Saxon army, which had fallen rapidly back, and had effected its junction with an Austrian corps under Clam-Gallas, faced round and prepared to resist the army of Prince Frederic Charles as it emerged from the passes of the Giant Mountains. The Red Prince, as he is called, moving with commendable rapidity, hastened through the defiles, and on the 28th of June drove the Saxons and Clam-Gallas corps back to Gitschin. The crown prince, at the same time coming from the east, had the good fortune to find the pass of Nachod but weakly occupied, and when Ramming's corps and the Austrian cavalry sought to prevent him debouching into the plain, he gained a considerable success, which much dispirited the Austrians. His first corps, after a severe check from Gablenz, was victorious at Trautenau on the same day; and in two days the two armies, still widely separated, were established in Bohemia, the forces of Benedek being concentrated to oppose the crown prince on the east, and Clam-Gallas and the Saxons being in face of Prince Frederic Charles on the west. On the 29th of June, the obstinacy or stupidity—perhaps both—of an archduke led to a disastrous encounter with the Prussians at Skalitz, close to Josephstadt, where Benedek had his head-quarters. Blow followed blow. The king of Saxony and Clam-Gallas were routed and driven out of Gitschin in full retreat for Königgrätz on the same day, and Benedek had to retire in all haste on the same place, where he prepared, with small confidence, to engage the Red Prince, and prevent, if possible, the junction of the two armies, which were now fast converging. Benedek, indeed, telegraphed to Vienna that the emperor "must make peace." But he threw up some slight earthworks and made some efforts, marred by the demoralisation of his troops and the confusion incident on such repeated retrograde movements, to make the best of a position open on the right to one enemy with a river in the rear, and not at all improved by the inundations around the fortress of Königgrätz. The 1st and 2nd of July were spent in these preparations. On the morning of the 3rd, which was unusually cold, and opened with a storm of rain, the Red Prince attacked the Austrian position in Sadowa and the little villages along the course of the Bistritz rivulet, where they encountered a stiff resistance. The woods and coverts were strongly held, and the Prussians, in spite of their superior armament, could make but little impression, and suffered severe losses. Meanwhile, Herwarth, on the Red Prince's right, had with difficulty forced the Saxons to yield ground and fall back on the Austrian left; but neither he nor Prince Frederic Charles could make any impression on the enemy. Their troops were much disheartened. Their losses were great—their artillery seemed to be overpowered. The king was almost in despair. The last reserves were engaged, and the Austrians were still holding every vital point of their line. It was when it had nigh come to desperate cavalry charging, and when Bismarck was thinking of discovering a solution of his difficulties, sword in hand, among the ranks of the Austrians, that a sound rising in the distance above the roar of battle quickened every pulse, and gave hope to the discouraged Prussians. It was the thunder of the crown prince's cannon. He had marched on almost unchecked till he came on the rear of the weak right flank of the Austrians, and occupying, with slight resistance, at first the houses and orchards of a small hamlet called Chlum, in the centre of the position and rear of many of the epaulements, was enabled there to hold his own against all the efforts of the startled Austrians. Thus assailed and weakened, their right driven in, their left overlapped by the Prussians of Herwarth, their centre assailed with renewed spirit, and the villages and woods in their right front carried by the enemy, a retreat was inevitable, and that retreat was only saved from degenerating into a ruinous rout by the devotion, to which no pen has yet done justice, of the Austrian heavy cavalry, which charged the Prussians with magnificent *élan*, and quite paralysed the horse which was hereafter to acquire such a reputation. The Austrians escaped over the bridges of the Elbe, and fell back in disorder on Olmütz, and the Prussians remained on the blood-stained field of Königgrätz. This was one of the greatest battles in the world. Nearly 500,000 men were engaged in it, if we count the outlying troops and detachments, and 43,000 men actually in line. The Prussians lost 359 officers and 8794 men; the Austrians and Saxons 1147 officers and 30,224 men. The news produced an astounding sensation all over Europe. Its effects were beyond calculation, and the development of that day's work is still going on. Austria at once ceded Venetia to France, but the Italians were to have the emptiness of the boast that "Italia fara da se," and to endure the humiliation of defeat by land and sea at the hand of the enemy so humbled by their ally. The king proclaimed war on the 20th of June. On the 23rd he crossed the Mincio with 85,000 men, and invaded Austrian territory, with the design of separating the fortresses of Peschiera, Verona, and Mantua, and take up a strong position between Villafranca and Somma Campagna. The veteran Archduke Albrecht, who commanded an army far inferior in numbers, took ground on a line of hills and ridges which the Italians were obliged to attack. Their defensive was soon converted into an offensive attitude, which they eventually abandoned after a combat which lasted for eight hours, almost interrupted at one time by the excessive heat; and at seven o'clock the Italians were in full retreat for the Mincio, abandoning the field of Custozza with the loss of 720 killed, 3112 wounded, and 43,335 prisoners and missing.

Garibaldi, who thought of invading the Trentino, was beaten and escaped with difficulty from General Kuhn. On the 20th of July, there took place, off Lissa, in the Adriatic, a naval engagement, in which the Austrian fleet—seven ironclads, six frigates, one line-of-battle ship, nine gunboats, and three paddle steamers—in all twenty-six sail, under Admiral Tegethoff, defeated the Italian fleet under Admiral Persano. The latter was more numerous, and consisted of eleven ironclads, a steam-ram, the *Affondatore*, on board of which the admiral hoisted his flag, and a line-of-battle ship. The engagement lasted two hours. The *Palestro* was blown up, with all on board, when approaching to assist the *Re d' Italia*, then hard pressed by the Austrian ironclads, and the Italian fleet finally returned to port and left the Austrians triumphant.

On the surrender of Venetia, the emperor of the French proposed an armistice and mediation to Prussia. Her forces had overrun Hanover after the capitulation of the army at Langensalza, where the Hanoverians, however, previously inflicted a severe check on the Prussians under Falkenstein on the 27th of June. The Prussians defeated the Bavarians at Fulda, Meiningen, Brückenau, and Repingen, and were now covering Mayence, and they held Saxony, Bohemia, and Moravia. Prussia, indeed, might have been loth to make peace, but the mediation of France could not well be refused; and preliminaries of peace were agreed to at Nikolsburg, on the 26th of July, just four days after the battle of Presburg, on the Danube. The treaty of Prague was signed on the 23rd of August. The terms were severe. Austria consented to the dissolution of the Bund and to a new Germany, in which she should have no part. The states north of the Main were Prussianised, and the states to the south were to form a union sure to gravitate in the same way. Holstein and Schleswig were surrendered with the understanding that the northern Schleswigers should be united to Denmark if they expressed a wish to do so. By article ii. the emperor engaged to pay forty million Prussian thalers, subject to a deduction to be made for the war costs in Schleswig, and to provision the Prussian army until the conclusion of peace. These successes were viewed with an evil eye by France, and it was vain for the emperor to affect to undervalue their importance and to extenuate their influence. On the 16th of September, an imperial manifesto, signed by M. Lavalette, explained the language the diplomatic agents were to hold. "From the elevated point of view from which the imperial government regards the destinies of Europe, the horizon appears to be cleared of all menacing eventualities; formidable problems, which ought to have been resolved because they could not be evaded, pressed upon the destinies of the people; they might have been imposed at a more inopportune period; they have received their natural solution without too violent shocks, and without the dangerous cooperation of revolutionary passions. A peace which reposes upon such basis will be a durable peace. As to France, in whatever direction she looks, she can perceive nothing which can impede her progress or interrupt her prosperity. Preserving friendly relations with all powers, directed by a policy which has generosity and moderation for its strength, relying upon her imposing unity; with all her extended genius, her treasures, and her credit, which fertilise Europe; with her developed military forces, surrounded henceforth by independent nations, she will appear not less great, she will remain not less respected."

On the 5th of February, parliament was opened by her Majesty in person once more, and the appearance of the queen in public gave general satisfaction and pleasure. The royal speech, which was read by the lord chancellor, called attention to the question of the representation of the people, and expressed a trust that their deliberations in parliament, conducted in a spirit of mutual forbearance, would lead to the adoption of a measure which, without disturbing unduly the balance of political power, would extend the electoral franchise. A programme relating to the amendment of the Factories Act, the mercantile marine, embarrassed railway companies, metropolitan poor, bankruptcy, &c. was laid before the house; but the most important point in the speech related to the Alabama claims, which again cropped up. Earl Russell accused the government of having met by underhand methods and factious combination on the part of those who would combine for nothing else the Reform Bill of the previous year, for which Lord Derby had promised fair play; the address was carried without amendment in both houses. On the 11th, Mr. Disraeli in a long and able speech, moved that the house should resolve itself into committee, to take into consideration the 2nd and 3rd William IV. chap. 45, commonly called the Reform Act, and unfolded the scheme which he submitted in the form of resolutions to the house on the 25th of February. The reforms he proposed were large. First was that the franchise should be reduced to 6*l.* rating in boroughs, and to 20*l.* in counties; that the suffrage should be extended to persons having 50*l.* in the funds or 30*l.* in a savings-bank for a year, or paying direct taxes to the amount of 20*s.* a year, as well as to those who possessed university degrees, were members of a learned profession, clergymen, ministers of religion, or certificated schoolmasters. He further proposed that twenty-three boroughs with less than 7000 inhabitants each were to be reduced to one member, and that four boroughs — Yarmouth, Reigate, Lancaster, and Totnes — be disfranchised for bribery; that in lieu of those twenty-seven seats thus vacated, Hartlepool, Darlington, Burnley, Stalybridge, St. Helens, Dewsbury, Barnsley, Middlesbrough, Croydon, Gravesend, and Torquay should be created boroughs, returning one member each; that North Lancashire, North Lincolnshire, West Kent, East Surrey, Middlesex, South Staffordshire, and South Devon, should have two members, and the university of London one. South Lancashire was to be divided, and to have one additional member. There would be an addition of 212,000 voters to the borough and of 206,300 to the county constituencies. The opposition showed their dislike to the new measure by a great variety of objections, and it may be readily conceived the conservatives were rather averse to such large and various changes on the franchise. Mr. Lowe called for a plain, simple bill instead of resolutions. Mr. Gladstone demanded an explicit statement, and in definite form, of the resolutions themselves. Next day, a meeting of two hundred and ninety members of the opposition was held at Mr. Gladstone's, when it was resolved that the government resolutions should not be opposed till they were definitely embodied in a bill, but that unless that were done, they should meet with a vigorous resistance. Such a demonstration was not to be withstood, and accordingly, on the following evening, Mr. Disraeli announced that the government had abandoned the idea of proceeding by resolutions, and that they would introduce a bill on the 7th of March. In the framing of this measure, however, the more conservative members of the cabinet encountered difficulties which their consciences, past career, and pledges could not permit them to ignore. Three of the ministers, General Peel, war secretary; Lord Carnarvon, secretary for the colonies; and Lord Cranborne, the secretary for India, resigned: these resignations led to debates and explanations in both houses, and gave a severe blow to the government. A schism was made in the ranks of the conservative party. Lord Carnarvon was of opinion that the effect of the new bill was to make an entire transfer of political power to the hands of the lower orders in five-sixths of the boroughs. Lord Stanley repudiated the idea that they were going to bring in any measure of a more democratic character than the opposition would have brought in had they been in power, and disavowed the intention of proposing a measure in accordance with the views of Mr. Bright. The bill which the chancellor of the exchequer laid before the House of Commons on the 18th of March provided, together with certain large extensions of the franchise already enumerated, that those who paid 20*s.* in direct taxes in boroughs should possess the franchise, and that rated householders should have a second vote. These were extensions which Mr. Gladstone, however, considered inadequate; and he particularly opposed the bill because it did not give a larger franchise, and did not provide against the traffic in votes, which would infallibly arise in a large scheme affecting the lowest class of householders. He objected to the vexatious distinctions between compound householders and direct ratepayers, the tax-paying franchise, the dual vote, the inadequacy of the redistribution scheme, the high figure of the county franchise, the use of voting papers, and the fancy or special franchises, and denounced them as illusions and frauds. Mr. Bright declared that the Reform Bill bore on its face marks of deception, and that it would cheat the great body of the people of the possession of power in the House of Commons, on which they had set their hearts. Mr. Disraeli, in a powerful speech, declared that he only desired to bring the question of parliamentary reform to a satisfactory settlement. The bill was read a second time without a division on the 26th of March; but a resolution was framed at another meeting of liberal members at Mr. Gladstone's house on the 5th of April, to be brought forward by Mr. Coleridge in committee, which was intended to give a death-blow to the government. It was, "That it be an instruction to the committee that they have power to alter the law of rating, and to provide that in every parliamentary borough the occupiers of tenements below a given ratepayers' value be relieved from the liability of personal rating, with a view of fixing a line in the borough franchise at which all occupiers should be entered on the rate-books, and should have equal facilities for the enjoyment of such franchise as the residential occupation franchise;" whereupon there was much dissatisfaction expressed by a section of Mr. Gladstone's followers, and a few days afterwards the "Tea-Room Party," as it was called, consisting of nearly fifty liberal members, met in that apartment in the House of Commons to express their objection to the policy of binding the house by instructions to committee, but at the same time they informed Mr. Gladstone that they would support his opposition to the measure. Mr. Gladstone was obliged to yield to this mutiny. The whole proceeding, in some measure, justified Mr. Disraeli's statement to the Constitutional Working Men's Association—that the instructions emanated from the most factious party tactics, and were devised to strike at the very root of the bill. When the discussion was opened in the House of Commons on the 8th of April, Mr. Coleridge withdrew his motion. Mr. Disraeli declared the government had all along presumed that the committee would have power to alter the rating; but Mr. Gladstone prepared another set of resolutions, which were but the relinquished instructions in another form, and Mr. Disraeli informed his followers that if they were adopted, the government must drop the bill. On the 11th of April, arose the great debate on the bill in committee. Mr. Gladstone led the opposition. Some excitement was created by the discovery that Mr. Dillwyn, a liberal, on behalf of several members on the same side, had come to an understanding with Colonel Taylor, the government whip, respecting an amendment of Mr. Hibbert's, that the compound householder should be registered if he tendered the amount of his composition rate. The government proposed that any person who was for two years an inhabitant, occupier, or owner of a tenement or any dwelling-house within a borough should have a vote, to which Mr. Gladstone added, "whether he be the person, or his landlord, rated to the relief of the poor, and had been for twelve months the occupier of any house, shop, or other building, separately or jointly, within such borough, occupied by him as owner, or occupied by him as tenant under the same landlord." The government proposed that any person who had been rated in respect of the premises so occupied should have paid poor rates before the 20th of July in the same year which had become due up to the preceding 5th of January; and Mr. Gladstone proposed that the premises must be of the yearly value of 5*l.* or upwards, and that the occupier must reside in the borough, or within seven statute miles of it, for six months immediately preceding the last day of July.

The debates were protracted over two nights, and were distinguished by the exceeding fierceness of the speeches of some of the conservatives. The liberals argued that the government virtually fined compound householders below the 10*l.* rental, and resisted the distinction clauses very strenuously; but, in a house of five hundred and ninety-nine members, government had a majority of twenty-one over the opposition. This was a great blow to Mr. Gladstone as the leader of the liberal party, and, after the adjournment over Easter, in reply to Mr. Crawford, he wrote that the gentlemen of liberal opinions whose convictions led them to act unitedly on the Reform Bill were not a majority, but a minority, of the House of Commons, and had not the power they were supposed to possess of limiting and directing the action of the administration. He felt that prudence required him to withdraw from his attempts to assume the initiative in amending a measure which could not be effectually amended except by the reversal of the vote of the house, and that he would not proceed with the amendments in his name, but would gladly accompany others in voting against any attempt to limit the franchise and to approve the bill. There was a great Reform demonstration at Birmingham. Mr. Bright denounced the bill, and declared that from the preamble to the last word there was not a single proposal of any real, earnest, or intelligible reform he could assent to. He pronounced also a high eulogium on Mr. Gladstone, and declared it was deplorable that some forty professed liberals had last year destroyed the honest and acceptable bill of the late government, and that a very small number of men, who had during their whole political lives never advanced reform by a hair's breadth, could in critical times throw themselves athwart the objects of a great party and mar a grand measure, just as a costermonger and his donkey might bring to total destruction an express train by crossing the line; and considerable dissatisfaction was expressed by the liberal constituencies throughout the country generally at the defection of their members. The agitation increased, and at last became almost dangerous to the peace of the country, or certainly to that of the capital. A great meeting of the Reform League was announced to take place in Hyde Park upon the 6th of May; and six days earlier a proclamation was issued from the Home Office, warning and admonishing all the people to abstain from attending it, on the ground that the park was royal property, and that the public had no right to hold meetings there. The league issued a counter proclamation in the evening, calling on the people to assert their right to the parks; and at a meeting of the league it was resolved that they should attend the meeting, and that the consequences of endeavouring to prevent it must rest on those who were wicked enough to take that course. The home office was at that moment in the hands of Mr. Walpole, a gentleman of the very highest character, but destitute of firmness, and utterly unfit to deal with the leaders of the popular movement, the foremost of whom was Mr. Beales, a member of the bar. The law officers of the crown gave their opinion that the right of assembling in the parks did not exist, and that no meeting could be held there unless by the express sanction of the queen; in other words, that the parks were the private property of the crown; but the means of enforcing the power of the crown did not appear to exist. When it was announced that the league intended to hold their meeting in spite of the home office, Mr. Walpole became much alarmed, and, on the 3rd of May, he moved for leave to bring in a bill providing that no public meeting should take place in any of the royal parks without permission of the queen, and that any one convening or assisting at such a meeting should be liable to a penalty of 10*l.* fine and two months' imprisonment. At an interview with the leaguers, Mr. Walpole was moved to tears, and no doubt he felt acutely the want of any determined policy on the part of the government in reference to such an important question, but he certainly showed that he was quite incapable of dealing with it himself. The weakness and vacillation displayed by the home office encouraged the leaguers, but caused great discontent amongst the supporters of the government. Lord Derby endeavoured to allay the excitement and dissatisfaction of his party by a full defence of Mr. Walpole, and declared that the government could not put down the meeting by force, although there were complete preparations for preserving the peace. Special constables were sworn in, the guards were held in readiness, and measures were taken to support them by other troops, if needed; but the demonstration passed off with the most perfect order. Ten orators at a time were too much for any multitude, and the counter attractions at each platform broke up the masses of the meeting, so that, indeed, the gathering was considered flat by those who love excitement, and was described "as orderly as a May meeting in Exeter Hall." Mr. Walpole resigned his office, and was succeeded by Mr. Gathorne Hardy, but the right of what is called "the people" to hold meetings in the parks may be considered as established. The Reform agitation went on with increased vigour. When the debate on the bill was renewed, the government sustained a defeat on an amendment of Mr. Ayrton, that the period of residence in boroughs at rentals below 10*l.* should be one year instead of two, and Mr. Disraeli's ministry accepted the alteration. They also consented to the proposal that the whole amount of rate paid by the tenant should be deducted from the landlord's rent, and intimated that they would not object to a properly-regulated lodger franchise. Still Mr. Gladstone was anything but satisfied with the measure, and charged the government with fraud and dissimulation in the preparation of what he called ironically "The Ten Minutes' Bill." Mr. Disraeli obliged Mr. Gladstone to withdraw these words, but not without difficulty. The charge was repeated by the ex-leader of the opposition in another form, when he said that it had been adjusted to give the appearance of an extension of the franchise, whilst care was taken that it should do nothing of the kind. Mr. Disraeli resented this with his usual power of sarcastic reply. "I prefer," said he, "the denunciations of Torquemada to the interpretation of Loyala; I prefer to meet a clear charge of fraud and dissimulation to being told that we are guilty of conduct unworthy of public men." The condemnations of Mr. Gladstone were couched in the most acrimonious language. To a great deputation from several reform associations which went up to him, as still leader of the liberal party, he spoke of the bill as containing "absurd, preposterous, and mischievous distinctions, which he totally disowned and rejected, and to which he would oppose unqualified and unhesitating opposition." Those expressions and similar heated utterances showed that Mr. Gladstone had forgotten the calm dignity of a statesman under the influence of political excitement, and they afforded Mr. Disraeli an opportunity of paying him a doubtful compliment when, speaking of the "spouters of stale sedition and obsolete incendiarism" who had come forward to pay their homage to one who must always be an ornament to the house, he asked

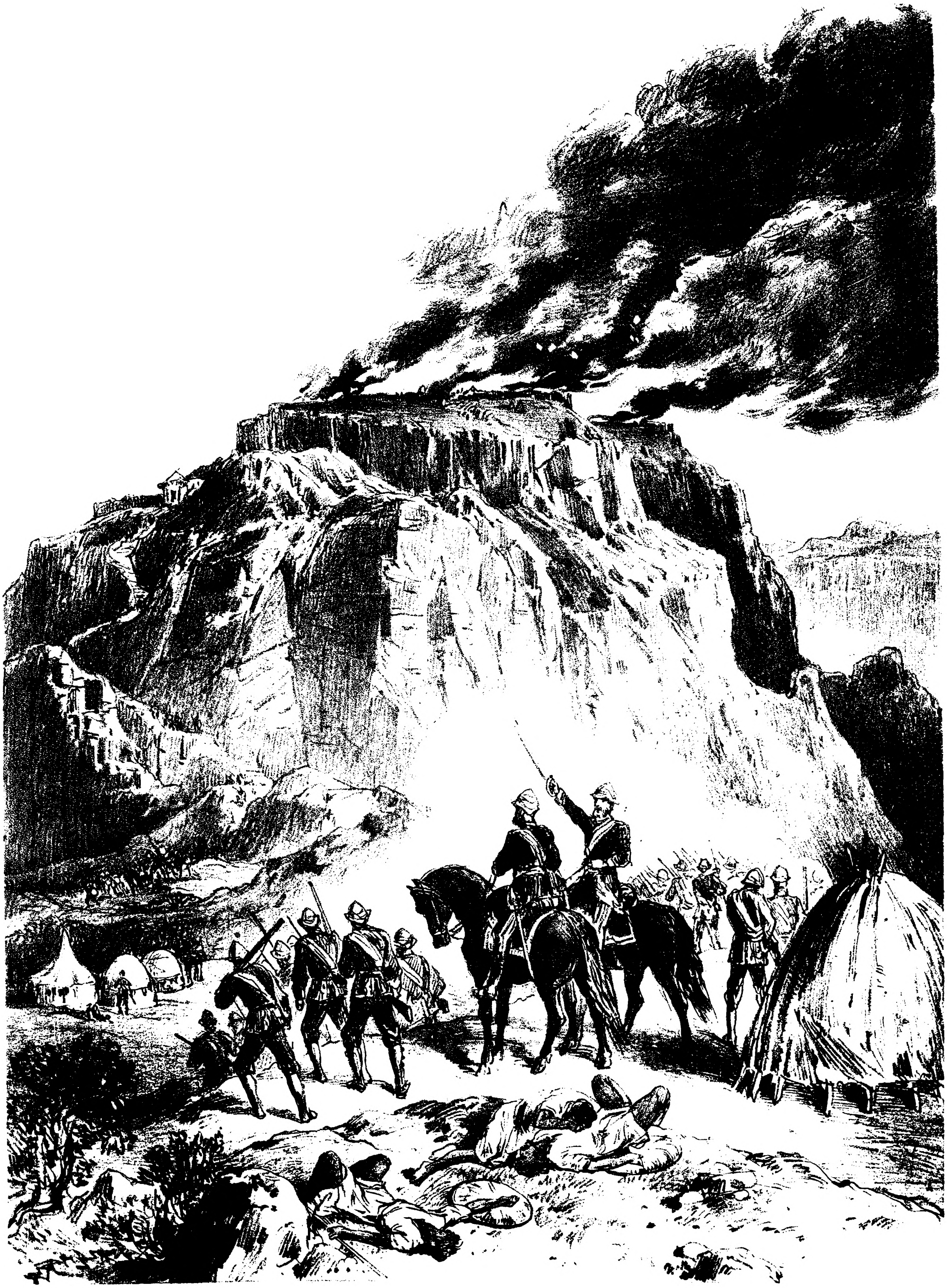
> "Who would not smile if such a man there be,
> Who would not weep if Atticus were he?"

The Scotch Reform Bill was introduced while the English measure was under discussion. The liberals in the house, left without a leader since Mr. Gladstone abandoned them, could scarcely make vigorous resistance to a measure they disapproved, and the government carried, by three hundred and twenty-two votes to two hundred and fifty-six, the proposal that the occupant of premises claiming to vote must have been rated as the ordinary occupier in respect of his premises. After most mystifying and protracted debates the compound householder was disposed of on a motion of Mr. Hodgkinson that no person other than an occupier should be rated to parochial rates in respect to premises occupied by him within the limits of the parliamentary borough; and an attempt of Mr. Mill to bestow the franchise on women was defeated by a majority of one hundred and ninety-six to seventy-three; and copyholders of the annual value of 5*l.* were enfranchised; the county occupation was fixed at 12*l.* as a mean between 10*l.* and 15*l.*, to be either house and land or house or land. But the government withdrew the proposal to give a vote to educational or pecuniary qualifications and the dual vote clause; and on the 30th of May, after a very severe party conflict, the house was landed in the consideration of the disfranchisement clauses. They were defeated on the proposal of Mr. Laing to fix the minimum of constituencies at ten thousand; and of the additional seats thus placed at the disposal of the House, they proposed to give twenty to counties and nineteen to boroughs, and one to the universities of London and of Durham, but Durham was rejected. Every member who had a fancy, or a freak, or an idea, had amendments or proposals on the notice paper of the House of Commons, which was swelled to the dimensions of a bluebook; but amongst the most important was one of Mr. Horsfall's, to give a third member to Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, accepted, and Leeds added by the government. Mr. Lowe's proposal to give cumulative votes to places returning three members was rejected; and Mr. Hibbert's clause, making it illegal to pay the expenses of voters going to the polls, was accepted; and, with much hammering and tinkering, the measure, at last shaped in such a way that its makers could scarcely recognise it, came up for a third reading on the 15th of July. Mr. Lowe was conspicuous for the energy and, indeed, bitterness of his opposition. He sneered exceedingly and effectively at the rash extensions of the franchise, and said it would be very desirable for them to set about teaching their future masters their letters. He expressed a hope that some man might rise to set forth in words that could not die the shame and rage, the scorn, indignation, and despair with which the measure was viewed by every Englishman who was not a slave to the trammels of party, and who was not dazzled by the glare of a temporary and ignoble success. Mr. Disraeli asked him what he thought of his own conduct who had assisted to turn out the government of Lord Derby, in 1859, because they would not reduce the borough franchise, and accepted office in 1860, under Lord Palmerston, who brought forward a measure of reform of which Mr. Lowe disapproved, and which he invited his political opponents to defeat. The bill was read a first time in the House of Lords on the 16th of July, and, on the 22nd, Lord Derby moved the second reading in one of his happiest efforts, recommending it as at once large, conservative, and offering a prospect of a settlement of a question which must, unsettled, obstruct legislation and cause perpetual agitation. But although the effort was happy in his exposition of the bill, it was thought, by those conversant with the impetuous and eager manner of the noble lord, that he did not throw his accustomed spirit and energy into the heated debate which followed. Lord Carnarvon, in expressing his dislike and opposition, attacked his late colleague and leader, Mr. Disraeli, for his conduct in 1846–47, when he drove the iron of his sarcasm into the soul of Sir Robert Peel; but his disclaimer of personal feelings in making that allusion exposed him to the happy retort of Lord Derby, who said that it reminded him of the barrister who, addressing the court, said, "Now, my lord, I have got an argument which I will not mention, and it is this, and quoted the words of the Psalmist, 'Let the righteous smite me, it shall be a kindness, and let him reprove me.' However, I thank my stars," he said, "that, after such an exhibition of his friendship, I am not likewise to incur his hostility." The debates in the House of Lords on the measure lasted long, and raised difficult and intricate questions, the general scope being to raise the franchise and to curtail the government suffrage. One, that no one should be allowed to vote who could not write legibly; and then, that no person should vote for more than two candidates except in the City of London, when three might be voted for, was carried; and an important addition of the Marquis of Salisbury, the use of voting papers, was added to the bill by a majority of one hundred and fourteen to thirty-six; and the lodger qualification, which had been raised to 15*l.*, was restored to 10*l.*, on the motion of Earl Russell. Although the extensions thus given seemed to be of a character to conciliate the goodwill of the people, there was great dissatisfaction, especially at the alterations made in the House of Lords. Lord Derby himself described the measure as a great experiment, and admitted they were taking a leap in the dark; but Mr. Bright, who had never ceased to agitate against the measure, declared he condemned and repudiated it from beginning to end, and characterised the alterations introduced in the House of Lords as the "spawn of feeble minds." When these alterations came up for consideration, the Commons generally adhered to the clauses in their original form. They rejected the voting papers, and a committee was appointed to confer with the Lords on the question; and finally the bill was read a third time and became the law of the land. This was the great feature of the session, but there were many burning questions more or less in a state of incalescence or flagrant development. The proceedings in Jamaica, which have already been alluded to, and the acts of the governor had created strong feelings and divided large sections of public opinion.

The startling impetus given to the Fenian movement caused profound sensation and alarm in the metropolis and throughout the kingdom. On the 13th of February a serious attempt at a rising took place near Killarney, Kerry. Eight hundred men, under one Moriarty, attacked a coast-guard station and shot a policeman, and at the same time a well-conceived plan was organised for attacking Chester Castle, and seizing the arms that were stored there, an attempt which might easily have succeeded, had it not been for private information of the plot, and the prompt action of the authorities upon it. An officer of the American army, holding a commission in the Fenian forces, revealed the scheme to the authorities at Liverpool. On the day fixed for the attempt, the 11th of February, about one thousand four hundred Fenians entered the city in detachments. But five hundred special constables had been sworn in, and a company of the 54th regiment arrived; but the situation was still most critical, when a battalion of the Scots Fusilier Guards, despatched in all haste, came by train from London, and the Fenians sounded a retreat. In an hour they had all departed as quietly as they had arrived, and the castle was saved. But the conspiracy had deep roots. They were hidden far away across the Atlantic, but the branches spread wide in Ireland and in the great towns of England, where there was a large Irish population. The evidence of the danger alarmed the government. Once more the House of Commons was called on to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, and the measure was followed by renewed disturbances in Leinster and Munster which almost assumed the character of a rebellion. On the 5th of March armed bands from Dublin attacked the police barracks at Tallaght. They were repulsed, and one of the insurgents was shot; but at Glencullen they succeeded in capturing the police force and a number of weapons. The constables were released after a short detention, and the Fenians marched with the arms and ammunition towards Kilakee, but they were soon broken up. At Drogheda and Thurles the telegraph wires were cut and the railway torn up. At Kilmallock there was a smart encounter between the Fenians and the constabulary, three of the former were killed, and fourteen taken prisoners. Dermore police barracks were burnt down, a coastguard station near Kilrush plundered; the mail train from Cork to Dublin was sent off the rails; but no disaster ensued. The police station at Burnfoot, between Blarney and Mallow, was sacked and burnt, the constables surrendering, narrowly escaping being burnt to death. The insurgents seemed to have had the intention of concentrating at the Mallow junction, but the rapid movement of troops defeated the design, and they withdrew in the direction of the Toomes mountains, whence they dispersed. On the 18th of September, an audacious attempt was made in Manchester to rescue two Fenian prisoners, an attempt which resulted in the murder of a chief constable of police, and the execution of three of the ringleaders. The prisoners in question, Colonel Kelly and Captain Deasy, had been arrested under the Vagrant Act, and were being conveyed, with others, in the prison van to the Marshalsea, when it was suddenly attacked, the horses shot, and the doors broken open. The prisoners, who sat in the interior, guarded by chief constable Brett, could not be liberated, as he refused to give up the keys of the inner compartment; on his persisting in his refusal, a man named Allen, who led the attack, drew a pistol, and, firing point-blank, shot him dead. A special commission was immediately issued; twelve prisoners were found guilty, and three, Allen, Larkin, and Gould, were executed on the 23rd of November.

On the 13th of December a still more daring attempt was made to effect the liberation of Fenian prisoners, Burke and Casey, by blowing up the House of Detention at Clerkenwell. A large barrel of powder was placed beside the wall, into which a man was observed to thrust a lighted fuze, and then run away; in a few moments the explosion took place with terrific effect, a large breach was made in the prison wall, several houses opposite it were dismantled, and about forty persons seriously injured. The attempt was frustrated, owing to private information given to the governor of the prison, which caused him to alter the hour for exercising the men. A man, named Michael Barrett, was subsequently hanged for this outrage. These outrages and others, traced to Fenians, filled the city with alarm, and every conceivable precaution was adopted.

On the 6th of July the viceroy of Egypt arrived in London, and was splendidly entertained. The



THE DESTRUCTION OF MAGDALA.

festivities were, however, altogether eclipsed by those which took place on the arrival of the sultan, the most striking of which was the grand naval review, given by the queen at Spithead. This was the first visit of the father of the faithful to England, and occupied ten days, his arrival taking place on the 12th of July, and his departure from Buckingham Palace on the 23rd.

The Abyssinian war, in which we found ourselves suddenly involved, was one of those conflicts in which the carelessness of public officers at home and the recklessness of officials abroad suddenly involved the empire. Few persons had ever thought there was such an empire as Abyssinia; still fewer had ever heard of the Emperor Theodore, when all of a sudden Great Britain is surprised to learn that it is necessary to fit out an expedition to invade a remote dominion difficult of access, in order to protect the British flag from dishonour, and rescue British subjects from captivity. Parliament was called together on the 19th of November to sanction the expedition which was rendered necessary for this purpose, and debates, in which the government policy was somewhat severely treated, enlightened the nation a little as to the direct causes of the war, but concealed the negligence at the Foreign Office which was its main cause. Theodore, the emperor of Abyssinia, a man of remarkable energy of character, proud and barbarous, had been subjected, as he conceived, to direct insult in the treatment of a letter which he had written to the queen, and which had been allowed to remain unnoticed in a crypt of the Foreign Office. He had seized upon the English consul at Massowah, and several other subjects of this and of other countries, to the number of thirty-five in all. An ultimatum, threatening him with vengeance and armed force if he did not surrender his prisoners and make reparation, was treated by the Abyssinian potentate with haughty insolence. To us at home, a penny additional to the income tax represented the inconveniences of the war; but the people of Hindostan, who had nothing at all to do with it, except in so far as they were our fellow subjects, were saddled with the payment of the Indian troops to be engaged in the expedition, by a large majority of the House of Commons; but without any attempt whatever to take their own judgment upon the point. The government, however, decided upon making Bombay the base of operations, and gave the control and responsibility to the Indian government. An officer of Indian engineers, who was distinguished in the operations against the rebels in India during the mutiny, Sir R. Napier, was chosen to command the force, with a wholesome disregard of the traditions of our service, and neither the War Office nor the Horse Guards played any important part in the direction of the campaign. The expenditure was lavish. A fleet of transports was engaged at great cost. Elephants were despatched across the seas to the shores of Africa to co-operate with the railway in the transport of the stores; and the harbour of Massowah soon presented a scene of extraordinary activity, as the troops landed and, encamping there, remained preparing for the march into the interior of the country where Theodore was awaiting them; no attempt to interfere with the troops was made by the enemy. And having completed all his arrangements, Sir R. Napier landed in Annesley Bay on the 4th of January 1868, and at once proceeded towards the front. The country presented great difficulties, but on the 14th of February our advanced guard reached Antillo. Prince Kassai of Tigrè, a chief and rival of Theodore's, promised his assistance; and the force proceeded as fast as it could to strike a blow at Magdala, the capital of Theodore, to which the emperor himself was hastening also, so that the two armies were racing, so to speak, to the same point. The Abyssinians, however, succeeded in reaching it a short time before the British columns had cleared the passes. On the 1st of April, Napier had reached a point thirty miles from Magdala. The situation was now exceedingly perplexing, for if one of the objects to be gained by the expedition was the safety of the prisoners, there was reason to apprehend it would be frustrated by their execution. A few days afterwards, as the British were advancing, in a very difficult country, they were attacked with considerable energy by the Abyssinians commanded by Theodore. The fire of breech-loading rifles and of rifled ordnance conveyed to the enemy very speedily the unpleasant conviction that they were in face of their masters; and after some energetic but abortive charges, they turned and fled. Theodore sent for two of his prisoners, Lieutenant Brado and Mr. Flad, to go to the British camp and obtain terms. "I thought before this," said he, "I was a strong man; I now discover that there are stronger." Napier's reply left him no hope. All he was promised was honourable treatment if he submitted, and brought his prisoners to the camp. Theodore declined to surrender, and sent back the same envoys with a refusal; but as they were returning, in fulfilment of their words of honour, they were astonished to meet the whole of the prisoners, who, in some moment of caprice, generosity, or fear, Theodore had suddenly released and sent, with a present of one thousand cows and five hundred sheep, to Napier, who, however, refused to receive them, as he had not surrendered. The explanation given of this act by Theodore, in a letter to Napier, makes one think that his reason was unhinged, for he says after the battle, when he saw his people would not fight, Satan came to him and tempted him to kill himself, but that the pistol would not go off, and God having signified that he should not die, he had released the prisoners. On the 13th, Napier attacked the emperor, who had taken post on the formidable heights of Magdala. Covered by their guns, which opened a vigorous but apparently not very potent fire upon the gates of the place, the 33rd, headed by sappers, under the command of Sir C. Staveley, forced their way to the gates, meeting some resistance, which caused them the loss of nine officers and men wounded, but the moment the British had turned the defence, all resistance ceased, and the dead body of Theodore, who died by his own hand, was recognised in the front of those who had fallen. The fortunate conclusion of the campaign gave great satisfaction to the country, because there had not been wanting prophets of evil, who declared that it would cost us great loss, trouble, and probably disaster. The reputation of our arms was enhanced among those states which fancied that public spirit had died out in England, and that the love of gold had eradicated the energetic spirit to which Lord Palmerston had given utterance in his *civis Romanus sum* speech, while the military ability and completeness which characterised the operations of the expedition itself were commended by the military officers representing foreign powers—France, Prussia, and Austria—who were permitted to accompany the head-quarters. Napier was raised to the peerage as Lord Napier of Magdala; the thanks of parliament were voted to the army; and promotion largely awarded to the officers.

While we were thus vindicating the honour of our flag in western Africa, the Russians were making steady progress in Central Asia. On the 22nd of May, General Kauffmann defeated the ameer of Bokhara at Samarcand, which surrendered, and thus established themselves in an important position north of the Himalaya passes.

Immediately on the reassembling of parliament, which took place on the 13th of February, the Earl of Mayo obtained leave to bring in a bill to continue the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland for another year. This measure was rendered absolutely necessary, owing to the disturbed state of the country and the increased number of arrests that had been made under warrants signed by the lord lieutenant. Several members, however, expressed their regret that it had not been preceded by remedial measures.

The continued illness of Lord Derby, which caused much excitement in political circles, prepared the public for his resignation, which fact was announced by the Earl of Malmesbury and Lord Stanley on the 25th of February. The premiership was immediately offered to and accepted by Mr. Disraeli, who, in his address to his supporters in Downing Street, alluded to the loss the conservative party, and he personally, had sustained by Lord Derby's retirement. He was, however, able to assure them that they would still have the benefit of the noble lord's direction and counsel. On the 5th of March the new ministry took their seats, the greatest anxiety being evinced to hear the premier's declaration of policy. Having paid a tribute to the great merits of the retiring premier, Mr. Disraeli observed that, with regard to the foreign policy of the present administration, it would follow the course which had been pursued with the approbation of parliament and the confidence of Europe. That policy was one of peace—not peace at any price for the mere interests of England—but a policy of peace from the conviction that such was for the general interests of the world. That policy was not to be secured by selfish isolation; but, on the contrary, by sympathy with other countries, not only in their prosperity, but in their adversity. With regard to the domestic policy of the administration, it should be a truly liberal policy, one that would not shrink from any changes that might be required by the wants of the [illegible] but one which at the same time would never forget that England is an ancient and historic country, rich in traditionary influences, which are the best security for order and liberty, and the most valuable element of our national character and our national strength.

Early in the session the condition of Ireland became the subject of debate in both houses, the chief interest in its discussion being Lord Mayo's declaration of the intended Irish policy of the government. In this declaration he stated the intended appointment of a commission to inquire into the relations between landlord and tenant; also that the question of the general education of the people was under the consideration of a commission, and that, with regard to the universities, government proposed to leave Trinity and Queen's Colleges as they were, and to grant a charter to a Roman Catholic university. As regarded the Irish Church, it was not proposed to take any steps during the present session, nor to legislate on it until the result of an inquiry then pending had been ascertained. If the Irish Church were to fall, it would only be after a fierce and protracted struggle, and would inflict incalculable injury on the country. This debate, which originated in a motion made by Mr. Maguire for a committee to take into consideration the condition of Ireland, lasted for four nights, during which Mr. Bright spoke with powerful effect against the ministerial proposals, charging the premier with proposing to found a university for the sons of the Catholic gentlemen of Ireland. Mr. Disraeli, in reply, protested against this assumption, that the government intended to ask the house to endow and charter a Roman Catholic university; all they intended was to ask it to pay the same expenses as they did in the London University. In conclusion, Mr. Disraeli said, "It strikes me as a general principle that our mission shall be to create, not to destroy. If the church in Ireland be violently abolished, I should say you would add immensely to the elements of discord, violence, and confiscation." At the conclusion of the debate, Mr. Maguire withdrew his motion.

Mr. Gladstone, now the admitted leader of the liberal party, immediately commenced active warfare, in which he announced distinctly as the cardinal point of the policy of his party the disendowment of the Irish Church, while disclaiming altogether any intention of attacking the Church of England. A religious establishment ministering only to a handful of the people was monstrous and unnatural; it ought to cease to exist; but in many parts of England the church was the sole and in other parts the principal religious agency. The great difference between the two was, that the Church of Ireland established by law neither did nor could do the work of an establishment; but the Church of England established by law in most parts of the country did the sole and in many other parts the chief part of the work of an establishment. He also attacked with energy the financial policy of the government, and accused them of extravagance, and of a heedless increase of expenditure, exclusive of that for the Abyssinian war, which he could not well attribute to a conservative administration. Notwithstanding the promise in the queen's speech, some time elapsed before the dissolution was announced; and the interval was employed by the leaders on both sides in vigorous attempts to strengthen their position before the country; Mr. Disraeli meeting the announcement of Mr. Gladstone's policy by an awful warning to the electors of Buckingham against the dangers of spoliation. The ultimate triumph, he predicted, would be of the power that was substituted for the authority of the sovereign, the supremacy of a foreign prince. Addresses and counter addresses were showered upon the heads of the constituencies. In the air were some menaces directed against the existence of the House of Lords itself; but it was observed that Mr. Bright and others had rather retired from the position of assailants of the prerogatives of that portion of the constitutional bodies of the country, "although," said he, "there is a confused voice throughout the country from John o' Groats to Lands End; all through Great Britain, and through Ireland, men are discussing great questions which are to affect the unity of the empire, our own condition and the condition of posterity that are to follow us, and to affect all the narratives of the future historians of this kingdom."

On the 23rd of March, the parliamentary campaign against the Irish Church was commenced by Mr. Gladstone giving notice of his intentions to move the following resolutions:—"First, that it was the opinion of the house that the established church in Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment, due regard being had to all personal interests, and to all individual rights of property. Secondly, that, subject to the foregoing considerations, it was expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests by the exercise of any public patronage, and to confine the operations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland to objects of immediate necessity, or involving individual rights, pending the final decision of parliament. Thirdly, that an address be presented to her Majesty, praying that, with a view to the purposes aforesaid, she may be graciously pleased to place at the disposal of parliament her interests in the temporalities of the archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices in Ireland, and in the custodies thereof."

On the 27th, Lord Stanley gave notice of his intention to propose the following amendment on the motion for going into committee on the Irish Church establishment:—"That this house, while admitting that considerable modifications in the temporalities of the united church in Ireland may after pending inquiry appear to be expedient, is of opinion that any proposition tending to the disestablishment or disendowment of that church ought to be reserved for the decision of the new parliament."

On the 30th of March, the debate commenced on Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, the first division taking place on the motion that the house go into committee on the resolutions, as against Lord Stanley's amendment, the result being a majority of sixty-one against the ministers. On the 30th of April, the debate in committee on the first of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions terminated, after having continued for eleven nights, the result being a defeat of the ministry by sixty-five; three hundred and thirty voting for the resolution, and two hundred and sixty-five against it. In consequence of this adverse vote, Mr. Disraeli tendered his resignation, but subsequently consented to remain in office with the understanding that a dissolution of parliament would take place early in the autumn. Mr. Gladstone's second and third resolutions were subsequently carried through committee without a division.

On the 31st of July, the proceedings of the last parliament which had been elected under the Reform Bill of 1832 terminated. The lord chancellor read the queen's speech, in which her Majesty referred to the success of the Abyssinian expedition, and the restoration of comparative quiet in Ireland. She also announced her intention to dissolve the present parliament at the earliest day that would enable the people to reap the benefit of the extended system of representation which had been provided for them by parliament.

The most important domestic event of this year was the attempted assassination of the Duke of Edinburgh at Sydney. In the course of his visits over the colony, the duke consented to join in a picnic at Clontarf, organised partly in his own honour, and partly to benefit the funds of a sailors' home. While engaged in conversation with Sir William Manning, a little apart from the governor and lord chief justice, a person was observed to take deliberate aim at his royal highness with a revolver, and, before the design could be frustrated, fired one barrel. The shot took effect about the middle of the back, an inch or two to the right of the spine. The duke fell forward on his hands and knees, exclaiming, "Good God, my back is broken!" On examining the wound it was found that no vital part had been touched. His royal highness was borne on a litter by the men of his ship, the *Galatea*, to the deck of the *Morpeth*; and his recovery was so rapid and so complete that within a fortnight after the event his royal highness walked out and paid a visit to the *Galatea*, and on the following day personally interceded with the governor in favour of the assassin, Henry James O'Farrel. All intercession was, however, vain, for the prisoner was tried, found guilty, and executed on the 24th of April, having first solemnly declared the entire absence of complicity with any other persons.

The arrival of Mr. Reverdy Johnson from the United States, with the avowed mission of adjusting the *Alabama* claims, renewed the interest with which the severe and long-lasting misunderstanding with America had at first been regarded. Meanwhile, parliament was dissolved; the writs were returnable on the 10th of November; and on the 16th many borough and city nominations took place throughout England. The cry on the one side was "Gladstone for ever," and on the other, "Stand by the Church." The elections in some places, and notably in Ireland, were characterised by great heat; and some remarkable instances of the fickleness of popular favour were given in the returns. Westminster rejected Mr. J. S. Mill; London, Baron Rothschild. The working men and the advanced liberals, as they called themselves, were generally unsuccessful, Mr. Gladstone was defeated in South West Lancashire, but was returned for Greenwich; Mr. Roebuck lost his seat for Sheffield; Mr. Osborne was rejected by Nottingham; Mr. Horsman, at Falkirk; Mr. Milner Gibson, at Ashton; and before parliament met, a careful examination of the lists showed that the opposition would place the government in a minority of one hundred and twenty-one, that number at least being pledged to support Mr. Gladstone's policy on the Irish Church question, over and above the number of the members who had promised to follow Mr. Disraeli. Scotland pronounced almost to a man in favour of the liberals, not one single conservative having been returned for the boroughs, and only seven for the counties. In England the boroughs returned two hundred and thirteen liberals and ninety-four conservatives; the counties, fifty liberals and one hundred and fourteen conservatives; whilst Ireland gave thirty-four liberals and twenty-four conservatives in the counties, and twenty-eight liberals and thirteen conservatives in the boroughs. When this result became known, the ministry resolved not to invite the decision of parliament on their fate, but to anticipate the effect of the verdict pronounced by the country. Mr. Disraeli visited the queen at Windsor, and addressed a statement to the papers to justify the decision of not retaining office. They held it more consistent, he said, with the convenience of public business, and more conducive to the just influence of the conservative party, to tender the resignation of their offices to her Majesty, rather than wait for the assembling of parliament in which they must be in a minority. On the 4th of December, Mr. Gladstone was summoned to Windsor, and next day laid the list of names before her Majesty, and the new cabinet was constituted on the 9th, presenting one of the most remarkable combinations offered to the country for some years, with Mr. Gladstone as premier, Lord Hatherley (better known as Sir W. Page-Wood), as lord chancellor; Mr. Lowe, chancellor of the exchequer; the Earl of Clarendon, foreign secretary; Mr. Cardwell, secretary of war; the Duke of Argyle, India; Mr. John Bright, at the Board of Trade; Mr. Childers, at the Admiralty; Mr. Layard, chief secretary for Ireland; and two or three men, like Mr. Goschen and Mr. Ayrton, new to official life.

Great interest was aroused in the month of January by the prosecution of the directors of the well-known house of Overend and Gurney, for fraud and conspiracy. The original firm of Overend and Gurney was established at the close of the last century, and continued for many years to be conducted with honour and prosperity. It appeared that, from 1851 to 1860, the partners divided an annual profit of 146,000*l.*, while a further sum of 365,000*l.* was carried to the reserve fund in order to meet bad and doubtful debts. In the year 1853 a very heavy loss was sustained by the firm, amounting to nearly 220,000*l.* Between 1860 and 1865 new partners were introduced, and a system of reckless speculation was commenced, which ended in the entire loss of five millions of money, which it was understood was lodged on deposit. It was then determined to reorganise the company under the provisions of a legislative enactment known as the Limited Liability Act, whereby the liability of each shareholder was strictly limited to the amount represented by the shares he held. In the prospectus which was issued, the business was described as being of a first-class character only, although it subsequently became known that at the time the new proprietary entered on possession four millions, which were transferred as absolute cash or available assets, had been absorbed in ruinous mercantile schemes or worthless personal credit. It also appeared that, besides the formal deed of incorporation, a secret deed had been executed which referred to the "exceptional accounts," indicating the absorbed capital, and giving the proprietors power between 1865 and 1868 to get rid of the liabilities they represented. It was mainly on this deed that a charge of fraud was sought to be established against the directors by a shareholder who had lost a large amount of money, relying on the hereditary character of the house. For the defence, it was urged that they were in complete ignorance of the affairs of the company, relying altogether on their manager, and also that as soon as they became acquainted with the serious losses that were sustained, they endeavoured to make compensation by sacrificing their private property. After a preliminary inquiry before the lord mayor, the whole of the defendants were committed for trial, bail being accepted for each director of 10,000*l.* and two sureties of 5000*l.* each. On the 13th of December the trial commenced in the Court of Queen's Bench, which was protracted over nine days, and terminated in a verdict acquitting all the directors.

The satisfaction expressed in the country at the successful termination of the expedition against King Theodore might have been somewhat lessened had we known that its ultimate result would have been to deliver over the kingdoms and people which had been under his sway to an anarchy which will probably terminate in the fall of the Abyssinians, and in their submission to the viceregal sceptre of the khedive. But the spirit of the enterprise unquestionably elevated the reputation of England abroad, and gave an *éclat* to her military power. Foreign officers had attended and watched the progress of the campaign, and their reports eulogised the skill of the general and the conduct of the troops.

On the 16th of February 1869, the parliament assembled. It was a disappointment to the house and to the country that her Majesty could not deliver the royal speech, and Mr. Gladstone explained that the state of her health prevented such an exertion, but that the queen would come to London for the purpose of receiving the address. Her Majesty's intention was frustrated by the illness of Prince Leopold. Although the leaders of parties were well aware of the intentions of the ministers with reference to the Irish Church, the words in the speech which related to the forthcoming and vital change in the relations of the crown to that branch of the church established in Ireland were scarcely indicative of any radical measure. "The ecclesiastical arrangements of Ireland," the speech said, "will be brought under your consideration at a very early date, and the legislation which will be necessary in order to effect their final adjustment will make the largest demands upon the wisdom of parliament." The address was agreed to without amendment in both houses, and on the 1st of March Mr. Gladstone obtained leave to introduce a bill to put an end to the established church in Ireland, to make provisions in respect of the temporalities thereof, and of the royal college of Maynooth. "The great object," he observed, "was final legislation, so that all controversy between rival religionists should be at once put aside." The act was not to take effect before the 1st of January 1871. He proposed to appoint a commission to endure for ten years, in which the entire property of the Church of Ireland would be vested subject to life interests. With respect to bishops, all peerages were to lapse immediately, and so far as the college of Maynooth was concerned, he proposed to place it on precisely an analogous footing to the established church, viz. a valuation of the annual grants at fourteen years' purchase. The gross value of the Irish Church property was estimated at 16,000,000*l*., and after making deductions for the life interests of incumbents, compensation, and Maynooth engagements, a large surplus would remain, with which it was proposed to make provision for the blind, deaf and dumb, and other charities and lunatic asylums.

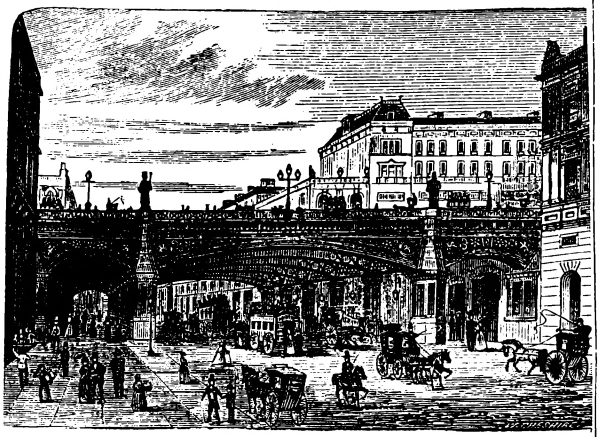
Not hesitating to grasp the greatness of the situation, and to brandish it as a weapon to his adversaries, Mr. Gladstone declared that it was a measure which would show to one and all what mettle we are made of. "Upon us all it brings a great responsibility; upon the government, if they had challenged unwisely so gigantic an issue; and on the house, should it fail in dealing with the tremendous task before it." "We know," he concluded, "the controversy is near its end, and for my part I may say I am deeply convinced that, when the date of final consummation shall sound forth the words that give the force of law to this word of peace and justice, they will be echoed from every shore where the name of Ireland and Great Britain are known, and the answer will come back in the approving verdict of civilised mankind." The leader of the opposition had of course to resist the introduction of the measure, and no objection leading to a division was made to the first reading. Mr. Disraeli stigmatised the bill, thinking "disestablishment a political blunder, and disendowment legalised robbery," and declared that on the second reading he would give it a most strenuous resistance. On the 18th of March, he moved "that the bill be read a second time that day six months." His opposition mainly rested upon the principle of spoliation and confiscation in the measure which would justify the house in attacking private property. In an exceedingly ingenious and witty oration, he suggested that a deputation of Irish gentlemen might wait upon Mr. Gladstone, and say they found themselves in an anomalous position; "our breeding is not inferior," they might observe, "to that of our companions, our education is the same, our pursuits are similar, we meet in the same hunting-field, and drink the same claret, but our feelings are hurt, because some of our companions have estates of 6000*l*., 8000*l*. or 10,000*l*. a year, broad acres, and extensive woods. We know the spirit of the age in which we live; we, therefore, don't ask for the estates of our more fortunate companions, but we only ask you to take them away from them, and establish, as one of your great measures of Irish regeneration, social equality, and let all Irish gentlemen, like the Irish Roman Catholic Church, live upon voluntary contributions." The debate engaged all the great thinkers and speakers of the House of Commons; and on the day after Mr. Disraeli had made his very able argument, Dr. Ball applied himself to the legal view of the innovation with great ability. Mr. Bright referred triumphantly to the conduct of the Free Church of Scotland, which had gone out of the establishment naked in 1843, with not a church, nor a glebe-house, nor a curtilage, nor a commutation, nor a single good wish or "God bless you," and yet they had built nine hundred churches, six hundred and thirty manses, five hundred schools, three theological colleges, and two training institutions; and Dr. Ball had described the ministers of voluntary churches as not being high-born—the prophets of old were graziers, and the apostles were fishermen and handicraftsmen. On the 23rd of March, in a house of six hundred and eighteen members, the second reading was carried by a majority of one hundred and eighteen, and the house adjourned for the Easter recess. The excitement amongst the Protestants of Ireland caused by the announcements of this bold measure and of the details of disestablishment led to numerous meetings throughout that country, and it was characterised as one "offensive to Almighty God," framed in a spirit of inveterate hostility to the church, the greatest national sin ever committed, and a perilous weakening of the foundations of property, and the like. Some of the language was violent, perhaps, pardonably so, considering how the legislature and parliament for centuries had toiled to build up a dominant spirit in the land. The Orangemen in Ireland and in England denounced Mr. Gladstone as a traitor to his queen and country and his God; and Mr. Charley, at Exeter Hall, declared that the righteous retribution that would fall upon him would be perpetual exclusion from power. Petitions were adopted to the queen and to the lords, praying her to dismiss the government, and calling upon the upper house to reject the bill. After the house met, the budget for the year was introduced, showing on an income of 72,853,000*l*. an increase of 264,000*l*. over the revenue of the preceding year. As the expenditure was estimated at only 68,223,000*l*. there would be a reduction of 2,261,000*l*. upon the year, principally effected in the war office and in the charges for the navy, but the Abyssinian expedition, which cost nearly 9,000,000*l*. including the Indian charges, had its share in the expenditure, and absorbed the whole of the surplus, except 32,000*l*. Mr. Lowe proposed to transform the assessed taxes into excise licences payable at the commencement of the year, and to collect the land tax, income tax, and house duty in the same manner in a single payment. The change would, he estimated, produce a gain of 3,350,000*l.*, and this windfall he proposed to employ in reducing the income tax by a penny, in abolishing the shilling duty on corn, and that on fire insurance. He also proposed a reduction of the assessed taxes, the abolition of the tax on hair powder, post horses, and licences for tea, and a reduction of those on cabs and carriages, involving a remission of taxation to the amount of 3,060,000*l.*, of which 2,940,000*l.* would at once be effected. It was not until the 15th of April that the Irish Church Bill was passed into committee, on a division of three hundred and fifty five to two hundred and twenty-nine. Next night, Mr. Disraeli moved the rejection of the second clause, which dissolved the union between the two churches, in order that there might be a uniformity of doctrine between the two bodies, and that the church in Ireland might continue to have a supreme head; but the amendment was rejected by three hundred and fourty-four votes to two hundred and twenty-one. The measure was fought clause by clause; numerous amendments—not one successful—were suggested, and some were pressed to divisions. The existing prelates and deans secured, by an addition by Mr. Hardy to one of the clauses, the enjoyment of the titles and precedence they then enjoyed. The ministerial majority, fluctuating now and then, maintained an average of one hundred on all crucial occasions. All through the month of April and well into May these discussions lasted, and it was not until the 31st of the latter month that the bill was read a third time, and passed out of the House of Commons, after a vigorous and impressive debate, in which Mr. Gladstone, replying to the animated historical retrospect of Mr. Disraeli, declared that he was only carrying out the policy of Pitt and Castlereagh, who had pledged themselves to establish religious equality in Ireland. "The church may have much to regret," he said, "in reference to temporal splendour, yet the day is coming when it may be said of her, as of the temple of Jerusalem, that the glory of the latter house is greater than that of the former, and when the most loyal and faithful of her children will learn not to forget that the parliament of England at length took courage, and the Irish Church was disestablished and disendowed." On the final division, there voted for the third reading three hundred and sixty-one; against it, two hundred and forty-seven. All through the summer, meetings were being held in Ireland and England, to organise resistance to the measure, and strengthen the back of the House of Lords, and at a meeting of the conservative peers at the Duke of Marlborough's, Lord Derby and Lord Cairns expressed their unmitigated hostility to the measure, although some of the peers declared that they thought the bill should be read a second time in order that it might be amended in committee. On the 14th of June, Lord Granville moved the second reading in the House of Lords, and challenged at once the whole power of the peers by taunting them with their inability to thwart the national will deliberately and constitutionally expressed. "They had decided last year to abide by the verdict of the people, and they could not now ignore it." There were few who did not understand what Lord Granville meant; and Mr. Bright, replying to an invitation to attend a meeting at Birmingham, wrote that, "if the lords delayed the passage of the bill for three months, they would stimulate a discussion on a question which, but for their infatuation, might have slumbered for years." Then came talk in the clubs, and hints in the press of a prorogation, in case the bill were defeated in the lords, and the re-introduction of the measure, and of the creation of new peers; but a compromise was effected between the lords and commons on the bill, whereby clauses were introduced extending the date of disestablishment from January to May 1871. Government at the same time consented that the liabilities of incumbents for the salaries of curates should be confined to the case where a curate had been employed for five years. They also added an additional five per cent. (making twelve per cent. in all) to diocesan commutation, and made the acceptances of three-fourths instead of four-fifths of the clergy of a diocese for a commutation sufficient. The surplus also was to be employed in meeting cases of unexpected calamity in such manner as parliament should direct.

The second reading was carried by a majority of thirty-three in the fullest house within the memory of living man, three hundred and twenty-five peers being in their places, and eighteen having paired. On the 11th of August, parliament was prorogued by commission. The royal speech, referring to the act passed for disestablishing the Irish Church, said that her Majesty hoped this important measure might hereafter be remembered as a conclusive proof of the paramount anxiety of parliament to pay reasonable regard, in legislating for each of the three kingdoms, to the special circumstances by which it might be distinguished, and to deal on principles of impartial justice with all interests and all portions of the nation.

On the 23rd of October, the Earl of Derby died at his residence at Knowsley, and in him the country lost not only an experienced statesman but a scholar of no ordinary merit. He was buried at Knowsley church, and the funeral was a private one in compliance with the written instructions left by the earl.

Early in November, Blackfriars Bridge and the Holborn Viaduct were opened by the queen, who was accompanied by their royal highnesses Princesses Louise and Beatrice, and attended by an escort of the life guards. Leaving Paddington, the procession passed through Hyde Park, where thousands had assembled to cheer her Majesty, and proceeded down Constitution Hill, along Whitehall and Parliament Street; thence, crossing Westminster Bridge, by way of Stamford Street to Blackfriars Bridge, where the preparations for the reception were exceptionally gorgeous. This magnificent bridge, which is 75 feet wide, and, with its approaches, is 1272 feet long, took the place of one built in 1769, the foundation of which, had become decayed, and had to be pulled down. The queen was received by the lord mayor, who presented her with an address from the corporation of London. Her Majesty then declared the bridge and viaduct open, the procession reformed, and on arrival at the Holborn Viaduct, a similar ceremony took place.

On the 17th, the Suez Canal was formally opened amid a series of festivities, which were participated in by the empress of the French, the emperor of Austria, the crown prince of Prussia, Prince William of Orange, the English and Russian ambassadors at Constantinople—all guests of the khedive—and a large company of English and continental merchants. At Port Said religious ceremonies were celebrated in the open air by the ulemas and Catholic priests. Monsignore Baur, the almoner of the Empress Eugenie, spoke at the Catholic ceremony, applauding the work, and thanking the khedive for co-operation in one of the greatest undertakings that any century had produced.



THE HOLBURN VIADUCT.

The remainder of the month was unproductive of any important events, if we except the visit of the king of the Belgians to England, and an inquiry that was instituted on the part of the Board of Trade into the circumstances occasioning the loss of the royal mail ship *The Carnatic*, but before the year glided away into the annals of the past, a catastrophe happened that was at once appalling in its result and too truthfully indicative of the dangers attending the assemblage of crowds. On the 27th of December a pantomime was to be produced at the new Theatre Royal Bristol, but long before the doors were opened a dense crowd had assembled outside, with the object of attaining good places. When the door leading to the pit at last opened, the rush inwards appears to have been very great. The course of the entering crowd tended in two directions; those who were seeking the pit had to turn sharply to the right, while the others making for the gallery proceeded straight on. At this point an unfortunate woman is said to have fallen, and the disastrous consequences were immediate; forty or fifty men, women, and children were soon lying in a heap crushed by others that the unconscious crowd behind were urging on. It was some time before any of the officials knew that an accident had happened, and it would appear that few in the crowd were sensible of their danger, while some only learnt of the death of their companions after they had seen the performance, having themselves succeeded in making their way into the theatre. The total number killed was eighteen.

The year 1870, doomed by its momentous events and startling changes to become a loadstar for the student of history, opened with hopeful and reassuring prospects. The trade of England, which had never completely recovered the commercial and financial shock of 1866, began to show signs of reanimation. A large and steady increase had become general in the traffic returns throughout the country, and investments had assumed a more spirited tone. On the continent, the political horizon, although still overcast by the large and strained armaments of France and Prussia, was, if anything, brighter than it had been. The intercourse of nations remained uninterrupted, and hopeful rumours were afloat that a general disarmament might possibly be effected. On the 8th of February, parliament was opened by commission, the lord chancellor delivering the royal speech from the throne. Ten different measures were contained in it: but two, by their importance, stood prominently in relief. The address was proposed and seconded, in the Lords, by the Marquis of Huntly and the Earl of Fingall; and in the House of Commons, by Captain Egerton and Sir Charles Dilke, whose observations were chiefly confined in assuring the house that the world was at rest, and that no nation in Europe would venture now to act in opposition to the opinion of the majority of the powers. When Mr. Disraeli rose, he said that he only intended to address the house upon that part of the speech that referred to the condition of Ireland, and, having paid an ironical compliment to the government, proceeded to complain of the ambiguity of their language and criticise the clauses of the bill. "Were the Irish people," he said, "justified in the erroneous interpretation which they put on the avowed policy of the government; and if they fell into the dangerous error of misinterpreting that policy, did the government take all the steps or any of the steps that were necessary to remove that false impression, and to guide the mind of the Irish people to a right conception of the state of affairs, and a due appreciation of the intentions of the government?" Mr. Disraeli then mentioned the hallucination that had undoubtedly occurred on two important questions, namely, the amnesty to the Fenian prisoners and the fixity of tenure. "Now what was the conduct," he said, "of her Majesty's government? They decided upon a partial amnesty. The effect of releasing three men, who had incurred the severest penalty of the law, and whose sentence of death had been already commuted to imprisonment, was that others, who had a brother, a son, or a sweetheart, perhaps, in prison, naturally complained that those whose conduct had incurred the penalty of death should be released, while those whose crimes were not so great should still be detained in prison. On the part of the government, it was urged that they must exercise some discretion, and that, in considering the case of these prisoners, they determined to free those in whose harmlessness they were pretty confident and secure, and that none were let out but those who could do the state no injury. Well, now, was that the fact? Look at the next three men who were let out. They were three men who had incurred long terms of imprisonment, from twelve to fifteen years, men of decided opinions and violent conduct, not one of whom had ever given the slighest sign of penitence. One was an able writer. He emerged from his cell, and immediately wrote a leading article against the government, calling upon his fellow-countrymen to commence their efforts to free themselves from the slavery under which they had so long laboured. Another of them—and that is a mysterious case, which may by-and-by be brought under the consideration of parliament—went to a banquet and made use of his liberty to excite Irishmen to violence, and he told them that the sabre was the only solution of their sufferings. Well, then, I say, the great body of the Roman Catholics of Ireland who had relatives in prison naturally felt indignant, and regarded this partial amnesty as a most ill-considered act." Referring to the second question, fixity of tenure, Mr. Disraeli quoted what he considered the opinion of the Irish people to be. "'The Irish Church is abolished, the bishops and rectors are deprived of their property. The next grievance, according to the same high authority, is the land. Is it not a natural consequence that, if you settle the question of the Irish Church by depriving the bishops and rectors of their property, you will settle the question of the land by depriving the landlords of their property.'" Having called the attention of the house to the horrible scenes of violence that had occurred in Ireland, and enumerated the atrocities that had been committed, and noted the fact that the government had only interfered when one of their Irish supporters had lost his election, the speaker concluded with eloquence and in measured periods, impressing upon the house that, if it erred in the course it took on this question, members would look back on the day with dismay and remorse.

Disclaiming any intentional ambiguity in the terms of the queen's speech, Mr. Gladstone, in reply, denied that the policy of the government had been misunderstood in Ireland. "The partial amnesty," he said, "was a discriminating amnesty, founded upon a comparison of severity of punishment with degrees of guilt, and which, in this case, is synonymous with a just and wise amnesty." Then, referring to the Irish Land Bill and Mr. Disraeli's comments upon it, he urged that it was of vital importance to the Fenians that the house should be impeded in its determination to establish just laws in Ireland. "I believe," he continued, "that if we should happily succeed in proposing to the house, and the house should co-operate in passing, good and just laws for removing the evils now accompanying the tenure and cultivation of land in Ireland, it will be from such laws, and from such laws alone, that Fenianism will at length receive its death-blow. The very best exertions of the best executive governments can do no more than put down its outward manifestations; let us go down to the root; let us go down to the source; and that is what we hope and mean to do. That is what they are determined that we shall not do. And I cannot hesitate to say that they would indeed be blind to the whole nature of the question in which they are engaged unless they took every legitimate means—and sometimes, I am afraid, very illegitimate means—of producing disturbance and want of confidence in Ireland." Concluding, he thanked Mr. Disraeli for the evidence he had given, that he felt the gravity of the situation of England in the face of Ireland as an imperial question, and expressed the hope that the propositions he was prepared to make would receive a fair and candid consideration. On the 15th of February, the bill was introduced by the premier in a comprehensive speech, and it became evident that no effectual opposition could be offered to the second reading. When the debate again opened, however, Dr. Ball rose and denounced the bill as one perpetuating and fixing a custom which varied with every estate. The compensation it provided, he said, was fixed too high, and, as far as the bill regarded future tenancies, he thought it utterly bad. "Here you are in England, arrived at the highest pitch of civilisation, you claim for yourselves that you are models to the world, you hold out your social relations to the admiration and envy of Europe, and you insist that the relations between landlord and tenant in your country shall be on the footing of contract. What have you been doing? You have been working ever since the day that Latimer denounced the landlords who drove out the tenants, telling them that the divine vengeance would come upon them for it. You have been working, I say, to make landlord and tenant not ascertain their rights by litigation, but have them established on the solid basis of contract, so that every tenant in England knows for what he has to answer." Mr. Chichester Fortescue viewed the bill differently. Tenants were placed in a position of security by a method far beyond anything ever proposed before, and for the first time it gave them a right to compensation, even if they had made no improvements. The tenant, he said, might realise at any time what he had himself spent on the land, or what he had paid on entry. Mr. Ward Hunt, although not altogether adverse to compensation for improvements, thought that the Ulster custom would perpetuate a bad system, and the bill as a whole lead to endless litigation, while Mr. Horsman and the attorney-general spoke with equal vigour in its favour, and thought the very clauses that had met with the disapproval of the former speaker were in reality its chief recommendations. Later in the evening, Mr. Disraeli opposed, in unqualified terms, that part of the bill which proposed to adopt a custom whose value, if any, must be its flexibility. He doubted the propriety of legalising customs at all, and he denied that that of Ulster was peculiar or more suitable to adoption than the other agricultural customs of Ireland. "No doubt," he said, "there may be some gentlemen—and those probably who have least considered the subject—who will be surprised to hear that there are moral relations existing between landlords and their tenants, even in the extreme south of Ireland. But among the most important relations between these two classes is exactitude in demanding and paying rent. Sir, moral qualities of a very high order are developed when the tenant does not pay you rent. Forbearance in its most Christian aspect may then be exhibited in a manner that may claim the respect and admiration of society. There is no body of men who require forbearance to be shown to them more than those small Irish tenants. In what position towards them do you now place the Irish landlords, to whose kindness and sympathy the tenants hitherto have preferred a claim? An industrious man, a hardworking and good man, is overcome, we will suppose, by those vicissitudes of seasons which Ireland is not exempt from, and he applies, as others have applied before, and not in vain, to the distinguished faculty and good nature of the Irish landlord. But the landlord naturally asks who is the man who thus comes to him with a claim for consideration. The relation that once existed, the relation of patron and client—a relation that, truly conceived and generously administered, is one of the strongest elements of the social system —no longer subsists." In conclusion, Mr. Disraeli reiterated that he had no wish to offer to the bill a factious opposition. He trusted with the modifications which argument and reason might bring about to give it a cordial support, but he urged the house not to vote upon the subject as if coerced by threatening letters, but to decide upon all the great subjects which would be under consideration in committee as became members of the House of Commons. After another exhaustive speech from Mr. Gladstone, a division took place, four hundred and forty-two members voting in favour of the second reading, against a minority of eleven, and the bill was therefore carried into committee, whence, after almost termless discussion, it issued, modified in a few of its least important clauses to pass to the Lords, where it, however, met with more fruitful opposition, but, nevertheless, eventually became law on the 4th of June, in a still compact and vigorous form that could not have disappointed its promoters. Its chief effect was to rescind the policy of centuries, and to give to the occupier of land in Ireland a beneficial right in the soil.

On the 17th of February, a measure of equal importance, but of far greater interest, was introduced by Mr. Forster into the House of Commons, providing for public elementary education in England and Wales. The measure was based upon the principle of direct compulsion as regarded the attendance of children, and to effect this, power was to be given to each school board to frame bylaws compelling the attendance at school of all children from five to twelve years of age within their district. The schools formed by the proposed bill were to be subject to three regulations. In the first place, it was made necessary to prove the possession of a certain amount of efficiency in education to entitle the school to a grant from government. Secondly, submission to examination by an undenominational inspector was required; and, thirdly, a "conscience clause" was to be attached as a condition of the receipt of government assistance. It was also proposed that the management should be vested in boards to be locally elected, and that the school boards should have power to establish free schools in localities where the poverty of the inhabitants rendered them desirable. The bill further proposed to supplement the funds necessary to carry out the scheme by local rates and by grants from the public treasury, in the estimated proportion of one-third from each source, the remaining third coming from the school fees.

With respect to the religious aspect of the education to be imparted in the public schools, the bill made no order, neither saying that religion should be excluded from the course of lessons nor that it should be taught in any particular way. "The great majority of the children with whom we have to deal," said Mr. Forster, in his masterly exposition of the general motives of the bill, "are probably under ten years of age; some are over that age and under twelve, and I fear but comparatively few are over twelve and under fourteen. We want a good secular teaching for these children, a good Christian training, and good schoolmasters. We want, while considering the rights and feelings of the minority, to do that which the majority of the parents in this country really wish; and we have no doubt whatever that an enormous majority of the parents of this country prefer that there should be a Christian training for their children—that they should be taught the Bible. If we are to prevent religious teaching altogether, we must say that the Bible shall not be used in schools at all. But would it not be a monstrous thing that the Book which, after all, is the foundation of the religion we profess, should be the only book that was not allowed to be used in our schools? But then it may be said that we ought to have no dogmatic teaching. But how are we to prevent it? Are we to step in and say the Bible may be read, but may not be explained? Are we to pick out Bible lessons with the greatest care, in order that nothing of a doctrinal character might be taught to the children? I do not mean to say it would not be better to attempt to do this rather than fail in the effort of meeting this matter. If the general opinion of the country were that we should try that labour, I would endeavour to encounter it; but I say that it is one of detached supervision which does not belong to the central government, and in which the great probability is the central government would fail."

As several months elapsed between the second reading of the bill and its being taken into committee, opportunity was given the government to interpret the opinion of the country, and they eventually accepted the compromise that a master might read the Bible and expound it, but that no catechisms or written creeds were to be used. Thus a great measure was passed whose ultimate results it is impossible to estimate. An intellectual success may be anticipated, but its moral effects are as questionable as the introduction of compulsion into a free country is to be deplored.

While the political world was occupied with these important measures, the more peaceful circles of society had been subjected to a moral shock, which was the more startling on account of the rank of those implicated in the scandal, and the general mystery surrounding it. A petition had been presented by Sir Charles Mordaunt, of Walton Hall, in the county of Warwick, for a dissolution of his marriage with Harriet Sarah Lady Mordaunt. But an application being made on her behalf to stay the proceedings on the ground that at the time when the citation was served on the respondent she was not of sound mind, the question was ordered to be tried before the court by a special jury. The case came before Lord Penzance, on the 16th of February, and strange disclosures resulted from the evidence of the witnesses called by the petitioner to show that Lady Mordaunt's insanity was feigned, and that a strong motive prompted the pretence. More than a week was spent in the arguments of counsel, and finally the jury found that the respondent was in such a condition of mental disorder as to be unfit to plead and give instructions for her defence. This decision was subsequently affirmed in the full court, and the respondent's insanity was held to be a bar to the petitioner's proceedings for a divorce.

Among the other domestic events of this year was that of the appalling murder of English travellers by Greek brigands. A party consisting of Lord and Lady Muncaster, Mr. Edward Lloyd, a member of the English bar, Mrs. Lloyd and child; Mr. Frederick Vyner; Mr. Edward Herbert, secretary to the British legation; and Count Albert de Boyl, secretary to the Italian legation, visited Marathon on the 11th of April, and had reached Rapheni, on their return to Athens, when they were overpowered by a party of brigands, acting under the orders of the brothers Arvanitaki. The ladies of the party were soon released, and suffered to proceed; and on the 13th Lord Muncaster was permitted to go to Athens, to negotiate terms of release with the Greek government. The demand made was 32,000*l.* in money, a free pardon, and the release of certain prisoners. The Greek government, wishing to avoid payment of this large ransom, despatched armed troops, contrary to their distinct promise, to shoot or secure the brigands. Exasperated by this conduct, they murdered the four prisoners in cold blood, for which they were subsequently tried and executed.

No great events of importance took place in England in May or June, if we except a terrible accident on the Great Northern Railway, in which eighteen persons were killed; and the loss the literary world sustained in the death of Charles Dickens. Gifted with more than ordinary powers of caricature, and a pathos that at once touched the finer senses of the scholar and the less-informed, he had speedily acquired a position in letters which the best writers alone achieve. His humour and power of description atoned for his deficiency in faculty of construction. Admired by many, and studied by all, his works will yield for centuries a moral and instructive food to youthful minds, while his name will be remembered in the Pantheon of this age as a ready writer and an accurate observer of the ordinary scenes of human life.

Early in July, a visit was paid to the town of Reading by the Prince and Princess of Wales, who had graciously consented to be present at a local ceremony. Shortly afterwards, their royal highnesses left England on a visit to the king and queen of Denmark. In the meantime, the country had lost an accomplished statesman, whose memory will be long cherished, and the importance and sagacity of whose acts will remain imprinted in the records of diplomacy. Lord Clarendon had passed away at a moment when his exceptional acuteness and tact might have proved of signal service in averting the portentous quarrel that convulsed Europe a few weeks after his decease. A master of the art of conversation, and an unwearied politician, he had discharged the duties of the many posts he had filled with an energy and discretion that had procured for him the admiration of his equals and the confidence of the multitude. From his first employment under Lord Palmerston to the time of his death, almost unbroken success attended his policy, and his name is particularly associated with the treaty of Paris, which, as British plenipotentiary, he negotiated and signed, his services eliciting the highest praise both in parliament and throughout the country.

Already in the earliest days of the year the disturbed condition of affairs in France contrasted with the uneventful tranquillity of England. The ministerial crisis, which had begun in December 1869, ended on the 3rd January 1870 by the appointment of a new cabinet under the presidency of Émile Ollivier, who had been commissioned by the emperor to form a ministry which would unite the moderate section of the liberal opposition with the government party for the maintenance of the dynasty and the gradual introduction of constitutional reform. When this heterogeneous cabinet was complete, three members of the "left centre" were found to hold prominent posts, viz. Count Daru, M. Buffet, and M. Louvet, ministers respectively of foreign affairs, finance, and commerce. Marshal Lebœuf, however, remained minister of war, while Admiral de Genouilly was reappointed minister of marine, and M. Chevrau, hitherto prefect of the Rhône, was installed at the Hôtel de Ville. Although the parliamentary liberals were disposed to support M. Ollivier's government, the animosity of the republicans against the emperor and his dynasty had only increased. Revolutionary journals echoed the unconcealed dissatisfaction of the Parisian mob, and the reports from the large manufacturing towns of the south were disappointing and ominous. To strengthen and augment the general feeling of discontent, a sinister event occurred on the very day that the ministry formally met in the Corps Législatif to enter upon their new duties. Prince Pierre Bonaparte, son of Lucien, and, therefore, first cousin of the reigning emperor, a man of violent temper and self-indulgent habits, had taken up his residence in the Rue d'Auteuil. Although republican by nature, and opposed to the peremptory rule of his cousin, he had lately vindicated in print, in arrogant opposition to a Corsican newspaper, the memory of his uncle, the great Napoleon, and, in an abusive article signed with his name, attacked his opponents in so extravagant a manner as to evoke a biting criticism in the well-known journal, the *Marseillaise*. Stung to the quick by the personal wording of the article, and, eager to wipe away the insult, Prince Pierre so far forgot the illustrious descent he was claiming as his own in defending the honour and distinction of his uncle, as to formally send a challenge to M. Henri Rochefort, the bohemian editor of that defamatory print. Meanwhile, M. Grousset, a correspondent of the Corsican *Revanche*, had resolved, on his own account, to challenge Prince Bonaparte for the violent attack the latter had made on the journal he was the representative of in Paris. Seeking his seconds on the staff of the *Marseillaise*, he entrusted his message to two enthusiastic republicans, Victor Noir and Ulric de Fonvielle, who accordingly proceeded to visit the prince in the Rue d'Auteuil. It is difficult to ascertain the true facts of what then took place. Prince Bonaparte asserts that, after reading Grousset's letter, he replied that he had no objection to fight with Rochefort, but he would have nothing to do with his workmen; whereupon, without further provocation, Noir struck him a heavy blow in the face, and he, resenting the insult, and in self-defence, drew his revolver and shot his antagonist. There was no evidence, however, to verify this statement, and the absence of any mark on the prince's face did not tend to strengthen the assertion. According to Fonvielle, the circumstances, however, were very different. On presenting their letter, the prince, he said, read it and returned it, saying, "I provoked M. Rochefort because he is the standard-bearer of intemperance; I have no answer to give M. Grousset." They impressed upon him the necessity of a reply, but the prince's only answer was, "Do you then share the opinion of these scoundrels?" To this Victor Noir retorted, "We share those of our friends," and the prince, first striking Victor Noir with his left hand, drew a revolver from his pocket with his right, fired, and Noir, rushing from the room, fell dead on reaching the street. Meanwhile, Fonvielle himself was in danger. Before he could draw his own revolver, which he owned to have brought with him, on account of the well-known desperate character of Prince Bonaparte, the latter fired upon him, and he only escaped being shot by precipitate flight, and then a bullet passed through his overcoat as he was descending the staircase. This homicide, which, according to the testimony of Fonvielle, amounted to a murder, perpetrated as it was by one of the nearest relatives of the emperor, and upon an intellectual representative of the rabble of Paris, aroused profound indignation throughout the whole of that body, who immediately adopted the conclusion that a premeditated assassination had been committed on the sacred person of one of their political party. The next day the *Marseillaise* appeared edged with black, containing a full and flaring account of Fonvielle's statement, while, in an introductory passage by M. Rochefort himself, the empire was violently attacked, and its agents denounced as tyrants and cut-throats. In the meantime an order had been issued to arrest Prince Pierre Bonaparte, who immediately surrendered, and was conveyed to the prison of the Conciergerie, but no sooner had this become known when the indignant populace discovered that, under the existing constitution, no member of the imperial family could be tried before any tribunal other than the high court of justice, with a jury consisting of members of the conseils généraux. Once more the *Marseillaise* bristled with another boisterous article, and Rochefort, ascending the tribune in the Corps Législatif, demanded that no judges devoted to the reigning family should be nominated, but that an ordinary jury should try the prisoner. No notice, however, was taken by the government of this, but the next day the ministers decided to prosecute him for the article he had written in the previous number of the *Marseillaise*, while the issues of the two days of that paper were seized. The Corps Législatif was requested to sanction the arrest, and in the debate which ensued, M. Ollivier ably explained the nature of the offence M. Rochefort had committed against the public order, and eventually, although not without strong opposition from several members of the left and left centre, the motion was carried. On the hearing of the case, which took place on the 22nd, the prosecution, with a view to conciliation, only demanded a light sentence, and at length six months' imprisonment was awarded, with a fine of 3000 francs and the option of appeal. As his civil rights and his seat as deputy were not affected by the sentence, Rochefort thought it inexpedient to avail himself of the favour granted him by the court, so he paid his fine and trusted that the penalty of imprisonment would not be enforced. But as soon as M. Ollivier became aware of this omission in the maintenance of the law, he demanded of the republican deputy that he should surrender himself to the authorities, but this M. Rochefort stubbornly refused to do, published another wild article in the *Marseillaise*, and had the audacity to appear on the 7th of February in his place in the Corps Législatif, which last act gave occasion to a fiery debate. M. Gambetta satirised the measure as ill-timed and impolitic. M. Crémieux defied the legality of the arrest of any deputy, even after sentence, unless it were specially authorised by a vote of the Corps Législatif, and a general excitement prevailed. At last the ministry gave way, and Rochefort departed amid the cheers and adulation of the crowd which had assembled outside. His liberty, however, was of short duration. As he was about to enter, on that evening, the public meeting hall in the Rue de Flandre, for the purpose of presiding over a political debate, he was suddenly arrested, conducted to a carriage, and conveyed to the prison of Sainte-Pélagie. No sooner did the crowd in the hall become aware of the arrest than an uproar ensued, the police commissary and other officials attending the meeting were seized, a republic clamorously declared, and Rochefort signalised as a martyr. On reaching the street, the rioters were met by a gathering and sympathetic mob, and Gustave Flourens, a journalist, who had taken a conspicuous part in the colossal and unruly procession that had attended the remains of Victor Noir to the grave, now placed himself at their head. Gas lamps were extinguished, barricades erected, and a gunsmith's shop in the Rue de Lafayette was broken open in the search for arms. For four nights these disturbances occurred and were suppressed by the sergents de ville and the gardes de Paris. At one time the Canal St. Martin was the scene of riot, at another Belleville and the Faubourg du Temple, but at last order was restored, but not until several lives had been sacrificed, and the ringleaders apprehended. The press, as a natural consequence, was again inculpated, and severe sentences were passed on the editor of the *Réveil* and other journalists, while fines were imposed on editors for refusing to deposit copies of their newspapers at the office of the ministry of the interior in accordance with the strict letter of the law. Rochefort remained in prison, but Flourens escaped into Belgium.

While Paris had been the scene of a mutinous outbreak, the provinces had not been entirely free from similar insubordination. A strike of a violent character had occurred at the large steel and iron foundries at Creuzot, occasioning numerous arrests and the prompt interference of the troops; and other industrial centres of France had been equally disturbed by popular agitations. Nothing of any moment, however, happened, but sufficient evidence was forthcoming to trace this excitement to the influence of the International Working Men's Association and the instigation of foreign agencies.

It had long been felt that the popularity of the empire had received a severe blow by the fatal incident at Auteuil and the significance Rochefort and his party had succeeded in attaching to it. Although no one could be held responsible for the deed of a proverbially vindictive and headstrong duellist, whose only connection with the reigning family was his relationship and the pension the emperor was liberal enough to allow him, yet, as in the case of the Duke de Praslin in 1848, the moral sense of the nation had received an immense shock from the mere fact of the rank of the person inculpated, and the exceptionally repulsive and unusual nature of the affair. When the time for the trial drew nigh, it was generally surmised among those most competent to judge that, in the absence of corroborative evidence, the issue of the investigation must necessarily depend upon rational conjecture, combined with direct testimony in respect to the known character of those involved. No sooner had the high court of justice assembled at Tours, on the 21st of March, than the president, M. Glandaz, warned Prince Pierre, after addressing the jury, that he might have to answer any allusion to episodes in his career which might be quoted as instances of the ungovernable violence of his temper, and mentioned himself an altercation in which he knew the prince to have been engaged with a deputy of the assembly in 1849, when he struck the latter, a man of eighty, in the face. The examination of the prisoner then began. The prince again asserted that Noir first struck him heavily on the cheek, and recapitulated what he had previously stated, protesting that the shot had been fired in self-defence. Fonvielle of course repeated his evidence to prove that the prince, on the contrary, first struck his companion and then shot him; while Rochefort and Grousset, who had been brought from prison to give evidence for the prosecution, only added confusion to the case by the virulence with which they took occasion to attack the accused. On the third day of the trial an altercation took place between the prisoner and Victor Noir's counsel in which the witnesses joined, and bitter invectives were interchanged, when the president at last interfered, and sentenced Fonvielle to ten days' imprisonment with a fine of 200 francs for contempt of court. The course of the trial now went more smoothly, and evidence was produced to show that Noir had still his hat in his right hand and his gloves on when he dropped down dying on the pavement; coincidences which would have materially removed the probability that the prince's left cheek had been struck, had not several witnesses for the defence afterwards testified that it bore at the time a mark from a blow. At last, on Tuesday, the 27th, after the private characters of Prince Pierre and Victor Noir had been radically scrutinised and variously described by the different witnesses as either villainous or immaculate, the trial came to an end, and the jury retired an hour and a quarter for deliberation, and then returned a verdict of "not guilty" on all points of the indictment. At the instance, however, of the counsel of the Noir family, damages to the amount of 1000*l.* were awarded by the court, which were paid, and Prince Pierre Bonaparte was immediately set at liberty.

The confidence which M. Ollivier reposed in his own skill and the country had at first felt inclined to invest in the sagacity of his cabinet was soon to be exposed to a searching test. When the emperor, in receiving the congratulations of the senate and the legislative body, on the new year, welcomed, in fervent terms, the new distribution of power, he was careful to explain that the increase of privileges the chambers were in future to enjoy by no manner diminished the authority he held from the nation. On the 21st of March, therefore, we find him addressing a letter to the premier with the proposition to invite the senate, which he specifies as "that great body comprising so much intelligence," to lend a more efficacious co-operation to the new *régime*, while he observes that, now successive transformations have led to the creation of a constitutional system in harmony with the basis of the plebiscitum, it is important to restore to the domain of the law everything that is more especially of a legislative character, so as to place the constitution beyond all controversy. He, moreover, requests M. Ollivier to come to an understanding with his colleagues so as to lay before him the draught of a senatus consultum to divide the legislative power between the two chambers. Thus a senatus consultum was prepared, in which it was distinctly stated that the constitution was only to be modified by the people, while the number of senators not holding their seats by right was to be limited to twenty. Scarcely, however, had this project been definitely modelled when a measure of a much more significant and serious nature was introduced. It was officially announced that the new constitution was to be ratified by a popular vote. Proverbial as were ever the political schemes of the emperor for obscurity and astuteness, this last act of his rivalled any former one in the craft of its conception and the mystery enveloping its origin. Aware of the increasing demand for constitutional reform, he had found himself compelled to make certain concessions, and had inspired the liberals with the hope of the permanent establishment of parliamentary government, taking care at the same time to appoint a prime minister whom he knew to be in reality entirely devoted to the imperial cause. But before many months had elapsed, he perceived that the course of constitutional change, now once instituted, would be by far too rapid and asserting for his ministers to regulate; so he made up his mind to fix in a definite shape what alterations the preservation of his own authority would permit, while according the reforms most clamorously solicited, and then asserting his prerogative, appeal to the rural masses—to whom the question would be unintelligible and indifferent—to ratify the revised constitution, and once more proclaim him the representative of the people. As may be supposed, this new scheme, subtle though it undoubtedly was, did not entirely escape comment. M. Grévy denounced it as a means of confiscating the national sovereignty, while M. Gambetta later described the right of the emperor to appeal at all to a plebiscitum as a perpetual menace of a *coup d'état.* Stormy debates followed in the Corps Législatif, when M. Ollivier's ingenuity was severely put to the test. "He himself," he said, "was not anxious for an appeal to the people, but in the present case he thought that such appeal could not be avoided." Altercations ensued, evoking all manner of violent and offensive remarks, and orders of the day were presented, but M. Ollivier would accept none but the following:—"The legislative body, after having heard the declarations of the ministry, and confiding in its devotedness to the imperial and parliamentary government, passes to the order of the day." This at last was adopted by a large majority, and the liberal members of the cabinet, MM. Buffet, Daru, and Louvet, announcing their retirement, all effectual opposition to the impending national vote was now at an end.

As the 8th of May, the day appointed for the voting, drew near, a separate appeal to the constituency was addressed by the emperor himself, in addition to the ministerial circular already issued. Its contents ran thus:—"The constitution of 1852, drawn up by virtue of the power you entrusted to me, and ratified by the eight millions of votes which re-established the empire, has given to France eighteen years of calm and prosperity not unattended with glory. This constitution has secured order, and has at the same time left a way open for every improvement. And, indeed, the more security has been consolidated, the larger has been the share accorded to liberty. But successive changes have altered the bases of the plebiscitum, which could not be modified without a fresh appeal to the nation. It became, therefore, indispensable that the new constitutional fact should be approved by the people, as were formerly the constitutions of the republic and of the empire. In those two epochs the belief was, as is my own belief at the present time, that everything done without you is illegitimate. The constitution of France, imperial and democratic, when confined to a limited number of fundamental regulations which cannot be changed without your assent, will have the advantage of rendering definite the progress that has been accomplished, and of shielding the principle of government from political fluctuations." He then proceeds to request from the people another proof of their confidence, while he tells them that by balloting affirmatively they will dissipate the threats of revolution, and finishes with these words:—"As to myself, faithful to my origin, I shall imbue myself with your thoughts, fortify myself in your will, and trusting to Providence, I shall not cease to labour without intermission for the prosperity and greatness of France."

Meanwhile, a plot had been, or was presumed to have been, discovered against the life of the emperor, which increased the excitement in the public mind, and still further instilled into the brain of the rural masses the belief that any disturbance of the existing constitution must necessarily lead to confusion and anarchy. When the result of the plebiscitum was officially announced, it was found that surmise had been verified by fact, and the calculations of the emperor were confirmed by a majority of five and a quarter millions. The rural population had voted in the affirmative almost to a man, while, as was expected, Paris and the large cities had recorded a majority of *Noes*, a republican advantage, however, which could poorly cope with the crushing imperial supremacy in the provinces. The exact numbers were *Ayes*, 7,257,379; *Noes*, 1,530,000, exclusive of the Algerian vote, which proved more affirmative than negative. Although the general success of the appeal to universal suffrage may be said to have exceeded the emperor's fondest expectations, there was one manifestation in the result that rendered the triumph not altogether unmixed. The army, on whom he had always relied as being his chief support and most unerring instrument, had recorded 50,000 votes against him. Disappointing as this discovery undoubtedly was, and productive as it proved to be hereafter of the most fatal decisions, the emperor was careful, nevertheless, to hide his mortification, and in a letter addressed to Marshal Canrobert, he requested him to assure the generals, officers, and privates under his command that his own confidence in them had not been shaken. In reply to the speech delivered by M. Schneider on behalf of the legislative body, in the Salle des États of the Louvre, when the formal announcement of the result of the plebiscitum was made to the emperor, the latter said:—"Freed from the constitutional questions which divide the best minds, we must have but one object in view: to rally round the constitution which has just been sanctioned by the country, by the honest men of all parties; to ensure public security; to calm party passions; to preserve the social interests from the contagion of false doctrines; to find, by the aid of the highest intellects, the means of increasing the greatness and prosperity of France; to diffuse education; to simplify the administrative machinery; to carry activity from the centre where it superabounds, to the extremities where it is wanting; to introduce into our codes of law, which are monuments, the improvements justified by experience; to multiply the general agencies of production and riches; to promote agriculture and the development of public works, and finally to consecrate our labour to this problem, always resolute and always seeking to find the best reparation of the burdens which press upon the tax-payers—such is our programme. In realising it, our nation, by the free expansion of its power, will advance the progress of civilisation."

It had confidently been hoped that the ministry, strengthened as it now was by the almost boundless vote obtained throughout the nation in its favour, would prove its power by its moderation and good sense, but during the whole month of June the same inconsistency and impulsiveness which had already so alarmed the legislative body still characterised the acts of M. Ollivier. The whole chamber, in fact, was in a political disorder. The left failed to thoroughly comprehend the situation, and, having no leader of any boldness or recognised authority, were frequently divided in their opposition, and the radicals, though conscious of their wishes and aims, were so dispirited as often to be equally undecided in their vote. Each party contemplated the possible resignation of the government in the existing unmatured condition of their schemes as ill-timed and embarrassing, so that while they carped at every proposition of the ministry, they never pushed the advantage when a crisis was imminent. Thus weeks passed in unprofitable debates, while the position of the cabinet was daily becoming more insecure and undignified. Meanwhile an appointment had been made, unremarked to any unusual extent at the time, but pregnant with the fatal importance of its subsequent effects. The Duc de Gramont, formerly ambassador at the court of Austria, a rabid imperialist and a man of strong passions, had succeeded Count Daru at the foreign office.

Before passing to the more serious events of the month of July, it would be well to notice a debate which took place on the first two days of the month, on the ministerial bill for fixing the number of recruits to be raised for the year 1871, as an example of what startling changes an interval of a few days may produce in the political aspect of a country, and the little reliance to be placed in the utterances of statesmen. After several deputies had taken advantage of the discussion before the chamber to attack the military law of 1868, and M. Garnier Pagès in particular had characterised the system introduced at that time as the most costly to the country and the least convenient for the people, M. Thiers, whose appearance at the tribune created a profound sensation, made a speech in which he observed that the maintenance of peace depended on two conditions, namely, the art of being pacific, and the influence of being strong. Prussia, he said, required peace to obtain the south of Germany; France, on the other hand, needed it in order not to give it her. This, coupled with an interpellation from M. Jules Favre, evoked the following, now almost historical words, from M. Ollivier:—"The government has no uneasiness whatever. At no epoch was the peace of Europe more assured. Irritating questions do not exist. We have developed liberty to assure peace, and the good feeling between the nation and the sovereign has achieved a *Sadowa français* in the *plébiscite*." At the same time, Lord Granville, on assuming the conduct of foreign affairs in this country, bore witness to the opinion lately expressed by Mr. Hammond, the secretary of the foreign office, that the prospects of peace had never appeared brighter. Prussia alone remained reticent, grimly frowning with her well-knit battalions, uneasy, but prepared.

It has long been proverbial that the final cause of war is always trivial in comparison to the fundamental elements producing it, but never, in the history of modern warfare, have hostilities been provoked in a manner more absurd or unfortunate than they were on this occasion by France. To calculate how far the emperor was personally responsible for the sudden and clumsy rupture of peace is a problem as intricate as it is to correctly measure the individual incompetency of his advisers. That the emperor had long contemplated war with Prussia is an undoubted fact, but it would appear from what has since transpired that he alone, of all the French nation, estimated the consequent struggle at its true gravity. Unfortunately, however, he was surrounded by courtiers whose utter paucity of judgment was only equalled by their self-interest and the sycophancy of their advice. The truth was never allowed to derange the profound complacency nurtured in the Tuileries. The warnings of Colonel Stoffel, military attaché at Berlin, were contemptuously excluded, while the false reports of the shallow diplomatic agents in southern Germany were received with unremitted approval and proportionately studied. To add to other misfortunes, the health of the emperor had become very indifferent of late, and it is only due to his memory and the brighter episodes in his career to bear this in mind when we review the succession of unparalleled disasters and disgrace which he, as the chief of the state and dictator of the ministry, was undoubtedly the means of so heedlessly bringing upon his country.

Scarcely had the hopeful prospects of peace, so confidently professed in official quarters, found a joyful echo in the hearts of the people of Europe, when the fire which had so long been smouldering burst into flame. The provisional government of Spain had, for some time, been disappointed in their search for a king, but early in June the hopes of the monarchical party brightened by an announcement made by Marshal Prim in the Cortes that an eligible candidate for the vacant throne was likely to come forward. Although no name was mentioned, it was generally known that the candidate referred to was no other than Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a kinsman of the king of Prussia and brother of the reigning prince of Roumania. No apparent objection was raised at the time on the part of France, and Marshal Prim's negotiations continued. In the beginning of July the government of Spain publicly announced its intention to invite the Cortes to elect Prince Leopold their king, and to the surprise of Marshal Prim, the news was received with unqualified excitement at Paris. The Duc de Gramont, in a speech in the legislative chamber, characterised the scheme as one "imperilling the interests and honour of France," and ominously hinted that, should the good sense of the German people and the friendship of Spain prove inefficient, the government which he represented, supported by the chamber and the nation, would know how to fulfil its duties. Meanwhile, Baron Werther, the German ambassador, had set out from Paris to acquaint the king of Prussia at Ems of the ebullition the news had occasioned in French feeling, and the influence of England was at once exerted at Paris and Berlin to avert the threatening danger. A period of suspense now ensued, but, on the 12th, Prince Leopold, on the earnest application of the foreign powers, and the secret advice of the king of Prussia, notified to the French government that he had renounced his candidature, while his father, as head of the princely branch of Hohenzollern, wrote to Spain to withdraw his son's pretensions. On that very day, however, the Duc de Gramont changed his language. The affair, he said, had become one between France and the king of Prussia, and that the government could not calm the excitement of the country or confidently meet the legislative chamber without they had received some satisfaction from him as the head of the family. To Lord Lyons, the British ambassador at Paris, it was stated that peace alone could be preserved by a formal promise from the king that Prince Leopold would at no future time be permitted to resume his candidature, and at a cabinet council at which the emperor presided' it was finally resolved to formally demand this unwarranted concession. While matters stood thus at Paris, it was generally believed at Berlin that the dispute was settled, and it would appear that Count Bismarck himself was for the moment deceived, for, instead of proceeding to join his sovereign at Ems, he prepared to set out for his country seat at Varzin, and the different departments of state were temporarily permitted to relax the alertness the threatening aspect of affairs had lately prompted them to assume. All this time an important act in the drama was being played at Ems, whither M. Benedetti, the French ambassador at the court of Prussia and the other North German States, had repaired. On the morning of the 13th, the king of Prussia met that minister while walking in the Kurgarten, with his aide-de-camp, Count Lehndorf, and presented him with a number of the *Cologne Gazette*, containing the official announcement of the refusal by Prince Leopold of the crown of Spain, whereupon M. Benedetti, acting no doubt on instructions received that morning from Paris, made the insulting demand agreed upon the day before by the cabinet. This the king haughtily refused to accede to, and some hours afterwards, upon M. Benedetti seeking a further audience, he declined to receive him, and intimated that in future any negotiations must proceed through his ministers. As soon as this news reached Paris, indignation prevailed, and the excitement redoubled on an announcement appearing in the Berlin newspapers to the effect "that the King had declined to receive the French minister again." Nor was the populace of Berlin less excited when the intelligence reached them that their king had been subjected to an uncalled for affront. The patriotic feeling of the people was everywhere aroused, and the shouts for revenge rivalled those that were echoing along the boulevards of Paris. When the facts of the new breach became generally known, the surprise throughout Europe was extreme, and not altogether untinged with resentment against France. Once more offers of intervention were made, and Lord Granville suggested that, in conformity with the declaration of 1856, the quarrel should be referred to mediation; but this proposal was rejected by both powers, and the discussion on the moral rights of the dispute was soon replaced by conflicting anticipations as to the result of the struggle.

On the 15th, M. Ollivier appeared in the legislative chamber, and read a communication which confirmed the worst fears. "The manner," he said, "on which you received the declaration of the 6th afforded us the certainty that you approved our policy, and that we could count upon your support. We commenced, then, negotiations with the foreign powers to invoke their good offices with Prussia, in order that the legitimacy of our grievances might be recognised. We took no steps with the prince of Hohenzollern, considering him shielded by the king of Prussia, and we refused to mix up in the affair any recriminations upon other subjects. The Prussian minister of foreign affairs refused to accede to our demands, pretending that he knew nothing of the affair. We then addressed ourselves to the king himself, and the king, while avowing that he had authorised the prince of Hohenzollern to accept the nomination to the Spanish crown, maintained that he had also been a stranger to the negotiation, and that he had intervened between the prince of Hohenzollern and Spain, as head of the family, and not as sovereign. We could not admit this subtle distinction between the chief of the family and the sovereign. In the meanwhile we received an intimation from the Spanish ambassador that the prince of Hohenzollern had renounced the crown. We asked the king to associate himself with this renunciation, and we asked him to engage that, should the crown be again offered to the prince of Hohenzollern, he would refuse his authorisation. The engagement demanded the king refused to give, and terminated the conversation with M. Benedetti by saying that he would in this as in all other things reserve to himself the right of considering the circumstances. Notwithstanding that, in consequence of our desire for peace, we did not break off the negotiations. Our surprise was great when we learned that the king had refused to receive M. Benedetti, and had communicated the fact officially to the cabinet. We learned that Baron Werther had received orders to take his leave, and that Prussia was arming. Under these circumstances, we should have forgotten our dignity and also our prudence, had we not made preparations. We have prepared to maintain the war which is offered to us, leaving to each that portion of the responsibility which devolves upon him. Since yesterday we have called out the reserve, and we shall take the necessary measures to guard the interest and the security and the honour of France." A similar declaration was made by the Duc de Gramont in the senate, and both were received with enthusiastic and prolonged applause. A credit of fifty millions was demanded by the minister of war, and eventually granted, after some discussion, in which several members of the left urged the government to communicate to the chamber not only the despatches from the diplomatic agents of France, but the Prussian note alleged to have been sent to the European cabinets by Count Bismarck, showing that the chamber, though stimulated by patriotism, were not altogether satisfied with the ingenious exposition, and had noticed the want of frankness and the nicety of prevarication which were afterwards so conspicuous in every proclamation and announcement during the war.

It has been said, and there is every reason to believe the surmise to be correct, that the emperor hesitated at the last moment, when his ministers urged upon him the necessity of exacting a concession which he knew well must inevitably be refused. He could not have forgotten the warning he had given his countrymen thirty years before, "that France would not be able to bring two hundred thousand men in line upon the frontiers, while on the Rhine upwards of five hundred thousand could be collected against his in less than a fortnight." Notwithstanding the protestation of his minister of war that the army of France was now in every respect efficient, a glimmer of the truth must have dawned upon him when the mobilisation of the troops was discussed. He must have distrusted the assurances afforded him by his shallow agents in Southern Germany that Austria had not forgotten Sadowa, and that Bavaria and Würtemberg were ready to aid him in any attack upon Prussia. He must intuitively have feared the effect a war of aggression would produce in the minds of the German people, and foreseen the possibility that unity instead of severance might prove its results. Yet beneath all this there lay a power of culminating circumstances, the proceeds of political errors and mistaken government, which, combined with the impulsive and revolutionary nature of his people, forced him onwards in the desperate hope that national enmity might replace party contention, and the cravings of the masses be arrested in martial display.

While the new prospect was being welcomed by the Parisian populace with the wild enthusiasm of its character, and the French government was wasting precious time in composing speeches and circulars to popularise the war, the state machinery at Berlin had been set in motion, and the military preparations were being carried on with the same precision that afterwards distinguished every movement of the German troops throughout the campaign. Late in the evening of the 15th, the king arrived in the capital, and was received with an enthusiasm he could hardly have anticipated. The whole distance from the railway station to the palace was lined with his excited subjects cheering him, while the streets were illuminated and decorated with flags. On the 19th, the North German parliament was opened by King William in person, and on the same day a formal declaration of war was delivered by the French chargé d'affaires. It was everywhere thought that France, having been the first to declare war, would now avail herself of the advantage she undoubtedly possessed, to strike the first blow at Germany before Prussia had time to collect her forces. Several courses of invasion lay open to her. Had promptitude been exercised, and an example taken from the traditional tactics of French commanders in former ages, nothing could have prevented a large body of troops from crossing the Rhine near Strassburg, entering with forced marches the South German states, and neutralising any aid that might be maturing there in favour of Prussia. It is even possible that a sudden movement of this description, combined with the pressing influence of immediate danger and the necessity of prompt decision, might have considerably modified the political opinions of Würtemberg and Bavaria, and merged their professed predilection for German unity in a dawning hope of a renewed secure independence. It is questionable whether, even with this advantage, France would have been ultimately successful against the proficient generalship and the discipline of her powerful enemy; and it is possible that in the decayed condition of the French army, and the utter deficiency of its organisation, the result of the campaign might have been the same. In a pamphlet written during his captivity at Wilhelmshöhe, the emperor declared that his own intention had been to mass one hundred and fifty thousand at Metz, one hundred thousand at Strassburg, and fifty thousand at the camp of Châlons, then to unite the two armies of Metz and Strassburg, and, at the head of two hundred and fifty thousand men, to cross the Rhine at Maxau, leaving on his right and left the small fortresses of Rastadt and Germersheim, and, hurrying on to meet the Prussians, separate the Southern states from the North. At the same time the fleet was to proceed to the Baltic to hold a portion of the Prussian army in check, and Marshal Canrobert was to take command of the fifty thousand men at Châlons and hasten to Metz to protect the rear of the army, and guard the north-east frontier. But this scheme could not be put into execution for reasons which will soon be seen. As soon as war was declared, the army was discovered to be deficient in all the qualities it was supposed to possess. The battalions were far below their proper strength, owing to the new organisation of Marshal Niel never having been properly carried out; while no army corps was furnished with the equipments necessary for taking the field. Several regiments were actually missing, the artillery and cavalry were respectively incomplete in ammunition and accoutrements, and to add to these misfortunes, the chief commands had for the last few years been consigned to men eminent rather for their social qualities and their fidelity to the empire than for military capacity. In no single department of the French army had the advantages of peace been employed in systematic preparation. It is true a new weapon had been introduced, and a destructive piece added to the artillery, but the continual deficiency in battle of the ammunition they required subsequently cancelled any superiority they could have afforded. There was another evil, the luxury and carelessness of the general had extended its influence to the officers below them, who likewise chiefly spent their time in enervating habits and petty intrigue, while their incompetence and excess had instinctively increased the democratic spirit in the troops, rendering all military discipline imperfect and spasmodic. Thus when war was announced, and orders were issued that the reserves were to be called out, and the army to proceed with all despatch to the frontier, an indescribable confusion took place. Disputes arose; orders were countermanded, and no little time was wasted in visionary descriptions of what telling victories were to be achieved. Meanwhile, it was stated that a vast French army was on its way to the Rhine. It was divided into seven corps, besides the imperial guard. Marshal MacMahon commanded the first corps, with his head-quarters at Strassburg; the second, under General Frossard, eventually arrived near St. Avold; Ladmirault lay next to him with the fourth corps, between Thionville and Sierck; Bazaine, with the guards and the third corps, posted himself on the left of the line near Metz, and General de Failly, with the fifth, received orders to take up his position in the Vosges near Saargemünd and Bitsch, while the seventh army corps, under General Félix Douay, occupied Belfort. Marshal Canrobert was to command the sixth corps at Châlons, which constituted the army of reserve. It would seem from this disposition that the plan originally designed by the emperor, and already referred to, was the one that still influenced the staff, but only one hundred thousand men had been collected for the army of Metz, and that of Strassburg with difficulty mustered forty thousand. When the emperor arrived at Metz, on the 28th of July, nearly a fortnight after the declaration of war, to take the personal command, which for reasons of his own he was loth to entrust to any of his marshals, he found, to his dismay, corps isolated from corps, and was frankly informed that any offensive movement was impossible until the army had been consolidated, and the missing regiments had arrived.

In the meantime, the machine-like forces of Germany were advancing to the frontier. The crown prince, accompanied by General Blumenthal, was the first to leave for the front to take control of the Southern Germans, who unanimously agreed to support Prussia the moment German territory was threatened, as every politician who was not a Frenchman had long foreseen. His head-quarters were to be at Landau, facing the angular tract of country which the French were known to occupy; and his North German army consisted of three corps, the 5th, the 6th, and the 11th, and the troops of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden. The second, or main army, comprising the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 9th, 10th, and 12th corps, together with the Prussian guard, was placed under the command of Prince Frederick Charles and told to assemble at Mayence; lastly, the first army, as it was called, 1st, 7th, and 8th, received orders to concentrate its force on the Moselle near Treves, while the king assumed the style of commander-in-chief, although, as may be supposed, the real direction of the campaign was entrusted to General von Moltke. Hour by hour legions of troops were conveyed by rail to Frankfurt and Mayence, and five thousand men of the army of the South daily crossed the Rhine at Mannheim on the way to Landau. At first the Germans were disposed to await the attack of the French on the line of Coblenz and Mayence, thinking that their foe had got the start of them, but when weeks elapsed without a sign of his advance, and their spies informed them of the real cause of this strange inaction, they decided to take the initiative and throw the war into France. It would appear that the plan they now decided to follow was, in its general outline, similar to the one which had proved so successful in Bohemia in 1866. Prince Frederick Charles was to unite with the first army and engage the main body of the French, while the third army, under the crown prince, was to enter France from Landau, hasten through the passes of the Vosges, and sweep round to the right, threatening the communications of the emperor, who must then either retreat or be attacked in front and flank at once. The first blow of the campaign was, however, still to be struck by France. On the 2nd of August, three divisions, with twenty-three guns, attacked Saarbrücken, under the eyes of the emperor and the prince imperial, who arrived by railway from Metz. The heights of Spicheren were carried without difficulty; and after three hours' fighting, the Prussians, who were in small force, retired to their next line of defence.

Glowing was the announcement transmitted to Paris of this military demonstration. The mitrailleuse, it said, had mowed down the battalions of the enemy, and the presence of mind of the prince imperial had drawn tears from the soldiers' eyes. The French newspapers declared the victory to be immense, although an English correspondent states that some Frenchmen venturing into Saarbrücken that same afternoon were arrested by Prussian pickets.

The movements of the crown prince had been conducted with so much secrecy and celerity that General Douay, who was stationed at Weissenburg with a division composed of the 74th and 50th regiments of the line, two regiments of chasseurs and one of turcos, was totally unconscious that a force far superior to his own was within a single day's march. Why an isolated division was ever posted there has never been explained, while the danger of the position was evident, as the camp almost touched a frontier the German side of which was so thickly wooded as readily to expose them to a surprise. At daybreak on the 4th, when the French troops were cooking their morning meal, the Germans suddenly appeared on the heights of Schweigen and immediately opened a tremendous discharge of artillery. Forced into sudden action, General Douay ordered his troops to advance before the enemy, but was careful to keep as much as possible behind Weissenburg. But no precaution could now avail. The Germans gradually advanced, and although the French for a while fought gallantly, a strongly entrenched position was stormed at the point of the bayonet, which compelled them to retire. A rout now ensued, in which General Douay himself fell a victim to the scathing volleys of artillery which pursued the scattered forces. The number of dead and wounded was considerable on both sides, but six hundred prisoners and one gun with the camp fell into the crown prince's hands, who, on finding, the flight of the French was so rapid as to render further pursuit entirely useless, ordered his troops to desist. When Marshal MacMahon learned of the disaster that had befallen a portion of the force he commanded, he hastened to join his remaining divisions, which he hastily drew up on strong defensive positions on the lower spurs of the Vosges. His left rested on Reichshofen, his centre lay between Frischweiller and Wörth, and his right extended beyond Elsasshausen. The position was admirably chosen. A force attempting to pass him on his right would have exposed its flank, while a direct attack was necessary if the crown prince decided to gain the road through the Vosges. Unfortunately, MacMahon, who had only fifty-six thousand men under his command, did not believe that the force advancing against him was as large as the scared fugitives from Weissenburg in self-vindication assured him they were. On the evening of the 5th, the crown prince arrived with an army of not less than one hundred and thirty thousand men, and found, as he expected, MacMahon prepared to dispute his advance. Although, from information received, he was aware of the weakness of the force opposing him, the prince nevertheless was willing to defer battle until his Prussian cavalry came up, and he had completed his intended change of front, but the impatience of the outposts brought on an engagement early on the 6th. At first, uncertainty, amounting almost to confusion, prevailed in the advanced lines of the German army, owing to orders having been received from head-quarters to desist at present from all aggressive movements. Perceiving this, Marshal MacMahon threw himself with great vigour on the 5th Prussian corps. For a moment the issue seemed doubtful, but between twelve and one o'clock the crown prince reached the battle-field, and, ordering the 11th Prussian corps to advance, compelled the French themselves to assume the defensive. From this moment the fate of the French army was decided. Fighting had now extended along the whole line, and orders had been given to the Würtemberg division to advance on Reichshofen, the left flank of the enemy. A Bavarian corps was to attack simultaneously their positions at Elsasshausen, their front being at the same time hardly pressed by the outnumbering battalions of Prussian troops. These movements were successful, the right of the French yielded in a manner that contrasted badly with the stubborn resistance on the left, and the grand spectacle which the last efforts of desperation by the divisions in the centre unquestionably afforded. The right wing, though scarcely pressed at all, having once given way, commenced a shameful flight, which nothing but deficiency in discipline and the entire want of confidence between officers and men can possibly account for. The panic was almost infantile. Unpursued, the soldiers rushed madly in the direction of Hagenau, throwing away their arms; some even detaching the horses from the guns that they might more readily escape. Three thousand of them at last took refuge in Strassburg, where the news of the disaster was received with astonishment and apprehension. On the left, however, the ground was obstinately contested by the French. Whole regiments had to be mowed down by the Prussian artillery before the Germans could storm the hills with success. It was late in the afternoon before they finally gave way, and not until MacMahon had attempted to arrest the advance of the enemy by a grand charge of cavalry, which will remain memorable for the useless bloodshed it occasioned and the magnificent display of courage it produced. At sunset, the Germans were entirely masters of the field, and the retreat of the centre and the left of the French army equalled that of the right in its disorder and ruin. Two eagles, thirty guns, six mitrailleuses, seven thousand prisoners, and a great amount of cash fell into the hands of the crown prince, and it is estimated that the killed and wounded on the French side alone amounted to ten thousand men.

But great as this defeat was, another of equal magnitude befel the imperial army that same day. On the 5th, the news of the disaster at Weissenburg reached the French head-quarters, and orders were immediately given to General Frossard to withdraw his troops overlooking Saarbrücken, for fear that the woods on the Prussian frontier might afford the enemy a means of a similar surprise to the one which had proved so fatal to General Douay. The emperor, however, neglected to send up either Bazaine or Ladmirault to his support, and left him with the second army corps in the valley between Saarbrücken and Forbach. Aware of the danger of his position, General Frossard ordered that some heights rising on his left, in almost perpendicular ascent, should immediately be occupied, and hardly had this order been obeyed, when, early on the 6th, the leading division of the first German army arrived at Saarbrücken, and, learning that the enemy was in small force, forthwith determined upon an attack. Frossard now concentrated his whole force on the heights of Spicheren, where in almost an entrenched position he awaited the advance of the Prussians. No struggle of importance took place until noon, when a fresh Prussian division came up and the battle began in earnest. At first the Prussians were greatly outnumbered, but during the afternoon, reinforcements, attracted by the firing, hourly arrived, and General von Göben, who now took the command, directed a vigorous attack against the

French front. The steep hill of Spicheren was carried by the foremost columns of the Prussian army, which advanced steadily up the heights in the face of a deadly fire. The loss of life was enormous, and it is questionable whether the Prussians could have retained the ground they had so gallantly won, had not two batteries of artillery succeeded in scaling the hill by an almost precipitous path, and thus efficiently supported them. Forbach was now occupied by a Prussian division, and General Frossard, finding himself forced off the direct road to Metz, after several unsuccessful charges, ordered a retreat southward. At the close of the day, Steinmetz arrived on the ground, but no attempt was made to pursue the retreating troops; in fact, the extent of the German success was not known till the next morning, when the retreat of the enemy was discovered to have been in reality a ruinous flight.

The excitement in Paris was so great on the receipt of the intelligence of these disasters that the city was declared in a state of siege. On the 7th, a telegram from the emperor increased the agitation. "My communications," he said, "with MacMahon are interrupted. He has lost a battle, but retires in good order." Two hours later, another telegram arrived. "The retreat has been effected in good order. *Tout peut se rétablir.*" Fatal words. The empress, who was declared regent, issued a proclamation. The ministry sat in permanence. The senate and legislative body were summoned. A few feverish days passed. On the 9th, when the chambers met, the fate of the ministry, and with it that of the empire, was decided. M. Jules Favre, a name full of evil omen for France, proposed that fifteen deputies should be charged to repel the invasion, and that the emperor, having shown his incapacity, should return to Paris. For a moment it seemed as if the cabinet could maintain its ground, the chambers passed a vote of confidence; but the opinion of the masses outside was expressed by derisive cries and seditious movements, which were barely repressed by cavalry demonstrations, and by the action of the police; and the national guard, which was turned out, seemed disposed to sympathise with the malcontents.

In the meantime the Germans proceeded on their advance westward. A force was detached to invest Strassburg by the crown prince, who continued his march through the Vosges direct upon Paris, by Luneville and Nancy, while Prince Frederick Charles, with the main army, pressed hard on the remaining French forces, which were concentrating round Metz under Marshal Bazaine, to whom the emperor had resigned the chief command. After the abandonment of the line of the Saar, a panic seems to have seized the French staff, depriving them of any concerted plan of action or defence. Instead of immediately retreating to await the enemy on securer and more favourable ground, or forthwith summoning his supports in an effort to arrest their advance, Bazaine strove to do both, and in consequence failed in both attemps. All orders were conflicting. One regiment was told to advance, another to retire; no one knew where his head-quarters were; the roads were blocked with waggons, the reserve ammunition had been lost, and, as usual, nothing was known of the movements of the enemy. A week of expectation elapsed, in which De Failly, terrified at the defeats on both sides of him, abandoned his position on the frontier, and retreated with such secrecy and haste that he was not heard of until he suddenly appeared at Châlons with his corps ten days afterwards. On the 11th of August, the king of Prussia moved his head-quarters across the frontier to St. Avold, and on the 13th, General Steinmetz, with the first army, was in sight of Metz, while Prince Frederick Charles lay close to his left on the south-east. When the presence of the enemy was no longer to be disputed, the necessity of prompt decision at last forced itself on the mind of the French staff. In the crisis that threatened his only army, for no other had as yet been formed at Châlons, Bazaine, neglecting the advice sent him by M. Ollivier from Paris, that "the abandonment of Lorraine could only produce a deplorable effect on the public mind," decided to abandon the line of the Moselle and try to defend that of the Meuse. But on the 14th, when the vanguard of the French army began to cross the Moselle, in view of a retreat along the road to Verdun, the advance guard of the Prussians came in contact with the French near Courcelles, and a sanguinary and determined action ensued, on which much of the fate of France depended. The Prussian cavalry, in a series of desperate charges, succeeded in arresting the retreat of the French and turning them to bay, thus giving time for the infantry to come up and engage them. Each side claimed victory, but the loss on the German side was undoubtedly the greater: one Prussian regiment alone lost thirty-two officers and eight hundred and ninety men, and the destruction in their cavalry was immense; as soon as Bazaine discovered that the enemy had detached a considerable portion of his force in a movement to the south-west of Metz, he persuaded the emperor to depart with his son for Châlons, and directed that the retreat should be continued with all despatch for fear that the army should be outflanked. By the morning of the 15th, notwithstanding the encounter of the day before, the whole army had completed the passage of the river, and were retreating along the two roads to Verdun. The Germans, however, had been equally prompt. Strong corps were pushed across the Moselle, between Metz and Frouard, which was facilitated by the possession of the passage of the river at Pont-à-Mousson, where the bridges were left intact, and General von Moltke discerned the possibility of cutting off Bazaine from Châlons and Paris, as the crown prince had separated MacMahon from Bazaine. By nightfall on the 15th, he had succeeded in placing eight army corps on a line to the left of the roads by which the enemy were retreating, and such was the slackness in the march of the French columns that, early on the 16th, one German corps actually faced them on the south-west. A desperate combat was the consequence. The third Prussian corps commenced the battle, in which the French offered for hours a gallant but ill-directed defence, while the nearest German divisions, hurrying up in support, took ground successively to the left, and, finally fronting, attacked with a line now facing eastwards. Meanwhile, other reinforcements arriving rapidly from Pont-à-Mousson, the order was given to advance on the fortified heights of the French, when a desperate action took place, and it was not till after three hours' hard fighting that they were driven from their position, and then the amount of ground yielded was very slight. Darkness at last put an end to the contest which had proved the most sanguinary of any that had yet taken place. The Germans lost seventeen thousand men, but although the French loss had been less, and Bazaine claimed partial advantages in portions of his line, the success of the day may be said to have lain with the Germans, as the retreat of the enemy had been effectually arrested.

It is a question we shall not here pretend to decide whether Marshal Bazaine could have taken any steps to continue his retreat next day, but certain it is that an opportunity that the Germans believed he might have taken was allowed to pass without acting upon it; the Germans now resolved upon holding the French left at Gravelotte, till the right could be surrounded by the overwhelming masses at their disposal. The 17th, therefore, was employed in bringing up the remaining corps, while the movements of the enemy were carefully watched by the cavalry. On the 18th, the decisive blow was struck. The second army, whose left wing was drawn up in *échelon*, began early in the morning to move towards the northern road to Verdun, being careful, however, to keep in constant communication with the first army, which remained stationary south of Gravelotte. It was soon ascertained that the French no longer contemplated retreat, but had taken up a strong position on the last ridge of hills in front of Metz. This discovery at once occasioned a change in the movement of the German army. The second army wheeled to the right, but still preserving its connection, and directed its centre on Verneville and Amanvilliers, while the first army received the order to advance; neither force, however, were to commence battle until the position of the enemy could be simultaneously attacked in front and on its right flank. This movement was successful, and a cannonade in the neighbourhood of Verneville announcing the arrival there of the second army, the first opened fire against the heights of Le Point-du-Jour. The French position was a very formidable one, as it was strengthened by fortifications as well as lined with rows of rifle-pits, and had the immense effort made on the part of the troops, and the courage they undoubtedly displayed, been supported by a commanding military genius, their advantages might have considerably modified the results of the day. The Germans were at first greatly impeded in their progress by occasional patches of wood which were filled with French sharpshooters, but they steadily advanced, until they came into immediate contact with the main forces of the enemy. The Saxons and the Prussian guards, who were now advancing with the second army in an easterly direction, were engaged at Ste.-Marie-aux-Chênes and St.-Privat, in a colossal effort to dislodge the right wing of the French army, which was occupying a position equally formidable to that held by their left. There the struggle was long and severe, and the resistance by the French rivalled in energy the furious attacks they sustained. At last the Prussian guards, in a brilliant charge, stormed the precipitous height of St.-Privat, while the 9th corps at the same time succeeded in taking Verneville. Nor had the corps of the first army been entirely unsuccessful in the fields round Gravelotte, where the French left were making a desperate effort to retain the last bit of the Verdun road. The ground was not extensive, so that the combatants were brought into fearfully close quarters, and for hours the slaughter was enormous. The French were protected by rough entrenchments, filled with mitrailleuses, which poured out destructive volleys as often as the Prussian infantry approached. Notwithstanding the fearful loss sustained, fresh regiments continued to come up, and finally the French were compelled to withdraw to a new position, a movement which was swiftly carried out under the protection of their artillery. Thus the day gradually wore away in scenes of appalling bloodshed and deeds of praiseworthy valour. When evening at last closed in, a final effort was made by the French to break through the massive girdle which was being so surely forged around them. A panic in the right wing of the German army, from a report that a fresh French force was advancing upon their left, for a moment favoured the attempt, and it is even said that the king himself was in temporary danger; but the alarm soon subsided, and the huge German masses forced back almost foot by foot the enemy, who, at a little after eight o'clock, gave way along their whole line to retire behind the forts of Metz, cut off from all their communications and without hope of escape.

Up to this time, the defeats the French had sustained had been attended by heroic struggles, and it is well to notice them, when the faint-heartedness of their subsequent efforts are compared. For thirteen hours an army of one hundred and eighty thousand men had fought against an enemy two hundred and thirty thousand strong, inflicting on them a loss exceeding twenty thousand in killed and wounded, and leaving few prisoners, and no colour or eagle, in the hands of the victors. From the date of this prodigious battle, it must be admitted, that the valour of the French troops became spasmodic and intermittent, while the want of discipline greatly increased. It is unnecessary to follow the course of the siege of Metz, which began on the night of the 18th, as nothing peculiar distinguished it, if we except the extraordinary fact that an armed host of one hundred and sixty thousand men, the flower of the army of France, were held in ignominious check by a force hardly exceeding their own. The king now separated from Prince Frederick Charles, whom he left to continue the investment of Metz, having detached from him the 4th Corps, the 12th (Saxons), and the guards, to form a fourth army, under the crown prince of Saxony. On the 25th, his headquarters were at Bar-le-Duc, whence energetic measures were directed to hasten with all speed the march of the Prussians upon MacMahon's army, and anticipate it on the line of the Meuse. It would have been possible, had MacMahon's force been well constituted, for it, by forced marches, to outstrip the Prussians, because from the 20th to the 30th, they should certainly have been able to have made good a position outside that held by the Prussians around Metz, who, thus placed between two powerful armies, could not have maintained their grip upon Bazaine. But the real situation was very different, and to understand it a retrospect is essential. As soon as MacMahon had in some measure collected his shattered forces after the battle of Wörth, he ordered them to repair instantly to Châlons, where he trusted to unite them with the army of reserve assembling there. On arriving at the camp, however, he found that Canrobert's troops had been drawn partly to Paris, and partly to Metz, and the only elements left him for the formation of the grand army so much was expected of were about eighteen battalions of mobiles, some marine infantry, the corps under de Failly, and the remnants of his own and Douay's divisions. As usual, too, equipments were wanting; the regiments had no arms, and the cavalry no horses, so that any immediate movement was difficult. Considering his materials, it is only just to say that the marshal showed considerable talent in the efforts he made to consolidate this multiform and defective mass. Besides he was greatly hampered by the continual messages and orders he received from the new ministers, who carried out the policy of their predecessors, and were equally officious and arrogant in their interference. When the news of the disasters round Metz arrived, and the sudden interruption of communication with Bazaine's army disclosed too clearly the truth, the necessity of decision and promptitude became doubly urgent. But the same hesitation that had already proved so disastrous at Metz now characterised the projects of MacMahon, who had neither sufficient resolution to disregard the orders received from Paris nor foresight enough to see that, if they were to be obeyed at all, expedition was of more consequence than numbers or proficiency. When at last it was decided to undertake the fatal movement to the north-east, in compliance with the strongly expressed opinion of the Paris regency, and the hope of raising the siege of Metz, the marshal delayed setting out till the 24th, and then the execution of the march was feeble and altogether too dilatory for the boldness of the attempt. The emperor accompanied him, but he took little part, if any, in the direction; indeed it would seem that from the date of the first defeat, he had fallen into a state of morbid inertia that ill health augmented, and lost all those energetic qualities of which he had formely availed himself so advantageously. On the 27th, MacMahon reached Le Chêne-Populeux, where he first learnt of the proximity of the armies of the crown prince and the prince of Saxony, which were sweeping round upon him, and again he hesitated, while he even issued an order that preparations should be made for a retreat. That night, however, another pressing message arrived from Paris, overruling his objections, on the ground that the abandonment of Bazaine would produce a revolution at Paris, and thus the same motive that prompted the delay at Metz was now the means of occasioning a measure as precipitate as that of a few weeks back had been undecided and tardy. As soon as Moltke heard of the evacuation of Châlons, he was not slow to perceive the advantages this adventurous scheme must present to a ready enemy, and when he found that the march of the French army was not as rapid as he anticipated, he discerned the possibility of cutting off MacMahon from Paris, as well as preventing any junction with his brother marshal at Metz. To effect this, he ordered the crown prince of Saxony to proceed to the Argonne, to hold him in check, until the crown prince of Prussia should by rapid marches have swept round and hemmed him in against the Belgian frontier; and this movement so far succeeded that the Prussians had actually reached Stenay before the French had attempted to cross the Meuse. On the 30th, the Bavarians, with two Prussian corps, surprised a French division at Beaumont, and threw back MacMahon's army towards the fortress of Sedan, where the 31st was spent by MacMahon in occupying strong positions and preparing for a desperate defence. At the same time the Germans were no less actively employed. The forces under the crown prince of Saxony had advanced beyond Mouzon, in the direction of Carignan, whilst the third army had succeeded in lapping the right wing of their dispirited foe. The crown prince himself was at Chemery, and the king and Moltke were at Vendresse. It had been originally intended to postpone the decisive blow till the 2nd of September, as the Saxon army had undergone considerable fatigue in their forced marches on the 30th and the 31st, but after a consultation it was decided that the attack on Sedan and the French lines between the Meuse and the Ardennes should be undertaken the next day. The preparations were complete. The troops of the third army on the left bank of the Meuse stood ready to cross, while the Saxons, on the right, were only waiting for orders to assume the offensive; and all were ready at the first signal to close in round Sedan. A moment's glance at the map will easily explain the line of battle, which on the morning of the 1st was as follows. The right wing consisted of the army of the crown prince of Saxony, whose van was composed of the 12th army corps, supported by the 4th, and the guards, the rear being brought up by the 4th division of cavalry. The guards were marching towards Givonne, the Saxons towards Moncelle and Daigny. To the left of this army was stationed the 1st Bavarian corps, opposite the village of Bazeilles, while the 11th Prussian corps had placed its pontoons during the night below Donchery, and a little to the left lay the 5th corps, and still farther, near the village of Dom-le-Mesnil, the Würtembergers. The 6th corps was stationed between Alligny and Le Chêne, as a reserve.

The centre of the French position was the fortress of Sedan, but their flanks extended as far as Givonne on the left, and Mezières on the right. The villages of Balan and Bazeilles were in front, and the spurs of the Ardennes in their rear. Notwithstanding a thick fog covering valley and hill, the battle began at Bazeilles a little after five o'clock in the morning, and as the mist lifted, the artillery action became general, and fighting gradually extended along the German line, which now presented the appearance of a massive half-circle, whose two points, like the feelers of the octopus, were spreading their ubiquitous muscles to complete the circle and secure their prey. By nine o'clock, the 11th corps had so far turned the right flank of the French as already to threaten their position, while the Saxons, who had as yet designedly remained passive, pressed forward in a violent effort upon their left. The battle now assumed a desperate character, as the danger of their position dawned upon the French, and the chances of escape became less. The wooded ravines at first favoured the defence, and, for a short period, the losses of the assailants was so great and discouraging that, had not the German troops been as disciplined as they were, the successes of the day must undoubtedly have been postponed. It was at this point of the battle that the French cavalry made two brilliant onslaughts, which the enemy themselves could not refrain from admiring, but destruction was the only result, as the charges were made upon guns admirably served and supported. The chasseurs d'Afrique, too, failed not to sustain their reputation, but it can hardly be said that the mobiles displayed the courage their country might have expected of them, or their patriotism and self-respect have suggested.

The superior force of the Germans now began to tell (they numbered over two hundred and ten thousand). The right wing of the French began to fall back, which enabled the 11th and 5th Prussian corps to complete their movement, and effectually cut off any retreat to the Ardennes. Thus by mid-day, flight was rendered impossible, and the centre of the struggle was transferred to the plain in front of Sedan, where the village of Bazeilles was in flames, and the action of the artillery had assumed an appalling character. But here, likewise, the French were driven back. The circle, which at two o'clock, though complete, was extensive, became so contracted at three that the French found themselves thrust back within the ramparts of Sedan itself. Infantry, cavalry, and artillery thronged the streets of the town, while around villages and hamlets were burning, and the horrors of bombardment were imminent. A momentary cessation of hostilities now ensued, but as no white flag was as yet to be seen on the tower of Sedan, the Germans recommenced firing from the commanding heights, but this was soon countermanded, and an officer from the German staff was sent with a flag of truce, to demand the capitulation of the army and the fortress. The emperor, to whose credit it must be stated that four hours had seen him in the centre of the fight, now submitted the terms of the surrender to General de Wimpffen, who, when MacMahon was severely wounded, had succeeded to the command; forwarding himself an autograph letter to the king of Prussia, containing these words:—"Not having been able to die in the midst of my troops, it only remains for me to place my sword in the hands of your Majesty," to which the king sent the following reply:—"Regretting the circumstances under which we meet, I accept the sword of your majesty, and I invite you to designate one of your officers, provided with full power to treat for the capitulation of the army which has so bravely fought under your command. On my side, I have named General Moltke for this purpose." Early the next morning, the emperor left Sedan, and met Count Bismarck on the way from the fortress to Donchery, and, later in the day, had an interview with the king at a private mansion in the neighbourhood. The palace of Wilhelmshöhe was placed at the disposal of the emperor by the king, and on the 3rd, at 9 A.M., amid a terrible storm, he drove away under a strong military escort, a captive, and, as he crossed the frontier, a deposed sovereign.

The battle of Sedan was scarcely that which might be expected from the reputation of the French general, but it must be regarded as a combat unfortunate in all its circumstances, and the result was, from the first, to have been foreseen. The capitulation of an emperor, a marshal, thirty-nine generals, two thousand officers, eighty-three thousand men, and five hundred guns, is an event of which history gives no parallel. A country's disgrace attended it, and a revolution was its effect.

As soon as the fatal news reached Paris, Count Palikao, who, during the advance of MacMahon, had been careful to issue encouraging reports, hastily summoned the legislative body, and, amid great excitement, acquainted it with the serious intelligence he was compelled to announce. The sitting was then adjourned till the next morning, when the presentiment which had prompted the interference of the ministry in the military councils was fully realised, and the fate of the empire was sealed. The populace invaded the chamber, demanding a republic, and the ministry seeking safety in flight, the emperor was declared deposed, and a Government of National Defence elected, consisting of the following members: Jules Favre, minister of foreign affairs; Gambetta, minister of the interior; Ernest Picard, minister of Finance, and other avowed republicans, with the exception of General Trochu, who, notwithstanding his monarchical predilections, was entrusted with the defence of Paris. The empress had, meanwhile, effected her escape by a side-door of the Tuileries to the house of an American gentleman, who gallantly escorted her to Trouville, where she was consigned to the care of Sir John Burgoyne, who conveyed her to England in his yacht. Thus, in less than two months from the date of the declaration of war, France had experienced seven crushing defeats, in which the whole of her regular army had either fallen, surrendered, or been beleaguered; two ministries had been deposed, and an empire had fallen without a hand stretched forth to save it.

From a phrase in one of the king of Prussia's proclamations, stating that he made war, not against France, but against the imperial dynasty, led the new government to hope that now that its responsible promoter was deposed Prussia might be willing to discontinue the struggle. Upon this assumption, M. Jules Favre sought an interview with Count Bismarck, and issued a manifesto to the representatives of his country abroad, trusting that the European cabinets might aid him in his overtures for peace. These hopes, however, were speedily dissipated. The language of the conquerors had singularly changed. The quarrel, they now said, was with France, and France alone, and it was immaterial to them what kind of government the French people might think proper to establish. What Germany demanded was that she should be protected by better boundaries than had hitherto existed against the dangers and violence she had so often experienced from her western neighbours. Count Bismarck, in his counter-manifesto, even went so far as to say, with that simulation which long practice must render natural, that from Germany no disturbance of the European peace was to be feared, but that, as the war had been forced upon his country, the prize of victory was her lawful due. M. Favre, however, declared with patriotic eloquence that, while the provisional government would pay any indemnity, it would never yield an inch of the territory of France or a stone of her fortresses. And so France now entered on a war of despair, led by a set of wild enthusiasts, against a vast host, elated already with its colossal successes, and confident of yet further victory.

The military resources of France, though totally undisciplined, were nevertheless still formidable and numerous. General Vinoy, by fortunate delay, had saved forty thousand men from the catastrophe which befel MacMahon; fifty thousand were in the depots; an army of one hundred thousand strong was being formed at Lyons; and Paris counted two hundred thousand mobiles and one hundred and fifty thousand national guards. Besides, the army of Bazaine still existed as an inseverable mass, and if its sorties had as yet been ineffective, there was no reason why a later one might not prove successful. Thus, preparations were made to prolong the campaign, while the inhabitants of Paris awaited with commendable fortitude the horrors of a siege. By the 20th of September, the third German army had reached Versailles, and a few days later the investment of Paris was complete.

The excitement in England at the outbreak of the war redoubled when there appeared, on the 25th of July, the draught of a treaty by which Prussia was to permit France to conquer Belgium, upon the understanding that she, on her side, would assent to the extension of the North German Confederation. The treaty was communicated to the *Times* by Count Bismarck himself, and was stated to have been drawn up in 1867, when M. Benedetti had urged the Prussian chancellor to fulfil some promises made to the emperor at Biarritz. The truth respecting the origin of the document was never satisfactorily arrived at, but the motive that suggested its publication speedily bore fruit in England in the resentment it produced against France. Mr. Disraeli, calling attention to it in the House of Commons, asked the government for information, but Mr. Gladstone evaded the question in an ambiguous reply, which sensibly increased the disquietude in the public mind. Eventually this reticence was in a manner broken by Lord Granville in the House of Lords, who stated that as soon as the government had made a clear intimation of its intentions, nothing would prevent the government from adhering scrupulously to the position it had taken, and soon after a treaty was signed by England, France, and Prussia, in which the independence of Belgium was guaranteed, while in the event of either belligerent violating her neutrality England agreed to assist the other in exacting its observance.

On the 10th of August, parliament was prorogued, the royal speech making reference to the Irish Land Act, and the provisions that had been made for the national education. From the first measure her Majesty had anticipated the gradual establishment both of harmonious relations between owners and occupiers of land, and of general confidence in the provisions and administration of the laws, and in the just and benevolent intentions of the legislature. For the second she perceived a new guarantee for the moral and social well-being of the nation, and for its prosperity and power.

On the 7th of September, a terrible catastrophe took place at sea off Cape Finisterre. The squadron which had been formed on the previous evening by Admiral Milne, consisted of three divisions; the *Lord Warden*, the *Minotaur*, and the *Agincourt* leading, the *Captain* being the last, astern of the *Lord Warden*. Towards midnight a gale sprung up, and the *Captain*, which was somewhat astern of the flag-ship (the *Lord Warden*), was observed to heel over a good deal to starboard with the wind on her port side. When the day broke, two ships only could be seen, the *Captain* being the missing one; portions of the wreck were subsequently discovered, and the conclusion arrived at by the admiral was that the *Captain* foundered in a heavy squall on the morning of the 7th. It was at first thought that no one had escaped, but it became subsequently known that one warrant officer, master gunner May, and seventeen seamen, had arrived at Corcubion on the evening of the wreck. The general opinion of the men was that, the ship having slightly heeled over, the pressure of a strong wind upon the under part of the hurricane deck had a greater effect or leverage upon the hull of the ship than the pressure of the wind in her three topsails. They were also unanimous in their opinion that, when the *Captain* got her starboard side well down in the water, with consequent weight of water on the starboard side of the turret-deck, and the pressure of the wind blowing from the port hand on the under surface of the hurricane deck, and thus pushing the ship right over, she had no chance of righting herself. One man stated that, in answer to Captain Burgoyne's inquiry as to how much the ship was heeling over, he heard the answers given, "18," "23," and "25" degrees. Immediately this last degree was reached, the ship was keel uppermost, and about to make her tremendous downward plunge. Among those lost was a son of Mr. Childers, first lord of the Admiralty, and a son of Lord Northbrook. The *Captain*, which was built by Messrs. Laird and Sons, Birkenhead, on the designs of Captain Cowper Coles, was specially intended as a competitive ship with the Admiralty turret-ship, *Monarch*, designed by the chief constructor, Mr. Reed. The former had a free board of nine feet, the latter of fourteen. She was a double-screwed ship of 4270 tons and 900 horse-power. In her two turrets she carried six guns of the heaviest calibre, which rendered her the most formidable ship in the navy. The national mind was so much touched by the loss that the queen only expressed the wish of her subjects when she desired that measures might be taken to signify to the widows and relatives of the whole of the crew, of all ranks, who had perished the expression of her Majesty's deep sympathy with them, and to assure them that she felt most acutely the misfortune which had at once deprived her of one of the finest ships of war and of so many gallant seamen, and had inflicted upon their widows and other relatives losses that must ever be deplored.

On the 8th of October, judgment was given by the naval court-martial which had been organised for the purpose of inquiring into the circumstances connected with the loss of the *Captain*. They found that the vessel had capsized by the pressure of sail, assisted by the heave of the sea, and that the amount of sail carried at the time of her loss was insufficient to have endangered a ship endowed with a proper amount of stability. The court also found it their duty to record that the *Captain* was built in deference to public opinion, as expressed in parliament and through other channels, and in opposition to the views and opinions of the controller of the navy and his department; it further appearing on evidence that before the *Captain* was received from the contractors, a grave departure from her original design had been committed, whereby her draught of water was increased two feet, and her freeboard was diminished to a corresponding extent, and that her stability proved to be dangerously small, combined with an area of sail. Under these circumstances, the court expressed their deep regret that, if these facts were duly known and appreciated, they were not communicated to the officer in command of the ship; or that, if otherwise, the ship was allowed to be employed in the ordinary service of the fleet before these facts had been sufficiently ascertained by calculations and experiment.

In returning Mr. May's sword, the president said the court was satisfied that everything had been done to save life, and that the conduct of the survivors reflected credit on themselves, and on the service to which they belonged.

The occupation of the Roman States by the troops of the Italian government may be considered as an event that would alone have marked this momentous year, had the French war not taken place. The collapse of the military power of the chief ally of the pope was of such an overwhelming nature as to animate the dormant desire of the Italian people for the acquisition of Rome. The doctrine of infallibility lately proclaimed, and the dissension it produced, probably increased the agitation, while the late republican demonstrations throughout the country undoubtedly influenced Victor Emmanuel in his decision. In spite of the protestations of the pope, General Cadorna received orders to enter the papal dominions, and on the 20th of September the royal troops appeared before the gates of Rome. The pope having ordered a formal resistance to certify to the discipline and valour of the army in the service of the Holy See, the terms of a surrender were agreed upon, and General Cadorna entered the city at head of his troops. A new parliament affirmed the annexation, and it was subsequently decided that the seat of the government should be in future at Rome, but permission was given to the pope to occupy the palace of the Vatican, and exercise his temporal power in the direction of that small portion of land on the right bank of the Tiber, which is best known as the Leonine City. Thus the enterprise which had been begun twenty-three years previously was crowned, and the final unity of Italy was celebrated by an amnesty to all political offenders, and was heralded with joyful acclamations by the populace.

Meanwhile, the Spanish government had not remained idle; for, in the third week of October, it was officially announced in the Cortes that the crown of Spain had been offered to and accepted by Amadeus, duke of Aosta, second son of the king of Italy. As the election was in this case unopposed by foreign powers, and agreed to by the nation, preparations were made for the reception of the new sovereign, but, unfortunately, an act of wanton violence at once disgraced the republican faction of Spain and spread a gloom over the otherwise auspicious entry of the youthful king into his new dominions. As Marshal Prim was proceeding to the Cortes on the evening of the 28th of December, shots were fired at his carriage, by which he was so severely wounded that he died two days afterwards, and it is a remarkable fact that, notwithstanding a searching investigation, the culprits remained undiscovered.

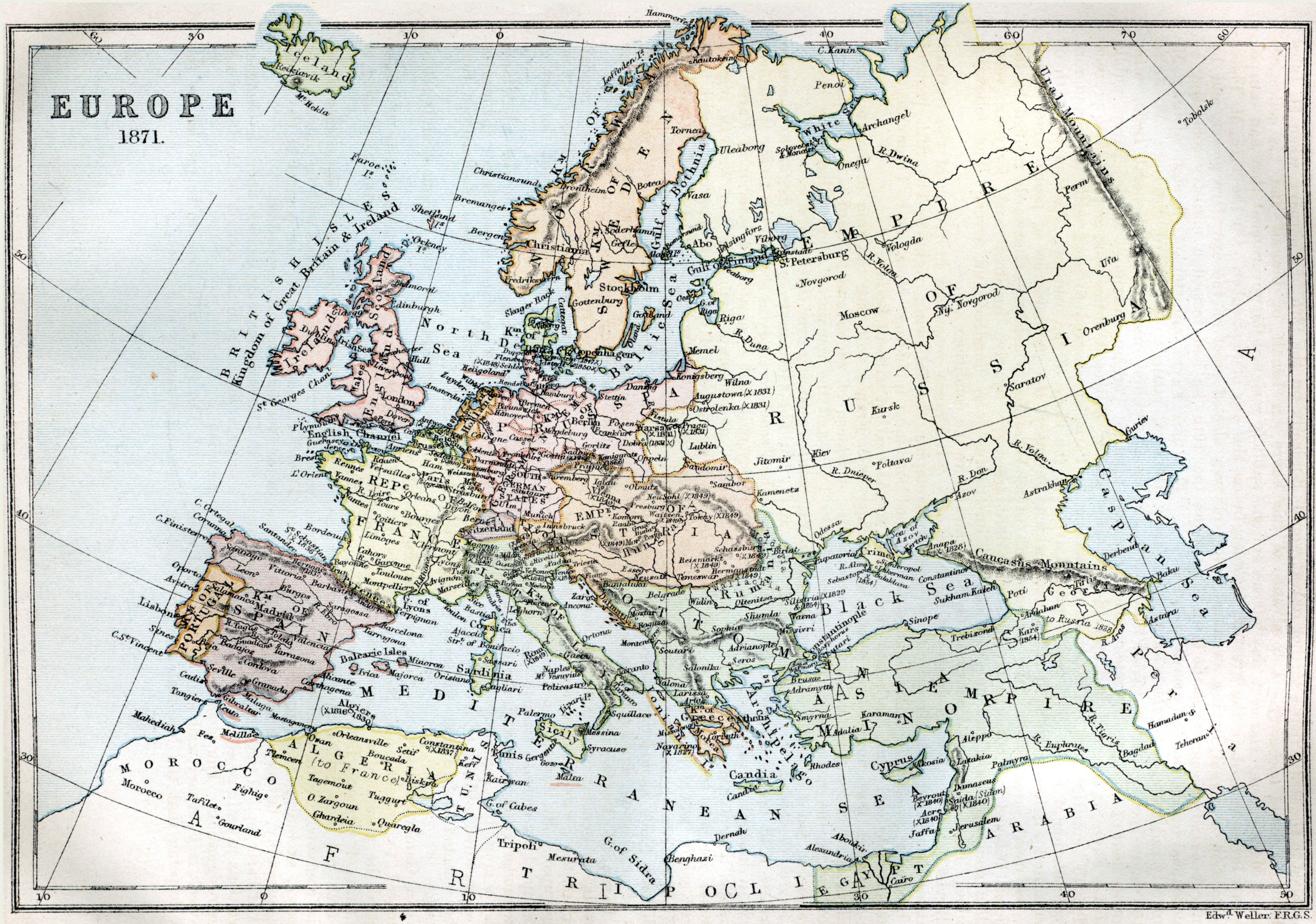
At the end of October, when the attention of England was still engaged by the incidents of the campaign on the continent, a circular was suddenly issued by the Russian government, repudiating the obligation contained in the treaty of 1856, which enforced the neutrality of the Black Sea. Although the circular was accompanied by a note from Prince Gortchakoff, in which he assured the English government that Russia was still willing to co-operate with England in the policy she had adopted with regard to the Eastern question, the principal document itself was so dictatorial and unconciliatory as to evoke from Lord Granville a firm reply, reminding that great power of the obligatory nature of the treaty, while he courteously but strongly insisted on its observance. At the same time, Mr. Odo Russell was sent to Versailles to find out whether a secret sanction had been given by the German government to this unexpected step. Count Bismarck denied the veracity of this supposition, and suggested that a conference of the powers should be held in London for the settlement of the controversy, which proposal was finally agreed to.

It is now necessary to retrace our steps to watch the operations of the German army round Paris. The king of Prussia had followed the crown prince to Versailles and taken up his quarters in the palace of the Grand Monarque. The investment of Paris being complete, the remainder of the month of September was chiefly spent by the besieging troops in fortifying their positions, while the committee of defence were equally busily employed in the capital in strengthening their works and organising a vigorous force. By the first week in October, the army in Paris numbered upwards of five hundred thousand, but as it was chiefly composed of national guards, its powers as a field force were very limited, and its organisation was irregular and incomplete. Great achievements were, however, expected of it, while the confidence of the nation was reposed in General Trochu, who was recognised as a man of more than ordinary capacity and decision. As the Germans remained quiescent, neither attacking the forts nor bombarding the city, General Trochu determined to postpone a sortie until the young troops had acquired more discipline, and in this resolution we must recognise a prudence contrasting favourably with the other ill-advised decisions in the French conduct of the campaign. Meanwhile, Strassburg and Toul had capitulated, and Bazaine had made two or three ineffective sorties from Metz, which considerably increased the dangers threatening the capital, as the chances of a rescue by the marshal became more remote, and the fall of two fortresses strengthened the probability that the lines of the investment would soon be reinforced. On the 9th of October, however, a new lineament appeared in the outlines of the campaign. M. Gambetta suddenly arrived at Tours, having escaped from Paris in a balloon. Gifted with the unusual power of influencing multitudes, and possessing that energy which excitement and popularity stimulate into efforts that command surprise if they fail to elicit admiration, this Frenchman now undertook the military government of France, and soon the rumour spread that a new national army was in active preparation. The Germans at first disbelieved the report, or rather underrated the force that the indomitable activity of the new minister of war was levying against them, but soon the army of the Loire began to harass the German detachments foraging the south of Paris in so provoking a manner that General von der Tann received orders to test the strength of this new national combination. Several combats and finally a severe encounter were the result, in which the Germans won fresh laurels, capturing six thousand prisoners, and driving the undisciplined levy across the Loire. The town of Orleans was taken, and a contribution of one million francs exacted from the municipal authorities. Although this move on the part of the Germans had been crowned with success, evidence had been given that the formation of a large French force was being actively advanced in the neighbourhood, while information reached the head-quarters at Versailles that a considerable body of troops under Garibaldi (who, with questionable taste, had placed his sword at the disposal of Gambetta) was operating in the defiles of the Vosges. It therefore became doubly needful that the capitulation of Metz should be, if possible, accelerated, so that the army of one hundred and seventy thousand, detained there, might recruit the small forces that could be spared from the huge lines which the gigantic character of the more important investment necessitated. A plot, however, the base nature of which cannot be too severely censured, nearly arrested the progress of hostilities. On the 21st of October, General Boyer arrived at Versailles, on a mission from Bazaine, involving propositions which distinctly pointed to a concerted plan on the part of the marshal to negotiate a peace which would be favourable to Germany, under the understanding that she should support the imperial army in Metz in an effort to re-establish the empire. It would appear that the German chancellor was partial to the design, as General Bourbaki obtained permission to cross the Prussian lines and proceed to England, where he was to seek an interview with the empress, and obtain her consent to an arrangement. The whole plot, however, was defeated by the prudence of the empress, who declined to have anything to do with any political intrigue while France was occupied by foreign troops. A few days afterwards Bazaine signed a capitulation, by which three marshals, six thousand officers one hundred and seventy thousand men, three thousand guns, fifty-three eagles, and a treasure of forty millions of francs, fell into the hands of the Germans. For this colossal achievement, Prince Frederick Charles received the dignity of field-marshal, and the king of Prussia took the opportunity to issue the following address to the soldiers of the confederate armies:—"When we took the field, three months ago, I expressed my confidence that God would be with our just cause. This confidence has been realised. I recall to you Wörth, Saarbrücken, and the bloody battles before Metz, Sedan, Beaumont, and Strassburg; each engagement was a victory for us. You are worthy of glory. You have maintained all the virtues which especially distinguish soldiers. By the capitulation of Metz, the last army of the enemy is destroyed. I take advantage of this moment to express my thanks to all of you, from the general to the soldier. Whatever the future may still bring to us, I look forward to it with calmness, because I know that with such soldiers victory cannot fail."

The news of the surrender of Metz was received at Tours with the usual popular exclamation of the unfortunate French people that they had been betrayed, and if we consider the case by the light of recent disclosures, it may be justly said that there were grave reasons for the suspicion. Gambetta openly declared that Bazaine had committed treason. "He has made himself the accomplice of the invader, and disregarding the honour of the army of which he had charge, he surrendered without even attempting to make a supreme effort." At Paris the intelligence was received with equal excitement and suspicion, and the discouragement it produced unquestionably aided the Prussians in the capture they made shortly afterwards of some positions near St. Denis. In the meantime, M. Thiers, with commendable energy, had proceeded on an expedition to the different capitals of Europe, on a mission soliciting foreign intervention, and after visiting Petersburg, Vienna, and Florence, at last arrived at Versailles, where he had five interviews with Count Bismarck, who, admitting the expediency of an armistice for the convocation of a national assembly, at first encouraged the proposals of the neutral powers. The revictualling of the besieged places was the chief point in the negotiation on which M. Thiers insisted, and he represented to the chancellor the absolute necessity that a clause of this character should be introduced into the agreement, as an armistice must otherwise produce deleterious effects which its advantages would not counterbalance. To this, however, Count Bismarck, having consulted the Prussian generals, refused to concede, unless the Government of National Defence were ready to deliver up one of the forts round Paris as an equivalent. This M. Thiers equally firmly refused to do, and thus the second attempt to conclude an armistice proved abortive.

As soon as the failure of this negotiation was announced, the defensive measures undertaken by Gambetta were energetically proceeded with, and so rapid was the formation of two new armies that their existence was not for some time credited by the German staff. In fact the levies were so great and rapid that it appears certain that had Bazaine held out a few weeks longer—which military critics think he might possibly have done—the Germans must have raised the siege of Paris. As it was, the surrender of Metz liberated two hundred and twenty-five thousand German troops, which were soon on the march westward to support the hardly pressed lines round Paris and explore the district of the Loire. It was not until the middle of November that Prince Frederick Charles, commanding the 3rd, 9th, and 10th corps, effected his junction with the troops under the duke of Mecklenburg, and assumed the command of the army that was to operate against the French forces of the Loire, which had been placed under General d'Aurelle des Paladines; and his arrival was well-timed, as a few days previously General von der Tann had been forced to evacuate Orleans, and had suffered defeat in the neighbourhood of Coulmiers, in which the Bavarians sustained great loss. A week now passed without any encounter of importance, but on the 28th November, General d'Aurelle made a vigorous attack on the left wing of Prince Frederick Charles at Beaune-la-Rolande, and by a concerted plan, General Trochu the next day ordered that two sorties from Paris should simultaneously be made against the German positions, in the hope that, should d'Aurelle succeed in defeating Prince Frederick Charles, he might actually march upon Paris and attack the rear of the army of investment. No success, however, attended the scheme. The relieving army was in a series of conflicts effectually driven back by the large German forces which had been quickly concentrated to oppose its advance, and General Ducrot, who commanded the sorties, having failed in several desperate engagements to break through the lines of investment, retired into Paris.

As soon as Prince Frederick Charles had fairly beaten back the impetuous army of the Loire, and after a hard struggle again entered Orleans, he prepared to push on in the direction of Tours. General d'Aurelle had, meanwhile, anticipated the result of an inquiry that was being made in respect to the recent retreat by resigning his command in favour of General Chanzy, who now undertook the control of the disheartened levies. This change, however, was productive of little advantage, for the duke of Mecklenburg gained two fresh victories on the 7th and 8th December, and the Hessians by a flank movement entered Blois on the 13th, thus interrupting Chanzy's communication with Tours. The provisional government now retired to Bordeaux, and Chanzy, after more severe fighting on the Loire, commenced a retreat in the direction of Le Mans, where he eventually arrived and instantly commenced preparations for a fresh effort for the relief of the capital. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, which had lately become so cold that all movement of troops was perilous and uncertain, Prince Frederick Charles resolved to take such measures as would effectually check the accomplishment of this scheme. He, therefore, directed early in the new year a general advance upon Vendôme, where he himself arrived on the 6th January, and found the 10th corps seriously engaged with the French at a short distance from the town. Supported by the 3rd corps, the 10th succeeded after a hard day's fighting in driving the enemy in the direction of Tours. On the same day, the duke of Mecklenburg appeared at Brou, and the prince, learning that the retreating French force had been transported by railway to Le Mans to join Chanzy, gave orders that the two armies should continue their advance. The position that General Chanzy occupied in front of Le Mans was from the nature of the ground so formidable that it is questionable whether the German forces would have succeeded in dislodging him, had the troops under his command been less disheartened than they were, and the false report not spread that the force advancing upon him amounted to one hundred and seventy thousand men, when in reality the armies of Prince Frederick Charles and the grand-duke scarcely amounted to the half of that number. When the prince came in sight of Le Mans on the 11th, having already obtained a victory over the French the day before, at Changé, he had only eighteen thousand men with him, as the grand-duke had not been able to advance with the same despatch. Notwithstanding this, however, he ordered an attack to be made, which was carried out in so masterly a manner that, although no great success can be said to have been gained that day, General Chanzy, in a telegram to Bordeaux,


EUROPE
1871.
Iceland
Reikiavik
Mt Hekla
Faroe Is.
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
BRITISH ISLES
Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland
Ireland
Scotland
England
Wales
Irish Sea
St Georges Chan.
English Channel
North Sea
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Dublin
Manchester
Liverpool
Hull
London
Dover
Plymouth
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Christiania
Christiansund
Bergen
Bremanger
Dronthein
Stockholm
Gottenburg
Gothland
Skager Rack
Cattegat
Kn. of Denmark
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
Gulf of Bothnia
Gulf of Finland
G. of Riga
Tornea
Hammerfest
Lofoden Is.
Uleaborg
Vasa
Abo
Helsingfors
Viborg
St. Petersburg
Novgorod
Riga
R. Duna
Memel
Konigsberg
Wilna
Moscow
Ny. Novgorod
White Sea
Archangel
R. Dwina
Onega
Vologda
R. Volga
Perm
Ufa
Orenburg
Ural Mountains
Tobolsk
C. Kanin
Penoi
Kautokeino
EMPIRE OF RUSSIA
Kursk
Saratov
Kiev
R. Dnieper
Poltava
R. Don
Azov
Jitomir
Kamenetz
Lublin
Sandomir
Sambor
Warsaw
Augustowa (X1831)
Ostrolenka (X1831)
Astrakhan
Caspian Sea
Derbend
Baku
Caucasus Mountains
Georgia
Poti
Anapa 1828
Sea of Azov
Kertch
Crimea
Sebastopol
Simferopol
R. Alma
Eupatoria
Odessa
Constantinople
Black Sea
Sukham Kaleh
Sinope
Trebizond
Kars 1854
Ardahan
to Russia 1828
Astara
R. Aras
PERSIA
Hamadan
Teheran
Bagdad
R. Tigris
R. Euphrates
Palmyra
Aleppo
Latakia
Beyrout (X1840)
Damascus
Saida (Sidon) (X1840)
Acre (X1840)
Jaffa
Jerusalem
ARABIA
Cyprus
Nikosia
Rhodes
Candia
Adalia
Karaman
Smyrna
Adramyti
ASIA MINOR
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Rumania
Silistria (X1829)
Shumla
Varna
Sophia
Adrianople
Salonika
Scutari
Belgrade
Widin
Oltenitza
Missivri
Seros
Larissa
Valona
Montenegro
Archipelago
Greece
Athens
Navarino (X1827)
Corfu
PRUSSIA
Danzig
Stettin
Berlin
Posen
Frankfurt
Breslau
Hamburg
Hanover
Bremen
Magdeburg
Cassel
Cologne
Dresden
Leipzig
Prague
Koniggratz
Gorlitz
Oppeln
Heligoland
Schleswig
SOUTH GERMAN STATES
Stuttgart
Munich
Nuremberg
Darmstadt
Luxemburg
Strasburg
Weissenburg
Frankfort
Holland
Amsterdam
Belgium
Brussels
Antwerp
Switzerland
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
Hungary
Vienna
Presburg
Komorn
Raab
Waitzen
Neu Sohl (X1849)
Tokay (X1849)
Iglau
Olmutz
Innsbruck
Trieste
Fiume
Agram
Essek
Temeswar
Hermanstadt
Schassburg
Reismark (X1849)
FRENCH REP.
Paris
Versailles
Rouen
Amiens
Rennes
Brest
L'Orient
Vannes
Nantes
Tours
Orleans
Poitiers
Bourges
Dijon
Limoges
Bordeaux
Cahors
Toulouse
Montpellier
Avignon
Marseilles
Lyons
Toulon
R. Loire
R. Garonne
Bayonne
Pyrenees
G. of Lyons
ITALY
Turin
Milan
Magenta
Venice
Verona
Genoa
Parma
Bologna
Florence
Leghorn
Ancona
Rome
Gaeta
Naples
Mt. Vesuvius
Ortona
Otranto
Policastro
Squillace
Messina
Palermo
Lipari Is.
Sicily
Syracuse
Gozo
Malta
Corsica
Bastia
Ajaccio
Str. of Bonifacio
Sardinia
Sassari
Oristano
Cagliari
Zara
Adriatic Sea
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Madrid
Lisbon
Oporto
Burgos
Leon
Vittoria
Saragossa
Barcelona
Tarragona
Valencia
Toledo
Badajos
Cordova
Seville
Granada
Cadiz
Malaga
Gibraltar
Alicante
Carthagena
Corunna
Santander
C. Ortegal
C. Finisterre
C. St. Vincent
R. Tagus
R. Ebro
Balearic Isles
Ivica
Majorca
Minorca
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MOROCCO
Morocco
Fez
Tangiers
Ceuta
Melilla
Fighig
Tafilet
Gourland
ALGERIA (to France)
Algiers (X1816)(X1830)
Oran
Tlemcen
Orleansville
Setif
Boucada
Constantina (X1837)
Biskra
Tagemout
Tuggurt
Ouargla
Ghardeia
Tunis
Kairwan
G. of Cabes
Tripoli
Mesurata
G. of Sidra
Benghazi
Dernah
Alexandria
Aboukir
Cairo
EGYPT
TRIPOLI
AFRICA
60
30
10
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40
50
70

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announced to Gambetta that a further retreat would probably be found necessary. The advance of the duke of Mecklenburg the next day left no option. The raw levies retired in the greatest disorder, in the direction of Laval, having sustained a loss of twenty thousand prisoners, and the town of Le Mans was occupied by the German army.

Scarcely had the news of the collapse of the army of the Loire been published to the world when an announcement of even greater importance was made. M. Jules Favre, it was said, had applied for a safe-conduct to Versailles, with the object of negotiating the capitulation of Paris. The report proved true. After a final sortie on the 17th of January, which was, as usual, unsuccessful, the Government of National Defence had come to the conclusion that further resistance was not only useless but impossible. The failures of Chanzy at Le Mans, and Faidherbe in the north-west, destroyed all hope of an immediate relief, and the scarcity of provisions had become so great that, from derangement of the alimentary system, the death-rate had risen to four thousand five hundred a week, while the drunken interference of the mob and the insurbordination among the troops daily exposed the city to an assault. On the 24th of January, therefore, M. Favre proceeded to Versailles, and had an interview with Count Bismarck, in which he proposed an immediate capitulation, coupled with an armistice that would permit the Government of National Defence to convoke an assembly, freely elected, which would pronounce upon the question whether the war should be continued, or on what conditions peace should be made. After several days of negotiation, during which a bombardment had begun, M. Favre signed the capitulation of Paris, and a general armistice of twenty-one days, except on the Swiss frontier, was at the same time agreed upon. By this convention the forts were to be occupied by German troops; the garrisons were to surrender their arms, and the city of Paris was to pay a municipal contribution of war, amounting to two hundred millions of francs, and the payment to be effected before the fifteenth day of the armistice.

When Gambetta heard of this convention, he attempted to repudiate it, but finding this ineffectual, he published a proclamation, attributing the ruin of General Bourbaki's army, which by this time had been driven into Switzerland, to the partial character of the armistice. He then issued a decree, excluding any imperialist from election to the assembly, but as the members of the government at Paris replied that they intended no arbitrary restrictions to be imposed upon the suffrage, he sent in his resignation. The elections were held in the first week in February, and were accomplished with such despatch that the National Assembly met at Bordeaux on the 13th of February, when M. Jules Favre on behalf of himself and his colleagues publicly resigned the government they had usurped on the 4th of September. On the 17th, M. Thiers was elected chief of the executive power, and by the 19th he had formed a ministry consisting of M. Jules Favre, minister of foreign affairs; M. Dufaure, justice; M. Picard, interior; M. Jules Simon, public instruction; General Leflô, war; Admiral Pothiau, marine; M. de Larcy, public works. Fifteen deputies were appointed to proceed to Paris, empowered to treat with the conquerors in the name of the country. And on the 26th of February, the preliminaries of peace were signed at Versailles, which were afterwards ratified by the assembly by five hundred and forty-six votes against one hundred and seven. The following were the conditions:—

"1. France renounces in favour of the German empire the following rights:—The fifth part of Lorraine, including Metz and Thionville, and Alsace, but without Belfort.

"2. France will pay the sum of five milliards of francs, of which one milliard is to be paid in 1871, and the remaining four milliards by instalments extending over three years.

"3. The German troops will begin to evacuate the French territory as soon as the treaty is ratified. They will first evacuate the interior of Paris and some departments lying in the western region. The evacuation of the other departments will take place gradually after payment of the first milliard, and proportionally to the payment of the other four milliards. Interest at the rate of five per cent. will be paid on the amount remaining due from the date of the ratification of the treaty.

"4. The German troops will not levy any requisitions in the departments occupied by them, but on the other hand will be maintained at the cost of France.

"5. A delay will be granted to the inhabitants of the territories annexed to decide for themselves severally to which of the two nationalities they will adhere.

"6. Prisoners of war will be immediately set at liberty.

"7. Negotiations for a definite treaty of peace will be opened at Brussels after the ratification of the treaty.

"8. The administration of the departments occupied by the German troops will be intrusted to French officials, but under the control of the chiefs of the German corps of occupation.

"9. The present treaty confers upon the Germans no rights whatever in the portion of territories not occupied.

"10. The treaty will have to be ratified by the National Assembly of France."

CHAPTER II.

The History of Law and Government, from A.D. 1837 to A.D. 1873.

THE Reform Act of 1832 was hailed by its promoters and by the country generally as a vast improvement on the confused and anomalous condition into which the elective franchise had gradually drifted. Yet, soon after it came into practical operation, a feeling began to arise that it was by no means a perfect piece of legislation, but open to many serious objections. No one could deny that it had greatly extended the area of representation, but many contended that in doing so it had practically disfranchised some of the humbler classes, and several important interests that had formerly enjoyed indirect if not direct representation. The ancient constitution, it was argued, had in a rough though not ineffective manner enabled all classes as well as all interests to have their say in the House of Commons; by the new system, property only was represented, and this the property, not of the great body of the people, but of the *bourgeoisie* or mercantile classes principally. No provision, it was said, was made for the representation of working men, properly so called, either in town or country, or of that large and important class who were lodgers and not householders; and that this was equally true of the whole body of copyholders, or owners of property less than freehold. It was further maintained that not only was labour not represented, but that no legitimate channels were left open for the representation of learning and education, and that the evil consequences of this grave defect were greatly increased by the undue preponderance given to the commercial and shop-keeping classes, who were little concerned for the interests of learning, and still less for those of the labouring classes, between whose interests and their own there often appeared to be a strong antagonism. With some exaggeration, there was no doubt a solid basis of truth in such statements, and ever after 1834 a growing discontent might be traced with the state of the franchise. This found expression in the Chartist agitation, and the serious riots in which it occasionally culminated; nor did the conservative party affect to deny that constitutional changes were necessary, only they contended that such changes were necessitated by the policy of the Whig party, who, by the Act of 1832, had disturbed the balance of the constitution. How far such allegations were well-founded is more a question for the politician than the historian. One thing is certain, that, whether from defects in the Act of 1832, or from subsequent changes in the state of the community, it had become plain to most unbiassed observers, before a dozen years had passed, that to render the House of Commons a trustworthy representation of the people of England important modifications on the franchise were indispensable. And there can be little doubt that some measure of this kind would have become law long before 1867, had not public attention been in the interval forcibly directed into other channels. For some years the agitation for repeal of the corn laws, and the introduction of free trade generally, threw every other subject into the shade. Scarcely had this agitation attained success than the French revolution of 1848 broke out, and its echoes were heard in every corner of Europe. England was by no means exempt from the contagion, and moderate men of all parties felt that a period when the political atmosphere was surcharged with revolutionary electricity was a most dangerous one in which to attempt constitutional changes. Scarcely had Europe begun to recover from the revolutionary hurricane when England became engaged in the Crimean war; and no sooner was it brought to a close than she was much more seriously occupied in attempting to suppress the Indian mutiny. Although, therefore, various measures for reform of the representation were occasionally ventilated, and even brought before parliament, it was not till 1867 that the subject was taken up with a serious desire on the part of the community generally to arrive at a definite resolution. In that year, when it had become clear that reform could no longer be delayed, a very sweeping measure was introduced by the conservative government, and this, with modifications, became law by 30 & 31 Vict. c. 102. The result may be thus stated. The franchise is conceded to every man occupying a dwelling-house within a borough as owner or tenant paying poor-rates, and to every lodger within a borough at a 10*l.* rent; in counties to every man holding property to the value of 5*l.* a year, or occupying at the rateable value of 12*l.* a year, having paid his poor-rates. The old franchises are not abolished. The Act also provides for redistribution of seats, and, while disfranchising certain constituencies, creates others so as to equalise representation. Corresponding Acts were passed for Scotland and Ireland.

On comparing the Reform Act of 1832 with that of 1867, it will be found that they are contradistinguished by a very material difference. The former based the franchise on a property qualification; the latter recognises payment of rates as an important element, more especially in boroughs. This, to a certain extent, is a return to the ancient theory of the constitution, which assumed and in some sense provided that every man discharging the duties of a good citizen should enjoy representation. It must also be noticed that the new Act brings the franchise so low that it could not be further reduced without introducing manhood suffrage. Furthermore, it gives a direct representation to learning by creating university constituencies, composed of their graduates. By these means every important interest in the kingdom may find representation. At the time when the Act was passed, it found many opponents among the old Tories, and still more among members of the liberal party, on the ground that its provisions were of too sweeping and revolutionary a character. Yet, hardly had it become law than an agitation was set on foot for a still further extension of the franchise—many contending for manhood suffrage, and no small number insisting that even women, when possessed of property and paying taxes in their own right, should also be allowed to vote. This agitation still continues, and shows no signs of abatement.

Corrupt practices at elections had long prevailed; but while public opinion, if it did not sanction, tolerated such abuses, their suppression was difficult. During the present reign more healthy sentiments came to prevail, and measures of corresponding severity were passed. Still millionaires were not always gentlemen, clergymen were not always men of honour, nor could the law always reach the secret pressure of the landlord or manufacturer. Hence vote by ballot was at last conceded in 1872 (35 & 36 Vict. c. 33); and so far as appears, this device, once deemed so un-English, is giving general satisfaction.

Until 21 & 22 Vict. c. 48 (1858), no one could sit in either house of parliament without taking the ancient oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration. A new oath, alternating with an affirmation for Quakers and separatists, was then introduced. Jews, formerly excluded because of their inability to swear on "the true faith of a Christian," were relieved from disability the following year. In 1866 (29 Vict. c. 19) a uniform oath of simple allegiance was prescribed for both houses.

The British constitution used to be described as a mixed monarchy; more recently it has been characterised as a republic disguised under the forms of a monarchy. Neither of these sayings, however epigrammatic, can be accepted as a definition. It might be more correct to say that the present constitution combines the benefits of a democracy with the stability of an aristocracy and the vigour of a monarchy. It does not seem that since the Revolution the principles of the constitution have undergone any substantial change; they have merely taken different forms to suit changing circumstances. The peers still act as a salutary check on hasty legislation; the crown still holds the prerogatives of William III., and if they are not exercised, it is just because they are not required. Such prerogatives as granting letters of marque and impressing seamen would not now be exercised because of the change of manners. Yet a very startling exercise of the prerogative only recently occurred, when purchase in the army was abolished by royal warrant, while the measure was still under parliamentary discussion.

But though the British constitution remains substantially unchanged since the Revolution settlement, this has not been from the absence of political agitators. In 1838 the well-known Chartist agitation assumed formidable proportions, and, having ultimately broken out into open insurrection, was only quelled by military force. The six points of the Charter were—universal suffrage, vote by ballot, paid representation in parliament, equal electoral districts, abolition of a property qualification, and annual parliaments. Of these, vote by ballot has been conceded by the Act of 1869, and by the same Act considerable approaches have been made to universal suffrage and abolition of a property qualification. Yet, while no sensible change has been made on the ancient constitution by such concessions, there can be no doubt that, if the whole six points had been conceded, the balance and character of the constitution would have been entirely altered. and this all the more that the want of compulsory education rendered a large portion of the people unfit to exercise the electoral function. Various efforts have also been made to alter the constitution of the House of Lords. The most remarkable of these was the proposal to introduce life peerages, a proposal which was actually sought to be carried into execution in the case of Lord Wensleydale, in 1851, though without success. Many plausible and even weighty considerations were urged in favour of this change. It was said that, while talent is not hereditary, unreasoning prejudices are readily transmitted; and the examples of some continental states were quoted in favour of the measure. It was answered, however, that though such a change wore the appearance of a concession to liberal principles, it might easily be turned into an instrument of despotism. It would enable an unscrupulous minister to force through the upper house any measure he thought proper, by the simple expedient of creating a sufficient number of life peers. In short, not only would the House of Lords be deprived of the stability which formed its main advantage, but it would become a mere creature of the crown, a new and powerful means of extending the prerogative. How far the arguments on the one side or on the other are sound, it is not our province to determine. Yet the opinion may be fairly hazarded that, if such a measure had been carried out, the British constitution would have undergone a greater change than if the whole points of the Charter had been conceded. The attempt has hitherto been unsuccessful, but it has by no means been abandoned; and of late years the propriety of making some important changes in the constitution or functions of the upper house has been strongly advocated.

During the period under consideration, agitations have now and again been made in favour of a republican form of government, but these have been of a feeble and trifling character. The great majority of Englishmen have always rallied round the throne, and their tendency in this respect has been greatly strengthened by the signal failure which has attended every effort among continental states to maintain republican institutions. It is noticeable that even the Chartists never proposed the abolition of the monarchy as any part of their programme.

Yet while the principles of the constitution remain unimpaired, their mode of working has undergone some changes; and among these is the tendency, becoming ever stronger and stronger since the Reform Act of 1832, to convert members of parliament from representatives into delegates. This is brought about by pledges at elections, and meetings between the member and his constituents before voting on important questions. Such a change has its advantages. It corrects, to a great extent, the evils of government by party, and what is termed party discipline, by which, contrary to their better judgment, members might be led to vote in a particular way so as to oust or support a ministry. It is plain, however, that the conversion of the representative into the delegate is fraught with serious danger. It tends to destroy the deliberative character of the House of Commons, and in the last century would doubtless have had that effect. At present such an evil is averted by the publicity given to parliamentary discussion through the press, which insures that no measure of importance can pass without being well discussed, if not in parliament, at least by the great body of the people.

Another very important change may be noticed. The powers of the minister are greatly limited; he can no longer pursue a policy, however necessary, or resist a measure, however hurtful, unless he can convert a majority of the commons to his way of thinking. He no longer directs the current, he merely rides on the crest of the wave. Hence, in important crises, the national interests may suffer from want of a vigorous policy; yet again there is less risk of foreign complications or wasteful expenditure.

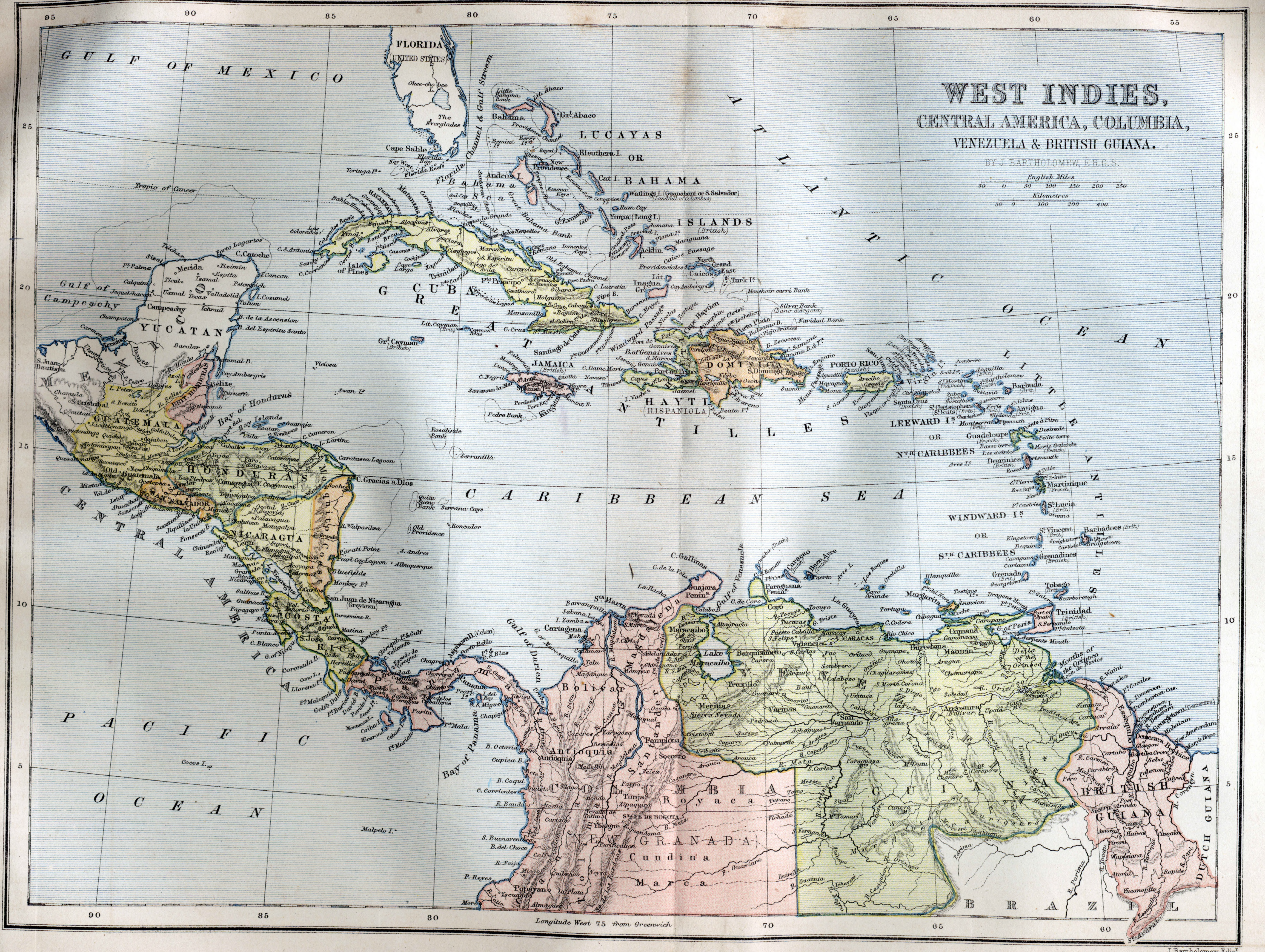
Furthermore, a practice has of late become common to get up leagues and subscribe funds to agitate for the repeal of certain laws and the enactment of others. Such a practice would in old times have been fraught with danger, and would consequently have been deemed illegal. At present the danger is greatly circumscribed by reason of the publicity insured by the press. Yet this publicity could not have proper effect unless the interposition of the upper house allowed sufficient time for such publicity to have full operation.

A strong tendency has gradually displayed itself for parliament to interfere directly with many things which were formerly regulated either by the operation of general statutes or by the action of the tribunals applying the recognised principles of the common law. Thus it has become a general rule that nothing bearing the semblance of public interest can go forward without the aid of a special act; and the most ordinary acts of administration on the part of the authorities, which at best are merely of local interest, are made the subject of debate in the House of Commons. In these ways, it is said, parliament is required to discharge duties for which from its very nature it is unfitted, and which, accordingly, are not performed with efficiency; while measures of imperial importance have either to be hurried through without sufficient consideration or postponed for indefinite periods. It is also said that there is a growing tendency to interfere unduly in committees of the whole house with the details of measures after their general principles have been accepted; so that bills admirably calculated to abate admitted evils, or to further important interests, are so mutilated or disfigured in committee that they have to be abandoned by their promoters, or eventuate in Acts that cannot be worked to any good purpose. Considerations such as these have of late years attracted the serious attention of men of all shades of politics. It is said that, while every effort has been made to improve the modes of returning representatives to parliament, no attention has been given towards the working of parliament when assembled; and that if the great council of the nation is to discharge its proper and all-important duties with efficiency, some means must be found to relieve it from duties that do not properly belong to it, and to enable it to concentrate its attention and utilise its wisdom for imperial measures. In this, as in many similar things, the evil is more obvious than the remedy.

In the upper house, while its constitution remains theoretically unaltered, certain silent though important changes may be observed. It is undeniable that the nobility have receded from their once important position. The prime minister is seldom chosen from their ranks. They originate few measures of importance. Their main function has come to be that of criticising the bills sent up from the commons, and interposing to prevent hasty legislation. Even in discharging this function, they have not always acted so as to secure the national confidence, but have been accused of emasculating measures which they lacked the courage to reject. The spiritual peers have greatly receded from the arena of secular politics, and seldom interfere actively, except where the interests of the church are concerned. Their numbers have been sensibly reduced by the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Even in purely ecclesiastical affairs, their influence is much less felt than formerly. They cannot be said to represent the party of progress, or to control or direct religious thought. This probably arises from the fact, that, in filling up vacant sees, attention is given to secure a man of safe and moderate views, rather than one of brilliant abilities or profound convictions.

COLONIAL LAW.

The fundamental principles of colonial law previously laid down have not been substantially departed from; but from various causes the policy adopted in relation to the colonies has undergone important alterations. It has already been noticed that, while the Reform Act of 1832, by abolishing the close boroughs, closed that indirect and questionable channel of colonial representation, it provided no other. From that time it was felt, though not perhaps openly admitted, that the imperial parliament was no longer a fitting assembly for dealing directly with colonial interests. This accordingly led to the abandonment of the policy of former times, and the gradual adoption of a new principle, viz. to give to the local legislatures of the colonies a larger measure of self-government, and to permit or encourage severance from the mother-country as soon as a rising colony is capable of forisfamiliation. The constitutions thus conferred are based on the model of that of England, but are of a much more democratic character from the absence of a hereditary nobility



WEST INDIES,
CENTRAL AMERICA, COLUMBIA,
VENEZUELA & BRITISH GUIANA.

BY J. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S.

English Miles
50 0 50 100 150 200 250
Kilometres
50 0 100 200 300 400
Longitude West 75 from Greenwich
95
90
85
80
75
70
65
60
55
25
20
15
10
5
GULF OF MEXICO
FLORIDA
UNITED STATES
Okee-cho-bee L.
The Everglades
Cape Sable
Florida Bay
Key West
Florida Reefs
Tortuga Is.
Florida Channel & Gulf Stream
Little Bahama Bank
Gr.t Abaco
Bahama
Providence Channel
Bemini
Berry Is.
LUCAYAS
OR
BAHAMA
ISLANDS
(British)
Eleuthera I.
New Providence
Andros I.
Nassau
Exuma Keys
Cat I.
Watlings I. (Guanahani or S. Salvador)
Rum Cay
Yuma (Long I.)
Gt. Exuma
Great Bahama Bank
Mariguana
Acklin
Caicos Passage
North Caicos
Grand East
Turk Is.
Inagua
Providenciales
Mouchoir carré Bank
Silver Bank (Banc d'Argent)
Navidad Bank
Tropic of Cancer
HAVANNAH
Matanzas
Bahia Honda
Colorados
C. S. Antonio
C. Corrientes
Isle of Pines
Cayo Largo
Trinidad
S.ta Clara
Villa Clara
Cienfuegos
S. Espiritu
Pto. Principe
Holguin
Nipe B.
Manzanillo
Bayamo
C. Cruz
Santiago de Cuba
Guantanamo
CUBA
GREAT ANTILLES
Old Bahama Channel
Windward Passage
Lit. Cayman (Brit.)
Gr.d Cayman (British)
JAMAICA (British)
Montego B.
Falmouth
Kingston
Spanish Town
Portland Pt.
Morant Pt.
Pedro Bank
C. Negril
Savanna la Mar
Cape Haytien
Tortuga
Port de Paix
Gonaives
B. of Gonaives
Port au Prince
Jacmel
Jeremie
C. Dame Marie
C. Tiburon
Navasa
Cayes
HAYTI (HISPANIOLA)
DOMINICA
S. Domingo
Santiago
Puerto Plata
C. Samana
Samana B.
Beata Pt.
Saona
Mona Passage
Mona
PORTO RICO (Spanish)
San Juan
Arecibo
Mayaguez
Vieque or Crab I.
Virgin Is.
Santa Cruz (Danish)
Anguilla
Sombrero
St. Martin
St. Bartholomew
Barbuda (Brit.)
Saba
St. Eustatius
St. Christophers
Nevis
Antigua
Montserrat
Redonda
Guadeloupe (French)
Basse terre
Desirade
Marie Galante
Les Saintes
Dominica (British)
Roseau
Martinique (French)
St. Pierre
Ft. Royal
St. Lucia (Brit.)
Pt. Castries
St. Vincent (Brit.)
Kingstown
Barbadoes (Brit.)
Bridgetown
Bequia
Grenadines (Brit.)
Carriacou
Grenada (Brit.)
Georgetown
Tobago (Brit.)
Scarborough
Trinidad (British)
Pt. of Spain
S. Fernando
Dragons Mouth
Serpents Mouth
LEEWARD Is.
OR
N.th CARIBBEES
WINDWARD Is.
OR
S.th CARIBBEES
Aves I.
LITTLE ANTILLES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CARIBBEAN SEA
Swan Is.
Rosalinde Bank
Serranilla
Quita Sueño Bank
Serrana Cays
Roncador
Old Providence
S. Andres
Albuquerque
Viciosa
Gulf of Campeachy
Jaquelchacan
Campeachy
Champoton
Carmen
Merida
Sisal
Ticul
Izamal
Valladolid
Espita
C. Catoche
Porto Lagartos
Cancun
Cozumel
Tulum
B. de la Ascension
B. del Espiritu Santo
YUCATAN
Bacalar
Chetumal B.
Belize
BRIT. HONDURAS
Cay Ambergris
Turneff
S. Juan Bautista
MEXICO
Chamula
L. Peten
Flores
Dolores
GUATEMALA
S. Cristobal
Quesaltenango
Totonicapan
Amatique B.
Bay of Honduras
Bonacca
Ruatan
Utila
Truxillo
C. Cameron
Pt. Castilla
Caratasca Lagoon
HONDURAS
Comayagua
Tegucigalpa
Yoro
Juticalpa
Olancho
C. Gracias a Dios
SAN SALVADOR
Fonseca B.
MOSQUITO COAST
NICARAGUA
Segovia
Leon
Realejo
Managua
Granada
Rivas
L. Nicaragua
Bluefields
Pearl Cay Lagoon
Monkey Pt.
San Juan de Nicaragua (Greytown)
Salinas B.
Papagayo G.
Guanacaste
Nicoya
C. Blanco
COSTA RICA
S. Jose
Cartago
Heredia
Matina
Chiriqui Lag.
Burica Pt.
David
Coiba I.
Panama
Chagres
Aspinwall (Colon)
Porto Bello
San Blas
Gulf of Darien
Bay of Panama
Pearl Is.
S. Miguel
Chepo
Mala
Pt. Mariato
CENTRAL AMERICA
PACIFIC OCEAN
Cocos I.
Malpelo I.
C. Gallinas
C. de la Vela
Guajira Penin.
La Hacha
S.ta Marta
Barranquilla
Cartagena
Zamba
Mompox
Magangue
Bolivar
Magdalena
Antioquia
Medellin
Santander
Pamplona
Socorro
Velez
Tunja
Boyaca
Honda
S.ta FE DE BOGOTA
Cundinamarca
Cauca
Popayan
Quibdo
Cali
Buenaventura
B. Octavia
Cupica B.
B. Coqui
C. Corrientes
R. Baudo
B. del Choco
P. Reyes
Neyva
La Plata
Ibague
Mariquita
Almaguer
Pasto
COLUMBIA
NEW GRANADA
R. Guaviare
R. Meta
Casanare
Arauca
R. Guainia
Gulf of Venezuela
Paraguana Penin.
Coro
Maracaibo
Lake Maracaibo
Altagracia
Perija
Curaçao (Dutch)
Aruba (Dutch)
Buen Ayre (Dutch)
Aves Is.
Los Roques
Orchilla
Blanquilla
Tortuga
Margarita
Testigos
Cubagua
Barquisimeto
Tocuyo
S. Felipe
Valencia
Puerto Cabello
Maracay
La Guayra
CARACAS
Rio Chico
C. Codera
Barcelona
Cumana
Carupano
G. of Paria
Maturin
Trujillo
Merida
Sierra Nevada
Varinas
S. Cristobal
Guanare
S. Fernando
Calabozo
Chaguaramas
VENEZUELA
Angostura (Bolivar)
Soledad
R. Orinoco
Delta of the Orinoco
Mouths of the Orinoco
Boca de Navios
Upata
Caroni
Esmeralda
GUIANA
R. Caura
R. Ventuari
R. Casiquiare
S. Carlos
Maypures
Atures
Parima
BRAZIL
R. Waini
Pt. Cocales
Essequibo
Demerara
Georgetown (Demerara)
Berbice
New Amsterdam
Mahaicony
R. Cuyuni
R. Mazaruni
R. Potaro
R. Rupununi
R. Corentyne
Pirara
Sierra Pacaraima
BRITISH GUIANA
DUTCH GUIANA

J. Bartholomew, Edin.r

in the upper chamber, and the privileges of an established church. This change of policy has met with severe criticism, but it has hitherto been amply justified by unusual success. Formerly, with the view, perhaps, of laying the basis for a colonial aristocracy, it was customary to give large allotments of land to a few favoured individuals, who should again subdivide them among the mass of settlers. This system did not produce the effect intended, but resulted in the retention of vast territories, in a state of nature, in the hands of single individuals. This was now entirely changed, and it passed into a maxim, that the land should be divided into allotments of moderate size, and so disposed of to immigrants as to preclude as far as possible accumulation in the hands of individuals. By 6 & 7 Vict. c. 91, provisions were made for the exercise of the prerogative in the colonies.

The constitution and laws of England, more favourable than those of perhaps any other country to personal freedom, do not always supply the executive with the powers necessary to cope with privy conspiracy or open rebellion. In dangerous conjunctures, therefore, the requisite powers are obtained by a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; and where the danger is sufficiently grave and imminent, the executive has sometimes overstepped the limits of the constitution for the safety of the commonwealth, trusting to be protected from the consequences by a subsequent act of indemnity. In our distant colonial settlements a similar compensating power would seem to be even more necessary; for there, a marked distinction of race separating the English from the natives, the risk of sudden and dangerous insurrections demanding prompt measures for their suppression is proportionately greater than at home. Colonial governors, and other representatives of the crown, have accordingly been always understood to possess at least equal powers to meet such emergencies with the executive in Great Britain. Yet the exercise of such powers demands the utmost prudence and circumspection.

Necessity alone justifies their exercise at all, and they must not be carried further or continued longer than the emergency warrants. Very little allowance will be made for errors in judgment accompanied by the best intentions. *Salus populi suprema lex* is a maxim little favoured by English law; and it has been even said that when the law is broken in quelling law-breakers greater evil than good is likely to accrue. Some light was cast on this difficult subject in 1866, when disturbances of a very grave kind broke out in Jamaica. On that occasion, what at one time threatened to prove a serious rebellion was crushed by the vigorous action of Governor Eyre, who received the enthusiastic applause of the white population for (as they believed) saving them from a general massacre. But in suppressing the disturbances, one Gordon, a man of colour, who was believed to be the principal ringleader, was tried and executed without due observance of the provisions of the common law, and the soldiery had exercised great severities in dispersing the insurgents. The result was that Governor Eyre was removed from his office without any allowance after many years of service, and in addition was, on his return to England, charged with murder, and subjected to many vexatious prosecutions. Though these prosecutions came to nothing, yet his lot was hard. His enemies represented him as a homicide escaped from justice; his friends as a man reduced to beggary who had saved a colony. Opinion may remain divided as to the legality and prudence of the course pursued by Governor Eyre; no man can doubt his perfect *bona fides.* But it still remains a just cause of complaint that the law on so important a subject should be so clouded and ambiguous—should abstain from laying down clear rules of conduct—and should thus involve the best-intentioned servants of the crown in the fearful dilemma of being charged with incompetence, or branded with homicide, when acting to the best of their judgment in dangerous conjunctures.

The episode of the Jamaica disturbance had followed at no great interval the outbreak and suppression of the great Indian mutiny. In that gigantic insurrection public opinion blamed the authorities with supineness at the commencement and undue severity at the conclusion. Be that as it may, the result was the introduction of the most important changes in the government of India.

By the 21 & 22 Vict. c. 106, all powers and rights vested in the East India Company were transferred to the queen as Empress of India, the court of directors and proprietors was abolished, all persons in the service of the company were declared servants of the crown, and the business of Indian government was intrusted to a principal secretary of state in a council consisting of fifteen members, styled "the Council of India." The members are salaried, but can neither sit nor vote in parliament.

RELIGION AND THE CHURCH.

During this period very considerable changes took place in ecclesiastical matters. In 1838 clergymen were placed under considerable restriction as to engaging in trade or even in farming except to a limited extent, and soon after additional powers were given to bishops to deal with clerks for ecclesiastical offences. An appeal lies to the queen in council. In 1840 provision was made for the suppression of all sinecure rectories. In 1838 very stringent provisions were made against non-residence, and between that year and 1850 against pluralities. If these provisions are carried out in their spirit, the evils of non-attendance to duty, so long complained of, will be effectually suppressed. In 1868 church-rates were, after considerable opposition, abolished.

Many questions as to doctrine and ritual have troubled the church during this period. Ever since the Reformation it included several distinct schools of opinion, whose differences, somewhat abated in the times of the Georges, burst out in the present reign with renewed vehemence. The high church party, adopting the sacramental theory, made great advances towards Romanism, to which communion many of its leaders seceded. The low church, or evengelicals, made equal advances towards the Dissenters, from whom, indeed, they differ little in doctrine. The broad church party, successors of the old latitudinarians, did not attach so much importance to doctrine, and are accused by the others of heresy or scepticism. These contentions, embittered by controversy, found their way into the ecclesiastical and civil courts, and it was ultimately decided that persons holding the extreme views of any of the parties just mentioned could not hold office in the Church of England, but that much greater latitude was allowed in that communion than had formerly been supposed. Thus the Gorham controversy issued in a finding that baptismal regeneration might or might not be taught; the Essayists and Reviewers succeeded in showing that very different opinions might be held as to the canon of scripture, eternal punishment, and the intermediate state; and more recent litigation has shown that the doctrine of the Eucharist may be variously interpreted. Similar decisions have been given as to ritual. If the ritualistic party had gone too far in the restoration of forms which seem to symbolise Romish doctrines, it was found that in many cases low churchmen had departed from the rubric. In the course of these contentions the more advanced among the tractarians and ritualists have seceded to Rome, and some of the more extreme evangelicals and low churchmen have joined dissenting connections. Some, unable to understand that an established Protestant church must necessarily be wide and comprehensive, have urged the propriety of disestablishment. Upon the whole, however, it would seem that the church has been the gainer. Convocation, after long existing only in name, has latterly resumed some of its functions, but not those of a legislative kind, though in 1861 it did, under royal licence, exercise such a power in relation to the 29th canon of 1603.

In 1865 the rigour of subscription was relaxed so as to secure the clergy against Judaical interpretation. In the previous year the Scottish episcopal disabilities were removed, so that clerks of that communion may now hold benefices in England. During the course of this period the occasional services applicable to past political events have been expunged from the Prayer-book, a new table of lessons has been introduced, and a commission for revision of the English Bible has been issued, and is now sitting. Various attempts have latterly been made for disestablishment of the church, but hitherto without effect in England. Indeed, the changes made in this reign have tended greatly to promote its efficient working, and to remove those abuses which were formerly so much matter of complaint. Very different has it been in Ireland. In that country, the progress of dissent, and more especially the growth of the Roman Catholic communion, had for long placed the church in a very great minority, so that in no sense could it be called a national church. It was accordingly in 1869 disestablished by Mr. Gladstone's government, though with ample provisions for the maintenance of its temporalities and revenues, so that it might still remain effective as a disestablished body.

In Scotland the presbyterian establishment suffered a great shock in 1843, by what is generally known as the disruption. In that year a majority of the clergy and laity seceded on the question of lay patronage, and now form a separate communion. The establishment has since shown some symptoms of following in the wake of the Church of England by making concessions towards a more orderly and ornate ritual, but the standards of doctrine still continue to be maintained in their ancient Calvinistic rigour.

In the course of this period such disabilities as still affected Dissenters and Catholics have been abolished, and the last vestiges of the ancient intolerance have disappeared. The last and most important Act on this subject is that of 1867. In one respect, however, the old notions linger. Atheists, or such as choose to represent themselves as such, probably from interested motives, still remain incapable of giving evidence.

The evils arising from the ancient mode of collecting tithes were found to be so intolerable that in 1836 the legislature was induced to sanction their commutation into a rent-charge, the amount of which is adjusted annually according to the average price of corn. This measure was carried into effect by a series of Acts ending by the 23 and 24 Vict. c. 93. The commutation may be effected by voluntary parochial agreement confirmed by the board of commissioners, or by the compulsory award of the commission. The relief afforded by the Commutation Acts has entirely allayed the irritation formerly experienced, without at all diminishing the funds available for ecclesiastical purposes.

As to the power of the church to acquire property, it may be noticed that by a series of statutes passed since the close of the last century, and the latest of which is 22 & 23 Vict. c. 46, certain provisions have been made for the taking and holding of lands by ecclesiastical corporations.

During the period now under consideration, a strong tendency has become more and more manifest to isolate the religious, or rather the ecclesiastical element, and to withdraw it from the sphere of politics and from secular affairs generally. By some this has been assumed to indicate a decay of faith or the prevalence of scepticism. There does not appear to be any good ground for such an assumption. It would rather seem that a reverence for religion and its ordinances is more deeply rooted in the minds of Englishmen than in any previous century; and that, for that very reason they are conscious of a growing repugnance to immix it with the contentions of politics, law, or science. In proportion, also, as they have begun to separate religion from ecclesiasticism, they have learned to respect the conscientious convictions of their opponents however different from their own, and to give a man credit for uprightness, whether he be Churchman, Dissenter, Romanist, or Jew. The consequences of this change have been very important. It has thrown open parliament, the public service, and all professions with the exception of the church, and to a small extent the schools, to all men irrespective of their religious opinions. It has abolished tests in the universities, and has introduced the conscience clause into rate-supported schools. The disestablishment of the Irish Church—whatever view may be taken of that measure—could not have been carried through but for this change of sentiment among Englishmen. Nor can it be said that we have yet seen the last consequences of this growing separation between ecclesiastical and secular affairs. A large party are anxious to exclude religion altogether from rate-supported schools; and it cannot be denied that many are in favour of disestablishing the churches both of England and Scotland. Yet this change of sentiment has been almost entirely confined to England and Scotland. In Ireland the ecclesiastical or sectarian element would seem rather to have increased than diminished. There clerical influence makes itself powerfully felt at elections, and has fearfully complicated the educational question. These are phenomena which, whatever may be thought of them, and in whatever way they may be interpreted, have left a deep impress on the period now under consideration.

APPOINTMENTS TO OFFICE.

The best methods of securing the best men as servants of the state have always been difficult to determine. In Old England, as in most European monarchies, the duty of selection was in a great measure intrusted to the sovereign, who either directly or by delegation was expected to seek out the most suitable aspirants: nor was it unreasonable to conclude that his exalted position would give him the best opportunities for selection, and that a regard to his own interest would lead him to make his choice with impartiality. His subordinates again, it was thought, would in all probability be swayed by the same motives, seeing they had everything to gain and much to lose from the character and conduct of those for whose appointments they might be held responsible. In proportion, however, as appointments multiplied, and the quasi-despotism of our early kings yielded to that form of government by party known as constitutional, it became obvious that crown patronage meant party nomination, and might give much occasion to favouritism and corruption. Selection, too, was in many instances no easy matter, even when guided by the most upright intentions. In the law and in the church there was not much risk of mistake, since no man attains eminence either as a pleader or a preacher who is wanting in the requisite qualifications. Very different is it in the army or navy, where, except in presence of the enemy, merit may long remain unknown, and where, besides, hundreds of appointments have to be made before the nominee can see service at all. Selection for appointments in the civil service is, for similar reasons, difficult, for there also numerous persons must be appointed before they have an opportunity of proving their capabilities. It was no doubt from considerations such as these that purchase was allowed to find its way into the army, and even into civil appointments, towards the close of the seventeenth century. Payment of money was thought to show that the applicant was not a mere adventurer, that he had at all events a liking for his profession, and would not be likely to lose by misconduct not only his office, but the price he had paid for it. During the earlier portion of the period now under consideration the same modes of obtaining entrance to the service of the state continued to prevail as during the last century. Purchase in combination with patronage had extended itself in the army, and a regular traffic in commissions had been established. In the civil service purchase had long died out, and patronage had resumed its sway. At length public opinion began to set in strongly against both, as not only giving occasion to great abuses, but as entirely opposed to the manners and utterly unsuited to the requirements of the times. The military profession, it was stated, now required careful scientific training in addition to mere courage or natural abilities; while the vast extension of the civil service, and the very important duties required of its members, rendered some better guarantee for their efficiency than mere respectability absolutely necessary. That these considerations were well founded is probably undeniable, but the question remained—how were the shortcomings and abuses of the existing system to be remedied? Various plans were suggested and found supporters, but the main characteristic of all of them was the introduction of examinations by which it was assumed the suitability of the candidates might be ascertained. At first it was proposed that, without abolishing patronage, no one should be appointed to office without showing a certain degree of proficiency before a board of examiners. This system was accordingly introduced in 1855 into the home civil service, but did not, it would seem, give the satisfaction expected. The examinations, it was said, were either inadequate or vexatious. A further step was then made, and in 1859 the plan of "limited competition" was adopted—that is to say, a number of persons nominated by different patrons were examined for the same vacancy, and he whose answers were most satisfactory obtained the appointment. This compromise between patronage and competitive examination failed in its turn to satisfy the country, because the feeling had been growing that nothing short of the competitive system pure and simple would meet the requirements of the public service. Accordingly in 1870 a limited number of appointments were thrown open to unrestricted competition, and in 1873 that system was adopted for almost all appointments other than those connected with the foreign office. The merits or defects of this important change cannot of course be yet tested by experience; but it is noticeable that the current of opinion is no longer so favourable to the new system. It is urged by many that the most valuable qualities for the civil service are precisely those which cannot be tested by examination, however skilfully conducted; and it is a growing opinion that the processes of "coaching and cramming," now reduced to a system, go far to neutralise the value of examination even as a test of literary attainments.

In the army the rule was gradually introduced of requiring officers, when receiving their first commissions, to undergo certain examinations; but as this was deemed plainly inadequate to meet the requirements of the service, purchase was entirely abolished in 1871 at vast cost to the nation, more stringent examinations were required, not only at entering, but on attaining subsequent grades, and, the competitive system was introduced to a limited extent. How far this change in military appointments will prove beneficial has been keenly contested. In all probability it will improve the scientific character of the service, but its effects from a constitutional point of view may admit of more question. So long as the army of England was officered by men who belonged to the middle classes, and, having a stake in the national stability, were not merely professional soldiers, it could not be made the weapon either of despotism or democracy. If by the abolition of purchase its officers came to be either aristocrats or needy adventurers, a very different state of matters may arise.

In the Church of England the appointments and preferments of the clergy have ever since the Reformation presented great and almost inexplicable anomalies. Patronage has always indeed formed the basis of the system. Appointments to bishoprics are made by the crown. The clergy are indeed allowed to elect, but their election must fall on the nominee of the government, whom they must proceed to consecrate under the penalties of a *præmunire.* The *congé d'élire* is thus a contradiction in terms. Yet, like many other logical anomalies in our constitutional system, it has been found to work well in practice; and if it has failed to adorn the episcopal bench with genius or talent of a high order, it has secured a succession of prelates distinguished generally for moderation and sound working abilities. When now and again an appointment has been made that gave dissatisfaction to some extreme party in the church, violent abuse of the system has been heard for a time, but this has generally before long subsided. In truth, the system, anomalous as it may seem, will be found on consideration to be not only reasonable, but perhaps necessary while the church remains established, and its bishops retain their seats in parliament as spiritual peers. The government as representing the country has a right to the patronage of an office which carries with it so much secular power and emolument; and is much more likely to exercise it impartially than would be the church, divided as it is into so many parties remarkable for their conflicting views. It must also be noticed that the experience of other protestant episcopal churches is not favourable to election of bishops by the clergy.

In the case of the parochial clergy, the patronage is in the hands of the crown, of the bishops, or of the universities, and in a great many instances of the laymen. Here purchase operates indirectly, for advowsons are marketable commodities. In pure theory the admission of such an element appears totally indefensible, and it has accordingly been made the subject of sneering criticism on the part of Dissenters. Yet in practice it seems to have worked well, and much may be said in its favour. So long as lay patronage exists, it must be capable of transmission by sale like any other right. But if lay patronage were abolished, what is to come in its place? Popular election would hardly commend itself to the people of England after the experience of Scotland and America; nor would it be desirable to give still further patronage either to the crown or the episcopate. Hence, while numerous efforts have been made, and are being now made, to check the abuses of the sale of advowsons and of patronage generally, no organised agitation has yet been set on foot to abolish the system as a whole.

TAXATION.

Until the close of the last century it had been the received policy to provide for all extraordinary expenses by way of loan, or, in other words, by making additions on the national debt to the amount required. This system, however well it might suit the sudden but merely temporary exigencies of wars, which by means of foreign alliances were soon brought to a conclusion, was seen to be inapplicable to the serious and protracted contest for existence with the rising power of Napoleon in which England fought almost single-handed, and which to all appearance was not unlikely to extend beyond the existing generation. It was accordingly suggested by Mr. Pitt to abandon the principle of the policy hitherto pursued, and make as near an approach as possible to that system of finance which makes the taxes raised within the year equal the annual expenditure. The soundness and propriety of this change were too obvious to admit of serious dispute; but the gigantic nature of the struggle in which England was then and almost without intermission engaged down to the general peace after the battle of Waterloo, combined with other circumstances, and in particular the extraordinary delusion of the sinking fund, rendered it impossible to carry out the new system except to a very limited effect. In pursuance of it, however, Mr. Pitt induced the House of Commons to treble the assessed taxes, which being levied on servants, horses, carriages, &c., fell chiefly on the rich, and to double the house and window tax, which was chiefly borne by the middle classes. The result, however, fell far short of his expectations, for instead of reaching seven millions, as had been anticipated, the new taxation never exceeded four millions and a half. The war expenses still increasing, and the limits of indirect taxation seeming to have been reached, Mr. Pitt proposed and carried in 1799 the imposition of the *income tax*, but to be used as a *war* tax only. By this measure no income under 60*l.* was taxed; from that up to 200*l.* a year taxation was imposed on a graduated scale; above 200*l.* a year it was made ten per cent. The bill passed amid much opposition, and though the income tax produced an immense revenue, and was increased in 1807 to meet the exigencies of the war, it was always in the highest degree unpopular, and was taken off at the peace, notwithstanding the war debt still remained largely unpaid. On the first imposition of the income tax the indirect taxes were reduced to their former level, but it was found that this could not be continued in consequence of the frightful amount of the funded debt; and the result was that the people of England were taxed both directly and indirectly during the earlier part of the century to an extent altogether unprecedented in their previous history. During that period, and also after the general peace, much was written and declaimed about the comparative merits and demerits of direct and indirect taxation; and the subject still forms a fertile theme for discussion. After all, we may be permitted to doubt whether the mode is of so much consequence as the amount of taxation. Direct taxation is objectionable as being necessarily of an inquisitorial character, and bearing with equal severity on every man coming within its sweep, irrespective of his private incumbrances and obligations; but, on the other hand, indirect taxes are always difficult and expensive to collect, tend directly to diminish expenditure, and injure thereby trade. The *amount* of taxation during the earlier part of the century was, however, a matter of much greater importance; and when now surveyed at this distance of time it is calculated to strike us with astonishment. One great cause of the amount of taxation was the reckless manner in which the public money was employed, and in particular in the practice of subsidising foreign nations in their struggles with the French republic, and afterwards with Napoleon. Little good accrued to us from this practice; and if a tithe of the sums so wasted had been employed in increasing the numbers and efficiency of our own armies, it is now almost certain that the Peninsular struggle would have been brought to a conclusion at a much earlier date. Another cause of the great amount of taxation was the strange delusion of the sinking fund—not perhaps yet entirely abandoned—by which, contrary to every principle of finance or even of ordinary book-keeping, it was supposed that the national debt could be extinguished by the contraction of additional debts.

During this period every scheme that ingenuity could devise appears to have been at one time or another resorted to for the purposes of taxation. Not only the luxuries, but the very necessaries, of life were subjected to taxation. A large revenue was derived from a tax on salt. Imports and exports were taxed with equal impartiality; armies of tax-gatherers beset every form of industry and trade. It never seemed to occur to our rulers that such a system was far worse than direct confiscation, because it struck not merely at produce, but at the springs of production. In this is perhaps to be found one of the strongest illustrations of the extreme slowness with which mankind renounce ancient errors and acquire new habits of thought. The true principles of political economy had been in great measure demonstrated by Adam Smith for more than thirty years, and yet our statesmen acted in continual disregard of their plainest axioms. Latterly, as the force of these principles began to be felt, sounder views came to prevail, the principles of *free trade* were adopted in practice, and it was conceded that the necessaries of life should not be made a source of taxation. The principle that every man according to his ability should contribute for the general defence and the necessities of government was adopted, and while indirect taxation was not abandoned, that by direct imposition on income was re-introduced. It may indeed be said that, during the period now under consideration, the general principles which should guide the imposition of taxes have been gradually recognised and adopted. Their practical application has not always been fully or wisely carried out; yet this is perhaps only a matter of time, and will right itself as opportunity serves.

MARRIAGE.

By a series of acts, the last of which is 23 Vict. c. 18, great facilities have been given for contracting the marriage relation. Without entering into them specially, it may be said that every facility is now given for marriage in face of the church, by Dissenters in their own forms, or by purely civil contract before the registrar. In all cases due publicity, combined with enduring evidence of the fact, is insured. In Ireland many anomalies, long permitted to exist, have gradually been diminished, and at length entirely abated, by a series of acts, of which those of 1870, 1871, and 1873, are the most important. In Scotland the law of marriage still remains confused and uncertain: nor are the Scotch the only sufferers. From the continually increasing intercourse between all parts of the United Kingdom, questions arise as to marriage, legitimacy, and succession which involve the English and Irish in the consequences of anomalies in Scotch law which even the Scotch themselves do not seem to understand, and which apparently conduce only to profligacy.

DIVORCE.

Formerly there were, properly speaking, only two kinds of divorce—divorce *à vinculo matrimonii* and divorce *à mensâ et thoro*. The former inferred nullity of the marriage from the beginning—as where the parties were within the forbidden degrees; the latter was simply a separation, and did not annul the marriage. Both might be sued out in the ecclesiastical courts. Divorce, properly so called, by which a marriage valid in itself is afterwards dissolved, could only be obtained by act of parliament, and was therefore beyond the reach of the humbler classes. This state of matters continued till 1857, when in the face of much opposition the Divorce Act (20 & 21 Vict. c. 85) was passed. Under its provisions, a new court was erected, in which divorce, properly so called, may be obtained at the suit of either husband or wife —at the suit of the former for simple adultery; at the suit of the latter if the husband has been guilty of incestuous adultery, of bigamy with adultery, of rape or unnatural crime, or of adultery coupled with cruelty or with desertion for two years. Collusion is provided against by intervention of the crown, and the necessity of all judgments being on evidence, and in the first instance *nisi*. Connivance bars the suit. Provision may be made for alimony to the wife and children. A judicial separation may be awarded. The adulterer may be made a co-respondent, and subjected in damages and costs. This fundamental change in the marriage laws has exposed us to the ridicule of foreigners, and its policy still remains much questioned. It does not extend to Ireland. The Scotch law, as it always gave great facilities for the contraction of marriage, afforded equal ones for its dissolution. The intervention of the legislature was therefore unnecessary.

The ancient system of registering births, deaths, and marriages having been found both imperfect and unworkable, changes were introduced in the beginning of this period, and by subsequent acts, particularly that of 1854, by which the system has been brought as near perfection as may be.

TENURE OF LAND.

Until 1841 the usual conveyance on a purchase of a freehold estate was by lease and release; but in 1845 it was declared competent to convey by deed of grant simply. The tenure of copyhold had long been attended with inconveniences and embarrassments. In 1841 an act was passed, followed by numerous amending statutes, whereby these evils were to a great extent remedied. The object of those acts was to facilitate the commutation of manorial burdens, to improve the tenure generally, and to facilitate enfranchisement, i.e. conversion into freehold.

Estates tail still continued exempt from liability for all except trading debts. This was changed in 1838, by 1 & 2 Vict. c. 116, which provides that judgments of the superior courts shall operate as charges against all lands, whether entailed or in fee simple. In 1856, by 19 & 20 Vict. c. 120, and later acts, estates tail have been so far unfettered that the tenant in tail may, by deed of conveyance duly enrolled, bar his issue and all subsequent claimants, subject only in the case of the latter to the necessity of obtaining the consent of the "protector," when there is one. He may also charge the lands with reasonable leases, and they may be sold for his debts to the same extent as he has power to dispose of them.

Prior to 1838 very little change had been made in the law of wills for centuries; but in that year considerable alteration took place. Wills and codicils must now be in writing duly signed and attested. All restrictions on the power of testing are removed, and a man may freely bequeath his whole real and personal estate to strangers, regardless of his wife and children. Supervening marriage, however, generally operates as a revocation. Before 1861 difficulties often arose as to the validity of wills defective in the solemnities of English law; but now since that date all wills affecting personalty made by a British subject, either at home or abroad, are admitted to probate, provided they are made in accordance with the forms used at the place of execution. In 1857 the new Court of Probate was erected, and the whole jurisdiction relative to granting probate and proving wills was extended to it.

Insecurity of title to land has long been the bane of English law. To remedy this, various schemes have been suggested. In 1862 two acts were passed, by which any owner of lands may, subject to certain conditions, have his title registered as indefeasible. Great results were expected from these enactments, but in practice they have proved almost wholly inoperative—the reason being, as was foreseen at the time, that their provisions are voluntary, not compulsory. It seems now to be admitted on all hands that nothing short of universal and compulsory registration—such as that prevailing abroad or in Scotland—will prove adequate to abate the existing evils.

Still further facilities were granted for enclosing waste lands and extinction of common rights by the act of 1845 and subsequent acts. Public opinion has, however, greatly changed as to the policy of such legislation; and it seems to be now generally admitted that the principles on which it proceeded were erroneous, or at least defective. Several statutes have also been passed to promote drainage, by enabling proprietors to borrow the required advances from government on rent-charges which after a certain number of years extinguish both principal and interest. It is in Scotland and Ireland, however, that these provisions have been most extensively applied, the need of such aid being most felt in those countries.

Still further powers have been conferred on the sovereign to hold lands or private estates by the acts of 1862, 1866, and 1873.

This period has been marked by great alteration in the Irish land laws. Under the old system estates in land had become so encumbered with a complication of mortgages and rent-charges of every conceivable kind, while the law afforded such imperfect means of clearing them off, that proprietors were impoverished, creditors remained unpaid, and the land unimproved. In 1849, when the evil had reached its height, the legislature interfered by the Encumbered Estates (Ireland) Act. Under its provisions a special court was erected to take cognisance of all encumbered estates, bring them to sale, and apportion the proceeds among all interested. This court was found to give very general satisfaction, notwithstanding the ominous prophecies that were made at its erection; and the act was accordingly renewed from time to time, until 1858, when the Sale and Transfer of Land (Ireland) Act was passed, re-establishing the former temporary court in a more effective and permanent form as the "Landed Estates Court, Ireland." Various amending acts have since been passed. In 1865 it was found that the labours of the Landed Estates Court would be of little permanent use while the titles conferred remained unregistered; and a record attached to the court was established in which, if desired, titles might be registered. This provision has worked well, but has not, from being merely optional, produced all the effects intended.

In 1870 a very important measure was passed for Ireland, and one which probably points to similar legislation for other parts of the United Kingdom. That was recognition to a certain extent of tenant-right, giving tenants a claim to compensation for improvements, and checking the practice of holding them under continual notice to quit as mere tenants at will.

Another very important piece of legislation has recently passed for Ireland—so important as, in fact, to amount to the inauguration of a new principle—yet it passed unopposed, even in quarters which might have been thought most inimical. This was the Irish Land Act, whereby tenants are enabled to become proprietors of their farms by borrowing the greater part of the purchase price from government. They may borrow two-thirds of the price at five per cent., which in thirty-five years extinguishes both principal and interest. Considerable advantage has already been taken of the act. Up to March 1873, 222,145*l.* had been paid as purchase-money, and of that 134,549*l.* had been advanced by government.

In Scotland the tenure of land and the forms of conveyances had been little modified for a long period—the advantages of the system of registration covering the evils of an antiquated and perplexing mode of tenure. Since 1840, however, numerous acts have passed modifying the law of entail and simplifying the modes of conveyance. Changes of a still more sweeping kind seem imminent.

CRIMINAL LAW.

During this period great improvements have been made in the criminal law, but no radical changes in its general character. The ancient lines have been preserved, the ancient doctrines developed, not abandoned. In some respects, however, changes seem imminent. The practice of intrusting prosecution to the party aggrieved or to police officials has been found to permit the escape of many guilty persons, and even to expose the innocent to annoyance and danger. The establishment of a public prosecutor has, therefore, been urged with ever increasing force, and it is probable that ere long a measure of this kind will become law. It has been objected that a system of public prosecution based on the French or Scottish plans would involve enormous expense, and by giving great power to the government might prove dangerous to liberty in times of political excitement. It seems quite possible, however, to adopt a system sufficiently effective for the repression of crime without any such dangers to liberty; the probable cost appears to have been greatly exaggerated; and, in any view, the object is too important to be abandoned on mere grounds of economy. Diminishing the number of the jury from twelve to seven, and taking the verdict by a majority after a certain time of inclosure, have also been strongly urged; but grave doubts have been entertained how far such changes can be made with safety in the absence of that guarantee for *bona fides* which a public prosecutor alone affords. At present, to quote the words of a recent writer, it may be said that "an English criminal trial is a public inquiry having for its object the discovery of truth, but thrown, for the purpose of obtaining that end, into the form of a litigation between the prosecutor and the prisoner." This is the theory; and where a man of means is the accused, it works admirably in practice. Yet it cannot be denied that the more the litigious element has been developed, the more necessary has it become to afford poor prisoners effective aid in the preparation and conduct of their defence; and until this has been fully provided for, it cannot be said that the rich and the poor are on an equality. But whatever shortcomings may still exist in procedure at criminal trials, the criminal law as to what constitutes crime, and what is the appropriate punishment, is no longer open to the reproach of confusion and want of system so forcibly urged by Jeremy Bentham. After a good deal of intermediate legislation, there was passed in 1861 a series of statutes which may be said to form something like a complete code of crimes and their punishments. It is characterised by great clearness of definition, and its provisions are at once rational, effective, and merciful. Capital punishment is limited to treason and wilful murder, and the reforms to which Romilly and Mackintosh devoted themselves have been fully attained. It was not, however, without great difficulty that this result was reached. Arson, burglary, forgery, and rape remained nominally capital offences till 1861. The tide, however, when it had once turned, set in very strong for the abolition of capital punishment altogether; and, quoting the examples of some foreign countries, many persons now contend for this further alteration. But the experience of late years does not seem favourable to their views. As to secondary punishments, the period now under consideration has seen some important changes. Transportation long continued the recognised penalty for the more serious offences, and the substitute for capital punishment. Latterly, difficulties having arisen in finding proper penal settlements abroad, it was resolved to abandon it for penal servitude at home. This change dates from 1853, and was fully completed in 1857. It was opposed by many, and the event has shown that their arguments were not without weight. Solitary confinement cannot now be awarded for more than one month at a time, or three months in one year. The more ferocious punishments—relics of a barbarous age—have been almost entirely abandoned, though flogging, generally disused abroad, still lingers in England, as it does in Russia. Forfeiture no longer exists. It may be noticed that, following in the wake of English precedent, similiar ameliorations have been introduced into Scotland, not so much by the legislature as by the public prosecutor restricting (as it is termed) the libel to an arbitrary punishment. In many respects, however, the law of Scotland is more severe and inquisitorial than that of England, particularly as to some offences between the sexes which have long since ceased to be prosecuted in the south, and in relation to taking the declarations of accused persons before committal for trial.

By the Prevention of Crimes Act of 1871 it is provided that convicts may be registered and photographed; those twice convicted may be subjected to police supervision, and may be punished by imprisonment if at any time within seven years they are found in suspicious circumstances, and unable to give satisfactory accounts of themselves. The policy of this act has been much questioned.

The ancient law of treason still remains the same in principle. Some practical modifications may be noticed. By 11 & 12 Vict. c. 12, certain provisions are made as to the definition and punishment of misprision of treason. The new definition is very extensive, but the punishment may, in the discretion of the court, be made very light. In consequence of attacks made on the queen by idle and mischievous persons, more from the desire of notoriety than of doing serious injury, it was enacted by 5 & 6 Vict.

c. 51, that any person wilfully discharging or pointing fire-arms at the sovereign should suffer penal servitude for not more than seven and not less than three years, and corporal punishment in addition.

In 1850 the papal bull establishing a hierarchy, and affecting to parcel out England and Ireland into ecclesiastical districts, caused such a panic that the 14 & 15 Vict. was passed, denouncing heavy penalties against any one accepting and using such titles. It was never acted on, however, and was lately repealed as useless and somewhat ridiculous.

EXTRADITION.

Until a comparatively recent date no adequate provisions were made for the extradition of criminals taking refuge in foreign countries, so that it frequently happened that the most notorious offenders, by merely escaping across the Channel, were enabled to set the law at defiance, and enjoy their ill-gotten gains with impunity. Various extradition treaties with most of the civilised countries in the world have now diminished this evil. Very few countries now remain, apart from the habitations of savages, in which criminals can find an asylum. This, of course, applies merely to offences against the moral law. Political crimes, though in some senses the gravest of all, are for obvious reasons not included in such extradition treaties. England has always nobly refused to deliver up political offenders. Even the foul attempt made, in 1857, by some fanatics to assassinate the French emperor could not prevail on her to surrender Bernard to the French tribunals.

This period has been characterised by great advances in civilisation; humanity and true manhood displacing the ancient ferocity and fanciful principles of honour. This has been manifested in many ways. The law for centuries had denounced its heaviest punishments against duelling, yet in such cases judges charged mildly, and juries hesitated to convict when death ensued in a fair fight. At length public opinion changed; and when it was found that the capital penalty would be commuted for a disgraceful punishment, convictions were obtained without much difficulty. In the army the rule became established that giving or accepting a challenge involved forfeiture of a man's commission, and this, more than anything else, struck at the root of the evil. The practice ultimately disappeared when men of unimpeachable courage handed over provokers of strife to the custody of the police, and more especially when it was found that a challenge covered the sender with ridicule, and fighting a duel exposed all concerned to disgrace. Prize-fighting lingered later. The law had long denounced it under heavy penalties, yet they were seldom inflicted while gentlemen continued to fancy that it showed manhood to look on while two common men pounded each other to a jelly. This also public opinion gradually changed. The law was put in force; and when it was found that social position would no longer shield the abettors of the prize-ring from disgraceful punishment, the practice fell into disuse. It is noticeable that as prize-fighting has disappeared, athletics, properly so called, have taken an enormous development all over the kingdom, and among all classes of the community. The amelioration of manners is still further shown by the ever increasing stringency of the laws against cruelty to animals. Protection has recently been extended even to sea birds in the breeding season. In one respect only do our laws on this matter still seem defective. The practice of vivisection, useless to science and disgraceful to humanity, has not yet been brought under the sharp scourge of the police magistrate.

GAME LAWS.

The game laws long continued in much the same state as in the previous period; but in 1862 an important change was made, for power was given to constables to search, without warrant, any person whom they might suspect of poaching, and to bring him before a magistrate. On conviction, the game found on him is declared forfeited, his gun or other arms are directed to be sold, and the proceeds paid over to the treasurer for the county or borough. Such enactments, combined with the close preservation and artificial increase of game, especially when let to game tenants, have provoked a strong agitation against the game laws generally, and efforts are being continually made for their modification or entire removal. In 1873 a parliamentary commission investigated the subject at great length; yet it cannot be said that their labours have eventuated in much that is practical. In truth, the subject is surrounded with difficulties not apparent on a hasty inspection. The question has hitherto been principally raised as between the landlords and the agricultural tenants. The latter contend that under the existing system it is impossible for them to cultivate or pasture their lands in an efficient manner, because of the interference and disturbance caused by gamekeepers, and because game is, by undue protection and fostering, multiplied to such an extent as to rival the destructive ravages of vermin. On the other hand, it is maintained that in many cases the game rent equals and even exceeds the agricultural rent, that the farmer has the existence of game in view when he offers for his tenement, and that undue preservation grounds a claim of damages. It is also said that any fundamental change in the existing law would simply result in the extinction of game altogether, as has occurred in some continental states, or would necessitate the enactment of some severe law of trespass which would seriously affect the liberty of the subject in other respects. There are others who ground their opposition to the game laws on their mischievous effects on the great body of the people. So long as you have game laws (it is said), you will have poachers, and the habits acquired by the poacher gradually undermine his moral character and lead him into actual crime. Better that game should entirely disappear from these islands than that an avenue to crime should thus be kept open. It is thought by a large and probably increasing number that while there is much truth in the arguments of the landowner, the tenant farmer, and the philanthropist, all of them err by pushing their conclusions to extremes. In the interests of the hard-worked intellectual labourer it is desirable that the invigorating influence of the moors should be preserved, but yet not so as to interfere injuriously with the rights either of farmers or the public. This, it is argued, could be secured without any radical change by simply repealing some of the more offensive provisions of recent legislation, and by conceding certain privileges to farmers; but more especially by withdrawing the administration of the game laws from justices of the peace, and intrusting it to county-court judges or stipendiary magistrates.

FREE TRADE.

The celebrated principles first laid down by Adam Smith in the previous century, that all restrictions on the freedom of trade are injurious to the commonwealth, and ultimately to the very interests they are supposed to promote, were slowly but certainly working their way among the more advanced thinkers during the earlier part of the present century; but it was not till a comparatively late period that they began to bear fruit in legislation. Their first effect was seen in the limitation and ultimate abolition of the usury laws. After various unsuccessful attempts, the corn laws were repealed in 1846; but it was not till 1849 that the navigation laws shared the same fate. Bounties, drawbacks, and the like devices to lead trade into other channels than those it would naturally follow, are now things of the past; but it cannot even yet be said that the principles of Adam Smith have been frankly and fully adopted in their entirety.

From the time of Charles II. it had been the policy of the legislature to encourage the ships, commerce, and seamen of England by the exclusion of all foreign competitors; and this policy was applauded by the multitude as well as by statesmen. At length, under the influence of the doctrines of free trade, it has been entirely abandoned, and by a series of acts passed within the last sixteen years the navigation laws have been completely repealed, except where the queen in council may see fit to impose restrictions on foreigners by way of reprisal. At the same time many admirable provisions have been made for the encouragement and protection of seamen, for promoting their health and comfort, and for the due examination and certification of masters and mates. Provisions have also been made for pilotage and the establishment of lights, beacons, and signals, so as to secure the interests of trade and the safety of the public.

The tendency of this period to remove all fetters on the freedom of trade was shown in the gradual abolition of the laws against trade-unions. In 1859 the laws against combination were greatly relaxed. In 1867, in consequence of numerous outrages on the part of workmen, a searching inquiry was instituted by royal commission into the working of trade-unions; and this led to the Act of 1871. By that Act trade-unions are not only legalised, but provision is made for their registration, so that, like friendly societies, they may sue and be sued in their corporate name. They can only, however, obtain these and similar privileges if their rules are consistent with freedom of trade, and afford no protection to intimidation and coercion. Concurrently with this, a new offence, viz. that of molestation, has been created; and it would seem, from some recent cases, that the old doctrine of conspiracy may still be very sharply applied by the tribunals. Legislation as to this matter generally seems imminent.

BANKRUPTCY AND COMMERCIAL LAW.

The ancient laws of England, like those of early Rome, and indeed of most rude nations, were more concerned in enforcing payment of debt than establishing ready-money transactions. Hence debtors were treated in many respects as criminals, and little distinction was made between insolvency and obtaining credit on false pretences. By mesne process the defendant could be compelled to give security for claims before their ascertainment by judgment. The law indeed, seemed rather to favour the plaintiff than the defendant. In the course of time the policy of such maxims came to be doubted, as inapplicable to a mercantile community; and, taught by experience, public opinion set with increasing force in the opposite direction. The consequence was that in 1838 the power of compelling a defendant to find security before judgment was taken away. This was followed by still further limiting the power of imprisonment, and ultimately by its total abolition, except by sentence of court for a short and limited period on special cause shown. In 1870 the power of attaching wages was entirely withdrawn. During this period also great advances were made in the law of bankruptcy. A still broader distinction was continually made between innocent insolvents and fraudulent bankrupts; and various consolidating acts, each supposed to be an improvement on the other, passed in 1849, 1854, and 1861, in which last year the benefit of the Bankruptcy Acts was extended, after much opposition, to non-traders. Still the practical working of the legal machinery was found defective and unsatisfactory. Unfortunates were hardly dealt with; rogues escaped with concealed funds. The estate was often wound up at enormous cost, and little or nothing remained for the expectant creditors. At last, in 1869, an entirely new system for the realisation and division of bankrupt estates was adopted. The creditors were organised into a body charged with the duty of attending to their own interests under the control of the court, and a machinery was introduced very similar to that long used in Scotland, whereby the utmost may be made of an insolvent estate at little cost, and without greater pressure on the bankrupt than is necessary to ensure a full and fair surrender.

The advance to more liberal views of the true principles of commercial law also brought about a very important change in the law of joint-stock companies. Formerly any one joining a trading association which had not attained incorporation by charter or special act became liable for its whole debts to his last shilling and last acre; nor was the company's creditor bound to attack the shareholders *pro rata.* He might pounce on any one he chose to select, and leave him to work out his indemnity against the others as best he could.

This state of the law was found to be injurious to commercial enterprise and public interest; undertakings of great importance both to the public and their promoters had to be abandoned because incorporation by royal charter or special act was too expensive to be resorted to; and capitalists, while they were ready to subscribe liberally, were naturally unwilling to pledge their whole means and estate on the success of the undertaking. At length public attention became aroused to the fact that, in the attempt to provide against reckless speculation, the law had well nigh destroyed commercial enterprise; and it was observed with regret that English capital was seeking in foreign countries those means of investment which a short-sighted policy denied at home. The evil being acknowledged, the legislature set about providing a remedy, but the means adopted were for long inadequate. The Letters Patent Act was passed (6 George IV. c. 91, 1825), but failed to give the relief required, because it did not confer limited liability in the proper sense of the phrase. After several temporary acts, all of which failed for the like reason, the old notions were at last abandoned, and the principle of the French *société en commandite* was adopted, by which due registration of members under a social name confers liability limited to the amount of subscribed capital. Divers tentative acts, each more liberal than its predecessor, passed on the basis of this principle; and it being found that the gloomy forebodings of those who opposed limited liability were either imaginary or gross exaggerations, the Companies Act of 1862 was at length passed, by which the previous acts were consolidated and formed into a code applicable to the whole kingdom. By this act trading companies of seven or more members are enabled by registration to attain all the benefits of incorporation, and among others that of liability limited by shares or guarantee to the amount of subscribed capital. This act was no sooner in operation than it gave general satisfaction; and some few years later led to a further extension of the principle, so that, even in the case of private co-partneries, a man may now make advances and in a sense share profits without incurring the full liabilities of partnership.

The improvements in commercial law just noticed extend only in part to North Britain. Formerly the law of Scotland in almost all the respects above mentioned was in advance of that of England. Thus the Roman *Cessio Bonorum* had been adopted in Scotland for centuries before anything analogous had been introduced into England; and the Scotch bankruptcy law had early in the century attained to a perfection which that of England only reached in 1872. In like manner the Scotch theory of partnership by adopting the *quasi persona* of the firm had two hundred years ago escaped from the unprofitable subtleties and complications into which the non-recognition of that principle had involved the English lawyers, and, until checked by English precedent, had gone far to attain limited liability in unincorporated societies after the fashion of France. In consequence, however, of that unfortunate tendency, which has latterly become so strong, of introducing into so many imperial acts a proviso that they shall not apply to Scotland, it has so come about that imprisonment for debt still exists in full vigour in Scotland, and that attachment both of realty and personalty, in security of claims not yet constituted, remains competent in that country. Mr. Anderson, one of the members for Glasgow, recently introduced a measure having for its object to extend the English law of non-attachment of wages to North Britain; but his praiseworthy exertions were only able to carry the measure to a limited extent. These and many other considerations strongly indicate that the Scotch, by retaining a separate system of jurisprudence which flatters perhaps the national vanity, are sacrificing substance to sentiment, and depriving themselves of the enormous advantage of participating in the flow of imperial legislation.

BANKS.

In 1844 extensive changes as to the law of banks were introduced. As to the Bank of England, it was provided that its issue of notes should be kept distinct from its other business, and that in future its issue should not exceed fourteen millions, for which available securities in bullion or otherwise should be retained. In 1857 this limitation had to be exceeded in consequence of a commercial crisis of unusual magnitude, and a bill of indemnity was accordingly passed. As to other banks of issue, it was provided that no bank should issue bills or notes payable on demand, though this privilege was continued to existing bankers while they carried on business. Annual returns were also required to be made of the members of banking companies, in order to publication. In 1857 the membership of incorporated banking companies was fixed at ten. By the Companies Act of 1862, any number of persons are allowed to carry on the business of banking if incorporated by registration under that act. Limited liability as to issue of notes cannot, however, be attained in this manner.

In 1841 military savings-banks were established; in 1861 post office savings-banks. Since 1841 the subject has been regulated by numerous consolidating statutes, the last of which passed in 1869.

TRUCK ACTS.

Great complaints have repeatedly been made as to the insufficiency of the Truck Acts, yet though a parliamentary commission sat in 1870, no further legislation has taken place. The subject is doubtless surrounded with difficulties.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

Until 1858 the medical profession was governed by an ill-assorted mass of charters and statutes. But in that year the first Medical act was passed, and by it and some later acts the whole subject was placed on a new foundation. A "General Council of Medical Education and Registration" was established, charged with the duty of carrying out a system of registering all medical practitioners. Persons not so registered are not allowed to practise or exact fees, or to hold any medical appointment. Efforts, unexampled in former ages, have also been perseveringly made to improve the public health. In 1839 inoculation for small-pox was made illegal; vaccination being substituted as more safe and affective. In 1853 vaccination was made compulsory, and this has been still further enforced in 1861. In 1848 a general board of health was constituted; but in 1858 the sanitary arrangements of districts were committed to the "local authorities," and this was further extended in 1861, 1866, and 1872. The object of these acts is to secure proper sewage and watering; they confer extensive powers; the expense is defrayed by local rates. Many acts have also been passed for the removal of nuisances, prevention of disease among cattle, inspection of articles of food, and their destruction if unfit for use. Since 1864 the Contagious Diseases Acts, for the suppression of the venereal disease in garrison towns and military stations, have also come into operation. Formed on continental models, they have provoked much hostile criticism, but still remain in force. Powerful efforts have also been made to combat the great evils attending the abuse of alcoholic stimulants. By one class of reformers direct repression has been advocated; and the Forbes Mackenzie Act of Scotland and the Public-house Acts in England are examples of this kind of legislation. Not satisfied with these, many have urged the passing of a Maine law, or at least of a "Permissive Act," hitherto, however, without effect. By another class of reformers it has been strongly urged that the evils of drunkenness are best met by withdrawing the people from temptation by affording them healthful and instructive recreation in the field, the museum, and the concert-room; nor has the legislature refused to foster such beneficial schemes. The former provisions against employing women and children in certain industries, as unsuitable occupations, have been considerably added to, and extended even to agricultural labour. Government inspectors, both for factories and mines, have also been appointed, and very effective provisions have been made for the protection of those engaged in such occupations. Yet this species of legislation has had to encounter much opposition. However admirable, and indeed necessary, it has been thought to conflict with freedom of trade. It may here be noticed that the legislature has so far assumed the duties of a paternal government as to have made very admirable provisions for the protection and fostering of industrial, benefit, and friendly societies. Fraud on the part of trustees and officials is now rendered a matter of difficulty, and may be promptly discovered and punished. Within the last thirty years, several acts have also been passed for making advances towards the erection of dwellings for the labouring classes; and this measure has been found to work so well that it has been extended to Ireland.

LUNACY.

The care of the insane had until recent times occupied but little of the attention of the legislature. Latterly various acts have passed, chiefly since 1852, providing for the establishment of lunatic asylums for the reception of paupers—the expense to be charged on the county rates. As regards the insane generally, several acts have also passed containing numerous and salutary provisions to prevent lunatics remaining at large, or the confinement of any one who is not insane, and to insure proper treatment to such as are under restraint. The latest of these acts passed in 1867, and it seems that the law as it now stands admits of little further improvement.

GAOLS.

Various statutes have recently passed, providing for the erection, maintenance, and regulation of gaols. The principal is now that of 1865 (28 & 29 Vict. c. 126). Under these acts humanity to the prisoners has been reconciled with discipline and security of detention, and the whole management has been brought more directly under government control.

LOCOMOTION.

One of the characteristic features of the present age is improved locomotion. This has necessarily introduced much additional legislation. The keeping in due order of highways and bridges is now provided for by 27 & 28 Vict. c. 101, following on 25 & 26 Vict. c. 61. Turnpike roads are regulated by special acts controlled by general statutes, th chief of which are 3 George IV. c. 126, and 35 & 36 Vict. c. 85 (1872). During the present period have passed the great Consolidation Acts applicable to the formation and regulation of railway and canal companies; the Companies Clauses Acts, the Lands Clauses Acts, the Railway Clauses Acts, and several other supplementary acts, all well known to the public. In 1854, the Merchant Shipping Act passed, and in 1855, the Passenger Act, by which, under heavy penalties, provisions are made for the health and comfort of passengers in foreign-going vessels. The Act of 1862 has made still further provisions of a similar kind. Of late years several acts have been passed, limiting and defining the liabilities of public carriers, applicable not merely to common carriers, but to railway and canal companies, and to ship-owners. Their general effect is to limit liability to a small sum, unless where a previous declaration has been made to the carrier of the nature and value of the goods.

POST OFFICE.

In 1840 the postage of ordinary letters in the United Kingdom was lowered to one penny; and latterly still further reductions have been made in post cards, and the transmission of books, &c. The electric telegraph, that wondrous invention of modern times, has lately been taken under the control of the government, and has been so well managed as to suggest to many whether the railways of the United Kingdom might not be with advantage assumed by the state.

COPYRIGHT.

The law of copyright has been considerably extended. In 1842, the monopoly was enlarged to life and seven years over; in posthumous works to forty-two years in favour of the owner of the MS. A certain degree of protection has also been given to works first published abroad. In 1842 the law of copyright was extended to designs for manufactures, and in 1862 to paintings, drawings, and photographs. Considerable changes have also been made in the law of patent rights. The principal being in 1852–53. Trade marks are protected by the Act of 1862.

THE PRESS.

By alterations in the duties on paper and newspapers the power of the press has been greatly augmented; daily newspapers have taken the place of weekly issues, and the public appetite for news, as well as the general range of popular information, has been extended to a degree formerly undreamt of.

The law of libel, and also the right to report and publish proceedings in parliament, had been pretty fairly ascertained at an earlier period. In the year 1836 a new point came up for determination. In the well-known case of Stockdale it was laid down by Chief Justice Denman that the authority of the House of Commons could not justify the publication of a libel. On the other hand, the house maintained that anything printed and published under its direction or authority could not be questioned in any court of law, and that any attempt to do so was a violation of the privilege of parliament. This led to an unseemly conflict between the Court of Queen's Bench and the House of Commons. The upshot was the passing of an Act in 1840, whereby all actions founded on proceedings in parliament printed by order of either house were declared incompetent. In other respects the right of the press to report fully the proceedings in parliament has been long since conceded; but the old theory remains, and any member of either house may exclude the reporters. Yet this power, often deemed an absurdity, seems absolutely essential. There are no sworn reporters in parliament charged with the duty of faithfully reporting the debates; nor perhaps are official reports practicable, or, if practicable, desirable. Yet voluntary reporters may, in the interests of party, or from mere carelessness, fail to give adequate reports of what was actually said, and so seriously prejudice the public mind. A more salutary correction of this could not perhaps be devised than the existing practice; for as every member must necessarily desire his utterances to meet the eyes of his constituents, no one will seek to exclude the reporters, so long as they make even a tolerable approximation to the efficient discharge of their duty.

To the due administration of justice, particularly in trial by jury, it is plainly essential that no comments shall be made on the procedure during the course of the trial. So strongly indeed were the judges impressed with the importance of this principle, that it was formerly forbidden to report anything that took place until the trial had been concluded. Latterly this rule has been so far relaxed as to allow a report of the proceedings, provided it was unaccompanied by comment. Yet in a quite recent case heavy fines have been inflicted on those who published in the newspapers their views or opinions of the evidence.

METRIC SYSTEM.

In pure theory the duodecimal system would be preferable to all others as a basis for calculation; the decimal, from general practice and inveterate use, will probably continue to prevail. It requires, indeed, some acquaintance with mathematical science to appreciate the advantages of the former. The decimal system, however, suited as it is to the existing Arabic notation, works admirably in practice, and, when applied to measures or coins, vastly simplifies calculations. It has accordingly been adopted in the most advanced European countries. In England our metric system is not only not decimal, but is based upon no system whatever. The utmost variety prevails in our coinage, weights, and measures, and the result is that, with all the advantages of the Arabic notation, our calculations in practice have to struggle with greater difficulties than had those of Greece or Rome. Various efforts have been accordingly made during the last thirty years to induce the legislature to adopt the decimal system, but hitherto without effect. Conservatism is a valuable quality of Englishmen, and has often stood them in good stead; yet in this case we may see an instance where its effects have been singularly unpropitious.

CHARITIES.

Few countries are more rich in charitable endowments than England; in few have the funds been more liable to misappropriation. After various remedies had been tried without success, a series of acts was passed between 1853 and 1863, by which a more complete protection has been thrown around such institutions. The main feature of these acts is the appointment by the crown of charity commissioners charged with the duty of supervision, empowered to appoint and remove trustees, to sanction new schemes for the application of the funds, and generally to regulate the management. Under the phrase *charitable uses* are comprised, not only relief to the poor, but donations for pious or religious objects. The latter, since 2 & 3 Will. IV. c. 115, and 9 & 10 Vict. c. 59, are no longer limited to the Established Church, but include Romanists, Dissenters, and Jews.

THE POOR LAWS.

The poor laws still continuing in an unsatisfactory state, several important changes were made. In 1847 the Poor Law Board was established in place of the old commissioners, with extensive powers over all unions and parishes. This act, frequently amended, was at length made permanent by that of 1867. As the law now stands, relief may be claimed by the able-bodied poor if unable to find work. Settlement is acquired by birth, parentage, marriage, tenancy, estate, and payment of rates.

The casual poor may be removed to their proper settlements. The rates are made and levied by the churchwardens and overseers.

Formerly no poor law existed in Ireland. A considerable sum was annually levied by the grand juries for county rates, but this was chiefly expended on roads and bridges. To paupers from age, sickness, or infirmity, it afforded no aid whatever. Political excitement, absenteeism, decay of trade, and a redundant population—in short, that complication of evils to which Ireland has for so long been subject—had combined in the years immediately preceding 1836 so to multiply pauperism that there were more than two millions and a half of paupers in Ireland, depending for support on mendicancy for the greater part of the year. This mendicant population overflowed into England, and became a serious burden on its poor rates. This circumstance, perhaps more than anything else, attracted the notice of government, and a commission was issued in 1836, from the report of which a bill was introduced in 1837 which soon after became law. It made provision for a certain measure of relief to be raised by assessment, but by no means adequate to the amount of admitted distress. It was strongly opposed, however, by many profound thinkers as erroneous in principle, and among others by Mr. O'Connell, in a very powerful speech. After the potato famine, the Irish poor law received much further extension by an act passed in 1847. The following important alterations were made—relief was extended to the able-bodied when unable to find work, and though the workhouse test was still retained, provision was made for outdoor applicants.

In Scotland there had long existed a certain species of legal provision for the destitute poor. By the Act of 1579, c. 74, they had been declared entitled to relief, and the heritors in each parish were required to assemble and assess themselves for that purpose, one half to be laid on the landlords, the other on the tenants. But the purposes of the statute were practically defeated by unforeseen circumstances. The administration of the law was intrusted to the heritors and kirk-session (or churchwardens) of each parish, who were in the first instance to decide on all claims for relief. By a decision of the Supreme Court, it was ruled that the only appeal from this primary court lay to the Court of Session; but as the prosecution of such an appeal involved an outlay beyond the reach of paupers, all revision was practically excluded. The result was that the heritors and kirk-session being themselves the parties who were to bear the assessment, though they did not actually refuse all relief, yet doled it out with so sparing a hand that it became purely illusory. In the great majority of parishes no rate was levied at all.

This state of things was not productive of much evil while the country continued agricultural; but with the spread of manufactures, the rise of great centres of trade, and the immigration of whole colonies of Irish, pauperism began to attain proportions previously unknown. The evil reached its climax between 1837 and 1842; and public attention being strongly aroused, a bill was introduced by Lord Advocate McNeil, which became law in 1845. By this act, parochial boards are established and elected by the rate-payers, and the decisions of such boards are subjected to revision by the sheriffs; while a board of supervision at Edinburgh controls the whole proceedings. In one respect the Scottish poor law so established differs from those both of England and Ireland. It says nothing distinctly as to the able-bodied poor; and the consequence has been that the courts of law have decided that such persons have no claim of relief, contrary, it is said, to the intentions of the framer of the act. As in the case of the corresponding Irish measure, the Scotch act did not pass without much opposition from many able thinkers, and among others the late Dr. Chalmers.

Such is a brief outline of the present state of the poor laws in the United Kingdom. That they are an evil, it is impossible to deny; the best that can be said for them is that they palliate to a certain extent a still greater evil—that of pauperism. Their administration is attended with vast expense; litigation between parishes and unions is frequent and wasteful, and to discover the proper settlement of one pauper often costs more than the maintenance of many. Moreover, they seem to foster pauperism, and the workhouse is found to be the home of whole classes, and of successive generations. It is a continual complaint that the rates weigh heavily on struggling industry, and that what has been wrung from the hard-worked operative is squandered on the malingering pauper. Wealthy England in this respect contrasts unfavourably with continental states, where no poor laws exist, and pauperism is little known. It may be that pauperism is inseparable from the wealth obtained from manufactures and commerce; yet there must be something radically wrong in a system of pauper relief which is at once oppressive and wasteful, and under which the idle sot and the worn-out labourer are equally consigned to the workhouse.

EDUCATION.

For long the extension of education to the great body of the people was little regarded. Provisions, no doubt, existed for educating the poor through the agency of the church and local charities; but these proved utterly insufficient to meet the wants of a vastly increasing population. When public attention was brought to bear on the subject, anything like a compulsory system was opposed; many doubting if the spread of education would benefit the masses, and others overrating the difficulties presented by the religious question. At length, in 1870, the Elementary Education Act (33 & 34 Vict. c. 75) was passed. It provides for giving elementary instruction in all parts of England and Wales, and for this purpose divides the country into school districts, establishes school boards by election under the control of the privy council, provides that existing schools may be brought under the act on certain conditions, and confers aggressive powers to acquire ground, houses, &c. The act contains a conscience clause. Fees are chargeable, but in certain circumstances may be remitted, and any deficiency supplied by local rates. The practical effect of the act is that in a few years elementary education will be general in England. A similar act was passed for Scotland in 1872; but in it the provisions for local boards and school attendance are made compulsory. In Ireland very elaborate means have been employed to promote education; yet, from the unhappy effects of the religious element, it cannot be said that they have been successful.

In the higher branches of education, the period under consideration has seen many changes. The great public schools of England were thought to have fallen behind the age, and to be subject to abuses fostered by time. This, as regards grammar schools, led to the Act of 3 & 4 Vict. c. 77; but in 1861 a royal commission was issued to inquire into the working of the great public schools, such as Eton, Harrow, Rugby, &c.; and acts were passed in 1868 and in 1869 giving effect to the recommendations of the commission. The alterations so made have given greater breadth to the curriculum, have extended the benefit of the schools, and, while adapting them to the requirements of modern times, have brought them more into conformity with the purposes of their founders. Subsequent acts have made still further advances in the same direction.

Similar alterations have been made in the universities. Till comparatively recent times, these institutions were practically closed against Dissenters, and laboured under abuses or customs that seriously impaired their practical utility. At length, in 1871, by 34 Vict. c. 26, graduates and other holders of academic offices were relieved from subscription to religious formulæ and attendance at public worship of which they did not approve. Various acts also passed, both before and after 1871, enlarging the area of study, correcting abuses, promoting the efficiency of the teaching and examining bodies, and rendering the universities generally available for all classes of the community. Many of the benefits of academic training may also now be obtained without residence. Of course the restrictions applicable to students and officials of the church still remain in force. In Ireland all tests in Trinity College or the University of Dublin were abolished in 1873. In Scotland, except as to the theological classes, the tests were abolished at an earlier period.

Great benefits have accrued to the lowest classes of the community by the acts establishing reformatory and industrial schools. Their effects as measures preventative and repressive of crime have proved most salutary. The latest is the Act of 1872.

THE TRIBUNALS.

In the course of the period now under consideration, changes of a very important kind have taken place in the system *of pleading* used before the courts. From a very early period, the pleadings were of a highly technical kind, and had been elaborated by the practice of many centuries into a regular science known as that of special pleading. It was much esteemed by our ancient lawyers, as a means of developing the point in controversy—in other words, of raising the issue—with almost mechanical certainty and precision. And no doubt in this respect it possessed great advantages over the loose system of mingled fact and argument, to be found in the former continental and Scottish modes of preparing the cause for trial. Yet while its fundamental principles were sound, so much subtlety and strictness had gradually been introduced that the end was subordinated to the means; ruinous expense was often incurred, and the course of justice retarded by trifling mistakes on the part of careless or ignorant practitioners. At length in 1852, after very full and mature consideration, the forms of procedure were considerably amended by the 15 and 16 Vict. c. 76. The objects of this statute, known as the "Common Law Procedure Act," were not to introduce a new system, but to give greater simplicity and despatch to the old, by bringing out the ancient principles in their original purity, relieved from the mass of subtleties and technicalities which had accumulated around them in the course of ages. The general result has been highly satisfactory. By an easy and simple procedure the law is separated from the fact, so that the former may be decided by the court, and the latter sent to a jury or its equivalents. Similar improvements have also been made in chancery practice.

Under all systems of jurisprudence, some provision must exist for the exercise of an equitable jurisdiction—in other words, for supplementing the action of the legal tribunals where they do not supply a remedy adequate to the particular case; and for correcting the rigour of the common law, when its general rules would work injustice in special circumstances. In most European states this equitable function has been intrusted to the ordinary tribunals, which thus administer both law and equity. In England, as in ancient Rome, the equitable function has been relegated to a separate jurisdiction, that of chancery. Originally that high court appears to have afforded equitable relief in the natural and proper sense of the term—that is, it dealt exceptionally with exceptional cases; but gradually it came to be bound by precedents of its own evolution quite as firmly as were the legal tribunals by the rules of the common law, so that for all practical purposes the division of the tribunals into courts of law and equity has become a mere subdivision of jurisdiction. If a man wants to recover damages for breach of contract, tort, or failure in duty, he goes to a court of law; if he seeks to enforce specific performance, call a trustee to account, or obtain injunction, he goes to a court of equity. This system has been defended on the ground that both sets of courts acquire greater precision in dealing with the questions appropriated to each; but this advantage is overborne by far greater evils. The practitioners have come to be divided into two distinct classes, each professing its own branch only. It is not always certain to which court a man ought to apply; in many cases he is compelled to carry on two or more suits instead of one, and the remedy sought can only be obtained piecemeal. Hence have ensued complexity, protracted delay, and often ruinous expense. Various efforts have been made by the legislature at divers times to correct these evils, by empowering the law courts to deal with equitable pleas and the equity courts to try issues of fact by jury. Such efforts have, however, proved unavailing. They might act as palliatives; they utterly failed to eradicate the consequences of inveterate practice. Apart also from this separation of the functions of law and equity, the English tribunals are divided into a great variety of different courts, with separate, though often concurrent, jurisdiction, whose confusion and entanglement have proved a fertile source of annoyance both to the public and the profession. The appellate jurisdiction also has proved to be in a very unsatisfactory state; not only were there too many appeals, oftentimes within the same court, but the final court of appeal, viz. the House of Lords, could only be defended on the ground that it had contrived to work in practice much more satisfactorily than could have been expected in theory, from the anomalous and haphazard character of its constitution. These considerations had long satisfied all who were not wedded to the ancient system by interest or prejudice that the evils referred to imperatively demanded a speedy and effective remedy: yet so conservative is the instinct of our countrymen, and so unwilling are they to introduce the most necessary changes which savour of novelty, that, though the subject had often been before the public, nothing was done to abate the evils referred to, until quite recently.

At length in 1873 the subject was taken up by the liberal government, and a bill was introduced, which, after being exposed to much adverse criticism, more especially from the chancery bar, and having undergone considerable modification, ultimately passed into law as the "Supreme Court of Judicature Act, 1873," 36 and 37 Vict. c. 66. The provisions of this act may be briefly noticed as follows. From and after the 2nd of November 1874, the Court of Chancery, the Queen's Bench, the Common Pleas, the Exchequer, the Court of Admiralty, the Court of Probate, the Court of Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, and the London Court of Bankruptcy, shall be united and consolidated together as one Supreme Court of Judicature for England. This supreme court shall consist of two permanent divisions, one under the name of "Her Majesty's High Court of Justice," with original and appellate jurisdiction from inferior courts, the other under the name of "Her Majesty's Court of Appeal," acting as the supreme and ultimate court of appeal, in place, so far as England is concerned, of the House of Lords. The High Court of Justice shall consist of not more than twenty-one judges, viz. the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Justice of England, the Master of the Rolls, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Chief Baron of Exchequer, the Vice-Chancellors, the Judge of Probate and Divorce, the Puisne Judges of the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, the Junior Baron of Exchequer, and the Judge of the Court of Admiralty. The new judges appointed to fill the places of the old shall be styled "Judges of Her Majesty's Hight Court of Justice," and, with certain exceptions, will all have equal power and jurisdiction.

Her Majesty's Court of Appeal is to consist of five *ex-officio* judges, and of so many ordinary judges (not exceeding nine) as the crown may see fit to appoint; the *ex-officio* judges to be the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Justice of England, the Master of the Rolls, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of Exchequer. Besides the ordinary and *ex-officio* judges, the crown may appoint any persons who, having held the office of a judge in the superior courts at Westminister or of the new supreme court, or in Scotland that of lord justice general or justice clerk, or in Ireland that of lord chancellor, or lord justice of appeal, or in India that of chief justice in Bengal, Madras, or Bombay, shall be willing to serve as additional judges in the Court of Appeal. Their title is to be Lords Justices of Appeal, and with certain exceptions their powers and jurisdiction shall be equal. The president is to be the lord chancellor for the time being.

The High Court of Justice is to be vested with all the powers and jurisdiction of the Courts of Chancery, both in law and equity, of the Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, the Courts of Admiralty, Probate, Divorce, Bankruptcy, the Common Pleas at Lancaster and Durham, and the commissioners of oyer and terminer, assize, and gaol delivery. From this, however, are excepted the appellate functions of any of these courts, and the ministerial power of chancery in relation to lunatics, granting letters patent, visiting of colleges or charities, and the like.

To the new court of appeal is to be transferred the appellate jurisdiction of chancery and of the chancery of Lancaster, the jurisdiction of the warden of the stannaries, of the exchequer chamber, and of the judicial committee of the Privy Council on appeal in admiralty and lunacy cases. All appeals from the High Court of Justice are to lie to the new court of appeal, and no appeal from it can be taken to the House of Lords or judicial committee.

Without formally abolishing the distinction between law and equity, the act provides that they shall be concurrently administered both in the High Court of Justice and in the Court of Appeal, and specially declares that both courts, and the judges composing them, shall have full power, and shall be required to give in every action or suit all remedies, whether legal or equitable, which the justice of the case may require. Mandamus and injunction may issue whenever they shall appear necessary for the ends of justice; when the rules of common law conflict with those of equity, the latter are to prevail; and many other special provisions are made for the blending of law and equity which must gradually and at no great distance of time end in their complete fusion into one consistent whole.

The division of the legal year into terms is abolished, so that, subject to such rules as may be made from time to time, all sorts of business may be done at any time of the year. The High Court of Justice is to be divided into five divisions, called respectively the Chancery Division, the Queen's Bench Division, the Common Pleas Division, the Exchequer Division, and the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division. The sort of business generally appropriated to each is indicated by their respective names; but this is intended only to be temporary, for, with the exception of the Probate and Admiralty Division, litigants may bring their cases before any one of the divisions they may think proper, causes may be formally transferred from one division to another, and so also may the judges as occasion may require. Single judges may either in court or chambers exercise all the powers of all or any part of the jurisdiction of the high court proper for a single judge. Appeals from inferior courts must be determined by the divisions, as must also be reserved points and motions for new trials. Crown cases reserved must be heard before five judges, one of whom must be the Chief Justice of England, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, or the Chief Baron of Exchequer. Such appeals to be final in criminal causes. The Court of Appeal shall likewise exercise its functions by means of divisions of not less than three judges, and any number of such divisions may sit at the same time. Re-hearings may take place before a greater number of judges; but judges may not sit on appeal from their own judgments.

A very important, and, as it has seemed to many, a constitutional innovation has been introduced as to trial of matters of fact. Trial by jury was almost the only mode recognised at common law, but in chancery evidence was generally taken by affidavit; and latterly a system of judicial reference was of frequent, though perhaps irregular, occurrence. These last modes were necessitated by the fact, that, if the equity judges had consumed their time in hearing evidence *vivâ voce*, their want of numerical strength would have incapacitated them from discharging their more important functions. The new act has, perhaps from a false economy, failed to supply this defect, and some substitute for deficiency in judicial strength had to be found. Recourse has accordingly been had to judicial reference, and this system, now fully recognised, forms an important feature in the act. The court is empowered, with consent of parties, and in many cases without such consent, to order issues on questions of fact to be tried before an official referee, or one specially appointed by the parties, according to such directions as the judge or court may lay down. Their findings are declared equal to a verdict. The official referees are to form a body of permanent officers. This provision is nothing else but the introduction into English law of an old Roman institution, for the *judices* in that system were the official or special referees of the prætor, and discharged functions identical with those intrusted to the officers in question.

Another very important and novel provision is contained in the act. To enable proceedings proper for the High Court of Justice to be taken in country districts, the crown is empowered to establish district registrars, who shall have power to issue writs of summons, and do everything competent to the supreme court down to entry for trial, and even including final judgment, when the plaintiff is entitled to sign judgment. These officers, however, are to proceed subject to the rules, directions, and control of the court. This provision, if properly worked, may be found very beneficial as a means of saving expense, not merely to the parties, but to the country. The provisions regarding referees and registrars have, of course, no reference to criminal matters.

Nor is the act confined merely to the constitution and jurisdiction of the two new courts it calls into existence; it contains many important regulations as to procedure and pleading. Subsequent to the reforms inaugurated by the Common Law Procedure Act of 1852, many additional improvements suggested themselves in detail, the adoption of which would secure still further simplicity, economy, and despatch, by introducing greater uniformity, abolishing unnecessary distinctions and technicalities, and giving greater control of the proceedings both to the bench and the bar, not only at the outset, but throughout the entire course of a lawsuit. Most of these suggestions are embodied as provisions in the act; and power is conferred on a council of the judges to frame from time to time such rules as they may deem proper to carry the purposes of the act into practical effect. Most causes will in future commence by writ of summons; and the pleadings are still further shortened and simplified. The evils of misjoinder and nonjoinder are provided against by empowering the court at any stage to strike out or to add the names of parties improperly introduced into or omitted from the record. Partners may sue and be sued in the name of their firm. Provision is even made for determining questions as against third parties when this is required for the ends of justice. Actions are not to become abated by reason of marriage, death, or bankruptcy, if the cause still survives. When the pleadings do not appear sufficiently to disclose the issue in fact, the proper issue may be adjusted by the parties and the court. Counterclaims may be set off without cross actions, and several causes of action may be contained in the same statement of claim. The court may require preliminary questions of law to be determined before evidence is led. Many effective means are provided for discovery of documents by interrogatories, &c. Unless otherwise settled by the parties or by the court, all actions are to be tried in Middlesex. The trial may proceed either before a judge or judges, before a judge with assessors, before a judge and jury, or before an official or special referee, with or without assessors, according as the parties may arrange, subject to the direction of the court; but either plaintiff or defendant may insist for trial by jury. Evidence must generally be *vivâ voce*, and affidavits are much limited and discouraged. Provision is made for abridging evidence by admissions. Bills of exceptions and proceedings in error are abolished. No new trials are to be granted on the ground of misdirection or improper admission or rejection of evidence, unless the court is of opinion that substantial wrong or miscarriage has been thereby occasioned. Other restrictions are laid on granting new trials—a practice which, from a feverish desire to do justice in the particular case, the courts were latterly carrying too far. Appeals are to be by way of re-hearing. All petitions, cases, or the like, beyond notice of motion, are abolished. The Court of Appeal is charged with all the power and duties of the court of first instance, and may take further evidence and vary the judgment in any way it sees proper, and that whether the appeal has been general or on some special point; nor shall any interlocutory judgment operate as a bar to the full exercise of this power. An appeal does not stay proceedings.

Such is a brief outline of the provisions of the Act of 1873. It will be seen at a glance that they are more sweeping and revolutionary than those of any act affecting the constitution of the English courts since the time of the Norman kings. The objects of its promoters were to fuse law and equity by abolishing the distinction of tribunals which had from time immemorial formed so marked a characteristic of English law; to reduce the chaotic variety of judicatures as far as possible into three, viz. inferior courts, one supreme court, and one court of appeal; to afford all available means for obtaining speedy and substantial justice, and to recognise no technicalities which did not obviously conduce to that end. If the act as it now stands is fairly worked out in its spirit, it gives fair promise of attaining these ends, not perhaps at once, but gradually; and in that case it will form one of the most beneficial measures carried through by Mr. Gladstone's government. It cannot be concealed however that the measure as passed into law is by no means so sweeping or radical in its provisions as was the bill when presented to parliament, and does not afford the same guarantees for working out the intentions of its promoters. This is due to the numerous concessions which had to be made to the powerful minority who, wedded to the ancient system, resisted every attempt at fundamental innovation. The result is one too common in our legislation—the measure as passed is a compromise. Too many roots of the ancient system have been allowed to remain, and some important provisions necessary to completeness and symmetry have been struck out. For example, the new court of appeal, instead of being made the appellate tribunal for the United Kingdom, is limited to England, so that appeals from Scotland and Ireland have still to be brought before the House of Lords; and the five divisions of the court of justice are by their very names suggestive of the ancient courts, with their distinctive jurisdictions, which it was the main purpose of the act to entirely abolish. These and similar obvious anomalies plainly show that, however fairly administered, the act labours under defects that can only be cured by subsequent legislation. This is the more to be regretted because there is no principle better known than that fixity in the constitution and practice of the tribunals is essential to the due discharge of their functions, and that consequently, when great and fundamental changes are made, they should be such as to leave no pretext for subsequent emendations.

To those acquainted with the foreign systems of judicial procedure, it will be obvious in how many respects the new act has abandoned the characteristics of English procedure for such as have long been prevalent elsewhere. This is seen not only in the fusion of law and equity, but in the formation of one supreme court formed into divisions, and in the power conferred on the judge and the parties to control the pleadings and the procedure generally throughout, so that form may always yield to substance. Many of these innovations are of Scottish, some of American, others of French parentage; but whether consciously or unconsciously adopted, they are manifest improvements, and will unquestionably go far to facilitate the application of English law. Apart from the fusion of law and equity, one of the most important features in the act is the provision it apparently makes for gradual narrowing of the practice of trial by jury in civil suits. When trial by a judge or judges, or by referees and assessors, has once got to be familiar to the English mind, it is very probable—if we argue from what has occurred in the county courts—that it will become very prevalent. Whether this, which would be a great and fundamental change in our institutions, is desirable or not, will be seen by the event. Many have thought that the indirect advantages of jury trial as a means of training the people to think for themselves, and to understand the law, and so to prepare them for the exercise of their political rights, are of more importance than any advantages or disadvantages that may be thought to belong to the institution as a mere piece of legal machinery. Continental nations among whom jury trial does not exist, except in criminal matters, have never proved themselves capable of working free institutions or a constitutional government. Perhaps, after all, the celebrated though often ridiculed dictum of Blackstone had more soundness and depth than modern theorists can appreciate.

The constitution of the Scottish courts of law has not undergone any important changes during this period; the procedure and system of pleading have in accuracy and simplicity made considerable progress. The greatest evil, perhaps, has been that no set of rules has been allowed to remain long without alteration. Trial by jury in civil causes has proved almost a complete failure. It is said that Scotchmen are unfitted to discharge the functions of jurors, because of the pertinacity with which each sticks to his own opinion, and the metaphysical subtleties in which they are prone to indulge. Such notions seem to be refuted by the fact that as soon as Scotchmen cross the border they form excellent jurymen, and in other respects, at least, are eminently practical. It is more probable that jury trial has failed in Scotland because from the system of pleading adopted the issue was not always properly raised; because verdicts having been since 1850 taken by majorities the evidence was not properly sifted; and because the court was so ready to grant new trials that it was often said to be more difficult to maintain than obtain a verdict. Latterly the practice has been introduced of trial before the judge without a jury; the evidence being taken by a shorthand reporter, and an appeal lying to the court on the facts as well as on the law. This system, though presenting obvious disadvantages, seems to be much more popular than trial by jury. In

Scotland the attorneys, commonly styled "writers," formerly consisted of as many different bodies with exclusive privileges as there were courts; and of those entitled to practise before the supreme courts there were several distinct societies. This caused much inconvenience and expense to the public. By the Act of 1873 they are all practically put on a level, and their exclusive privileges abolished. The office and precedence of queen's counsel have recently been introduced into Scotland. Many of the members of the Scottish bar are now qualifying themselves as English barristers. This seems to point to an amalgamation of the two bars; an event which perhaps ought long since to have taken place.

COUNTY COURTS.

The want of local tribunals for recovery of ordinary debts and dispensing justice in minor suits was found to be so great that it was at length resolved, in 1845, to establish such inferior judicatures under the name of "County Courts." This was carried into effect by the 9 & 10 Vict. c. 95, and the measure was still further extended by 21 & 22 Vict. c. 74; and in 1865 a considerable jurisdiction in equity was added by 28 & 29 Vict. c. 99; and so popular have these tribunals become that their power and jurisdiction have been considerably extended, both in law and equity, by the Act of 1867. They sit once a month at least.

JURORS.

Various acts regulating service and exemption from service on juries have been passed in the present reign—the latest in 1870. The general tendency has been to extend the area of liability and diminish exemptions. Attempts have recently been made to render verdicts by a majority of the jurors competent, but without effect. The entire collapse of jury trial in Scotland, where such verdicts are admitted, would seem to be decisive against any such innovation on the ancient practice.

EVIDENCE.

It was formerly one of the most marked peculiarities of English law that the evidence of parties to the suit, and of such as were interested therein —however slight their interest might be—and of persons that had been rendered infamous by crime, was wholly excluded. This has been entirely changed by the 6 & 7 Vict. c. 85 (1842), and by the 14 & 15 Vict. c. 99 (1851). The old objection is now retained as affecting the credibility merely, not the competency of a witness. Plaintiff and defendant are now admissible witnesses, excepting in matters tending to criminate the person examined. The husband and wife are placed in the same position as others, except that they still remain incapable of giving evidence for or against each other in criminal proceedings, and that they cannot be compelled to disclose matters which they have learned by communication with each other during marriage. Formerly witnesses were required, with some few exceptions, to give their evidence on oath; but by 17 & 18 Vict. c. 125, it is provided that if any one called as a witness shall be unwilling, from alleged conscientious motives, to be sworn, the court, on being satisfied of the sincerity of the objection, shall permit him to substitute his solemn affirmation. By 24 & 25 Vict. c. 66, this provision has also been extended to criminal proceedings. A witness making a false statement on affirmation is guilty of perjury.

CODIFICATION.

Impressed by the chaotic state into which English law had fallen by the fragmentary character of our legislation, the various sources from which our law has been derived, the evolution of so much judge-made law, and the presence of so much of the *lex non scripta*, some of our wisest statesmen and farthest-seeing lawyers began during the present period to advocate the formation of a code based upon the best part of our existing laws, and working into the fabric such principles or ideas as should be found worthy of adoption from the most celebrated foreign systems, both ancient and modern; nor have they been slow to point out how greatly the foremost continental states have been benefited by the creation of codes elaborated on similar principles. Such notions, difficult to redargue in theory, have not found much favour with practical men—partly because the principles and objects of codification are not properly understood, and partly from the conservative character of the English people, and partly from interested motives. Yet the public mind is gradually being educated up to the point where the advantages of codification are seen greatly to preponderate over its seeming disadvantages. Hence, though no formal attempts at codification have yet been made, much has been done to prepare the way for such a measure. Thus many consolidating acts have been passed within the last thirty years in almost every branch of the law, and latterly several acts have passed promoting a revision of the statute law by repealing numerous acts and parts of acts which have ceased to be in force. Much antiquarian and useless rubbish is thus being swept out of the way. A growing tendency may also have been observed to assimilate the laws of the three kingdoms, and of the empire generally, on the basis of something like a common imperial system. It may therefore be hoped that when, at no great distance of time, a more educated public opinion shall demand the formation of an imperial code, the difficulties which have hitherto been thought to beset such a measure will be found to be almost entirely removed. This subject is, however, of so much importance, and has been so much discussed in some recent publication, that a fuller notice of it may be allowable.

The population of the United Kingdom has vastly increased since the last century, and much complexity has been introduced into our social and mercantile relation; yet it is very observable that litigation has not increased in anything like an equal ratio, but that, on the contrary, there is a strong tendency to settle disputes by compromise, and, when this fails, by arbitration. If this change could be attributed to amelioration of manners and a greater prevalence of rectitude and moderation, it would form one of the happiest characteristics of the age. To a certain extent we may indulge the hope that it is so; but many things indicate that this decay of litigation is due to causes of much less favourable augury. Loud complaints are made of the uncertainty of the law, and of the delay and expense of lawsuits. The tribunals are deserted, not so much because contention has diminished as because the opinion prevails that the results of litigation are often unsatisfactory, though its cost is certain. It has indeed passed into a proverb that even the gainer of a lawsuit gains a loss. Hence it is that arbitration, generally the most imperfect of all modes of settlement, is so frequently resorted to under the impression that in that way abstract justice will be reached apart from mystery and technicality. This state of matters is highly unsatisfactory, and has of late years attracted general notice. By many it has been attributed to prolixity and confusion in the modes of procedure, and this has accordingly produced those improvements in pleading and practice to which attention has already been called. Such measures are undoubtedly beneficial and necessary, but the amelioration they are calculated to produce is merely superficial; the evil complained of is much more deeply rooted, and is inseparable from the confused and embarrassed state of the law itself. Prior to the Norman Conquest there existed a body of Saxon laws. The Norman Conquest superinduced on these the feudal system. To this were added the common law and a strong infusion of civil law, and later on the mercantile usages of the Low Countries. These five working together in the centuries following the Conquest gradually formed what was known as the common law of England. Concurrently with this the legislature has continually interfered to modify, to amend, to repeal. Part of this statutory law has been worked into the common law; the residue, of huge bulk, remains undigested, fractional, and complicated. Originating in similar circumstances with the prætorian jurisdiction of Rome, the Court of Chancery, from small beginnings, has attained enormous proportions; and from this source has flowed an amount of precedent, or judge-made law, that forms a mighty mass of itself. These different elements, interlacing and often conflicting with each other, combine to form what is known as the "laws of England." The whole system has thus got into much the same state of confusion and mystery as had that of Rome when Justinian undertook his labours. To quote the words of Professor Amos, "The English law is a system of colossal dimensions. The community which immediately obeys it has long ceased to profess to be acquainted with it, and consents to be dependent for knowledge of it on various classes of experts. These experts do not profess to be able to practise their art without access to law libraries, consisting, when complete, of many thousand volumes."

This, though a true, is a very startling picture to draw of the jurisprudence of the foremost nation in the world.

In most European states a man, if he only knows how to read, write, and cipher, finds little difficulty in ascertaining what the law is—what are his rights, duties, and liabilities. In this country the best informed man can scarcely move a step without the aid of his solicitor; his solicitor will seldom advise without the aid of counsel; and counsel, however eminent, often returns a doubtful opinion. Hence it has been said that our law has ceased to discharge the first function of all law, which is to declare in clear language what its behests are; and that it only imperfectly discharges the second, since it affords no clear and certain remedies for their infringement.

Yet for all this the laws of England are both good and noble. They are the reflex of the British constitution, and breathe the spirit of freedom, as those of Rome did that of despotism. The fault lies not with the laws. The rich ore is there—the difficulty is to find it when most in demand.

No one even moderately acquainted with the subject will deny, or perhaps has ever denied, the truth of these observations. Yet a great conflict of opinion continues to prevail as to the proper remedy to be applied to the great and admitted evil. Some have maintained that no radical cure is to be found which would not be attended with greater evils, and that in a country like ours all that can be done is to palliate by prudent reforms what cannot be eradicated. On the other hand, a large and increasing party are of opinion that an obvious and effective remedy is to be found in following the example of other countries, and resorting to CODIFICATION. By this is not meant the creation of a new and untried system of jurisprudence; but that as the Romans and the French worked out for themselves respectively the *Codex Justinianeus* and the *Code civil*, by utilising and digesting the native materials at their disposal, so ought we to work out for ourselves a code from the far richer and sounder materials that have accumulated in this country for the last eight centuries—a code which would display to all the fair and free proportions of English law—a code which would be better than those of Rome and France, just as our civilisation and manners have been better than theirs. Yet to such arguments it has been replied by many cautious thinkers that codification of English law is undesirable, and that in any case it is impracticable. It is said that law ought to possess a certain element of elasticity, and should grow with the nation's growth; that codification would arrest all further progress, except by legislative action; that it would make every man his own lawyer, and thus dangerously increase litigation; that codification of English law is at present practically impossible, because the separation of common law from equity, so characteristic of our system, opposes an insuperable barrier to its being welded into one consistent whole; that, in short, there are some branches of the law—such as those appertaining to real estate and to the church—which, until greatly simplified, and perhaps radically changed, do not admit of being digested to any good purpose. To such objections the advocates of codification have not been slow to reply. Codification, they allege, does not arrest growth; it merely summarises the stores of the past, and affords a sound and intelligible basis for future advances. Equity and the legislature act as before, but more intelligibly and without the necessity for continual interference; while the code itself is subject to periodical revision, and from time to time assimilates the new products of equity and statute. The inestimable advantage is secured that law resumes its proper and pristine function of forming a rule of conduct—a broad and straight highway instead of a bewildering labyrinth; and that, as is proved by the example of foreign states where codes exist, litigation becomes ever more rare—not because the action of the tribunals is unsatisfactory and costly, but because their aid is but little required where the law is certain and easily ascertained. As to the difficulties supposed to be caused by the separation of law and equity, these, it is said, are shown to be imaginary by the example of Rome, where the existence of the same distinction did not prevent or even augment the labours of Justinian. As to such branches of the law as are not yet ripe for codification, these, it is said, can stand over till they have been simplified by the legislature, whose action will be greatly accelerated when the rest of the law has been cleared by codification.

Whether these arguments on the side of the advocates of codification or those on the side of its opponents are most entitled to prevail, it is not our province to determine. One thing is certain—the current of opinion has for the last thirty years set strongly in favour of the former. This has found expression not only in the numerous consolidating acts by which during that period so many branches of the law have been digested, and as it were hewn out and squared, so as to be ready for incorporation into the edifice of a code, but also in the existence of a standing committee, whose labours in clearing the ground from the rubbish of obsolete statutes will ere long render its creation a matter of much greater facility than could once have been imagined.

One great difficulty in the way of codification, but one powerful reason for its being proceeded with, arises from the fact that no common system of law prevails over the whole of the United Kingdom—Scotland, Ireland, and even the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands diverging in a greater or less degree from the laws of England. In general, it is true, the divergence is not such as to prevent mutual intelligibility. But in Scotland it is so great as to constitute a separate system of jurisprudence, and to necessitate a special legal education. It is no part of our duty to pass an opinion on the vexed question whether in the abstract the English or the Scottish system is the best. Most impartial thinkers have long been of opinion that each might borrow from the other in many cases with advantage. It is, however, very certain that the existence of two different systems in the same island is a great evil. Commercial men justly complain that their contracts and transactions receive a different interpretation on different sides of the Tweed; a similar complaint is made by owners of land; and it is well known that much misery has resulted from the difference in the two laws as regards the domestic relations. The evils caused by this conflict of laws fall in some important respects with great severity on Scotland. The two countries are now united under one parliament, which ought to legislate for both, and in theory does so. Yet the practice has come to be very different. The English members, who form the great majority, do not understand the technicalities of Scotch law, and this is also true of a considerable proportion of the Scotch members themselves, for the system is so peculiar that no one knows much about it who has not made it a special study. The result is that the Scotch legal measures possess no general interest, are shunted into by-hours, become the signal, whenever they are brought on, for the vast majority of the members to leave the house, and thus fall into the hands of a small clique of Scotch lawyers or Scotch members who have some private end to serve, or some special crotchet to maintain. Scotland is thus deprived of the wisdom of the imperial parliament, and is even isolated from the current of imperial legislation. Hence it is that so many admirable measures annually passed for England are declared not to apply to Scotland; that bills of a crude and even tyrannical kind become law for North Britain; and that so many legal peculiarities, long since obsolete in England, and utterly unsuited to the present age, are still allowed to flourish in Scotland. Nor is the evil limited to the action of the legislature—it affects the whole administration of justice. The benches and bars of England and Scotland respectively are trained in totally different systems, and having little or no direct intercommunion, are continually liable to give a different interpretation to the same imperial statutes; matters that have long since been settled by carefully considered judicial decisions in the one county remain open questions in the other, and have to be determined *de novo* at the expense of the litigants; and it is no uncommon thing to hear British judges making the admission that they are entirely ignorant of English or Scotch law, as the case may be. To foreigners such a state of matters is almost incredible, and is an evil which the public, as they become alive to it, cannot be expected to tolerate. To afford an adequate remedy by a process of gradual assimilation has long been the desire of most enlightened lawyers and statesmen; but experience has shown that efforts of this kind produce little practical good, so long as there exists an important variance between the fundamental principles and the very terminology of the two systems. Codification, it is accordingly argued by many profound jurists, is the only effectual remedy; and it is probable that many difficulties, which at present seem to obstruct the way, would be found less formidable as the work proceeded.

F. W. C.

CHAPTER III.

History of Religion, from A.D. 1837 to A.D. 1873.

THE reign of her Majesty Queen Victoria has been marked by a more general interest in religious and, especially in theological matters than has been witnessed in Britain since the middle of the seventeenth century. At that time the whole country rang with the ecclesiastical watch-words of Prelate and Presbyter, Laudian and Puritan; and those watch-words were symbols of widely divergent lines of Christian thought and life. The opposing parties, too, were equally enthusiastic and intolerant in their belief. The sincerity was not all on one side. The earnestness of the Roundhead was matched by the fervour of the High Churchman; and the fanaticism of Fifth-monarchy men was hardly more extreme than that of the Sacramentarians who passionately clung to the forms and ritual of the Church of Rome. There was also a middle party, represented by Whichcot, Cudworth, and John Smith, whose wise toleration and general reasonableness were equally hated by both extremes, and who regarded Puritan and Laudian alike with something like pitying contempt. Among them they divided the whole energies of the nation, filling parliament with their disputes, drawing into their several channels almost the entire literature of the age, and for a time involving all the people in the troubles of a tremendous religious war.

There is no likelihood of any similar result arising from the jarring elements of our present ecclesiastical parties, for religious wars are out of date. But there is considerable resemblance between those times and these, between the state of parties now and the state of parties then, except that probably none of them are quite so much in earnest as to cut each others' throats, or else that their zeal has been toned down by the separateness of political power which holds aloof from them all. In other respects, the parties are the same, the questions at issue are the same, the interest is almost as general, and the passions evoked are almost as strong now as they were in the seventeenth century. It is not merely one wing of the army that has advanced ahead of the rest; but there has been, as it were, a general movement along the whole line—a movement which would have been altogether excellent had the different divisions combined to assail the common foe, or at least to let each other alone. Unhappily, however, now as before, their revived zeal, which might have been for the salvation of the world, has been largely directed against each other, while those who are without beholding have been encouraged rather to stand aloof than to involve themselves in the quarrels of rival sects and churches. That is one reason, doubtless, why the general stir about religious matters which is felt through all the nation, instead of being accompanied by great missionary successes at home and abroad, seems rather to be associated with a curious arrest in the progress of Christianity outside, which is acknowledged and lamented by all the churches alike.

The state of affairs, then, which we have now to describe is very different from what it was when the Wesleys began their great movement early in the previous century, and even from what we have seen of it during the reigns of George III. and his sons. In those years the only party in the Christian Church that showed any kind of religious zeal or force was that which is known as the Evangelical. So much was this the case that Christian LIFE came, for a while, to be in a manner identified with their views of truth; while those which differed from them were supposed to imply, and very often did imply, pastoral carelessless and spiritual indifference. To hold that the Bible was the sole and supreme authority in matters of faith; that its various books were verbally inspired or dictated by the Holy Spirit; that all controversies, therefore, were settled by a text, or a selection of texts, no matter how their apparent meaning involved the most startling and incredible ideas; that all men had fallen from a state of moral purity and perfection into a state of utter moral depravity, to which all good was repugnant, and all evil desirable, and that this tremendous change was the result of one act of weakness done by our first parents; that, in consequence, all mankind, young and old, lay under the wrath and curse of God, and were to be justly held liable to eternal misery; that from this terrible doom Christ saved some of them, at least, by the vicarious offering of Himself, an innocent man, to bear the fate of the guilty and appease the divine wrath; and that the benefits of His death became at once ours when we believed these opinions, and were justified by that faith:—these, with some slight modifications distinguishing the Evangelical Arminian from the Evangelical Calvinist, were the leading religious ideas of the party who had done such noble service to humanity; the party of Wilberforce, that abolished slavery; the party of Carey and Fuller, that established Protestant missions; the party of Scott and Newton, that revived the benevolent activities of the Church of England; and the united parties who started the Bible Society. There is nothing in history more certain than that these doctrines, which to some readers will sound so hard, were, from the beginning, associated with not a little of the nobler human life of the time, and not unnaturally came to be identified with that life, so that the holding of such views was supposed to be essential to the very existence of any religious vitality, or the manifestation of any religious vigour. Perhaps, about the time of which we are now writing, that notion had got possession of the party themselves, so that they were beginning to say, "We are the people, and wisdom shall perish with us." Perhaps their manifold service, which was still in full force, was not so generally animated by the spirit which had once pervaded it, but was becoming somewhat perfunctory. Certain it is that the Evangelical doctrine was said, about this time, to be allied with a good deal of ease and self-indulgence, and that the inner life of its followers had dwindled away amid the "much service" about which it was still careful. It was openly avowed that no man could really believe the views they taught, and at the same time enjoy life so comfortably as they did. Altogether, the party who were once supposed to be the most living, or indeed only living and energetic, portion of the Christian Church began now to fall under some suspicion of formalism, and certainly failed to satisfy the spiritual yearnings of many among the rising generation.

The first movement of an opposing religious activity showed itself in the direction of High Church dogmas. A party having strong leanings in that direction, retaining many of the ecclesiastical traditions of the old Romish Church, and fondly clinging to them as the symbols of their union with Catholic Christendom, has always existed in the Anglican establishment, and has every now and then come into more or less prominence, as in the days of Bancroft, of Laud, and of Sacheverell. The original constitution of the English Church naturally favoured such a party, and even led to the idea that they were the true church of the country. For when Henry VIII. separated the nation from the ecclesiastical community of Christendom, he apparently meant nothing more than to legalise in England something like the Gallican liberties of the French Church, taking himself the place of the pope, and making the chief magistrate of the nation to be also the chief authority in the Church. The leaven of Protestantism was, of course, at work in the land, and was doing its work whether he would or not. The Tyndales, Coverdales, Latimers, and Colets were creating a spiritual revolution which would, sooner or later, if left to itself, have created far greater changes than he ever contemplated, and which did, in point of fact, carry his movement very much farther than he ever meant it to go. But the legal constitution of the Church grew up mainly from his point of view, while its interpretation was necessarily modified by the growing Protestantism of the nation. Neither Henry nor Elizabeth would recognise the revolution of thought and life which characterised the great sixteenth century. They never meant to be Protestants, but only to reform and amend the various corruptions of the Church, and to be free to do this unembarrassed by any Italian priest. It was a national church they aimed at creating, governed by its own bishops, reformed by its own synods, and subject to the sovereign, who had authority over all persons and causes alike, civil and sacred. But they had no purpose to separate that Church from the doctrine or ritual of the ancient Catholic Church. Accordingly, a very large proportion of the priesthood of the unreformed Church remained and ministered at the altars of the reformed Church, retaining all their former doctrine and faith, only accepting the royal authority as supreme instead of the papal. Nor were they disturbed in their position by any legal interference. The growing Protestantism of the nation, indeed, gradually drifted the people away from them. As their places became vacant, they were succeeded by men of a different spirit altogether. But they never entirely died out of the Church; and all along its history will be found some whose hearts clung fondly to the ancient worship and doctrine, and who could plausibly urge statutes and royal decrees in favour of their views as being the real doctrines of the Anglican Church. In other lands the work of the sixteenth century had been strictly revolutionary, and the revolution left its footprints in the ruined edifices, the shattered cathedrals, and desolated monasteries which, in the fierce outburst of moral fury, the people had utterly profaned; but in England, it was only a reformation, or scarcely even so much, leaving the stately piles, the stained windows, the old ritual, and the familiar priests, just as they were, only abolishing monastic institutions, and carrying all causes of dispute from the Camera in Rome to the Privy Council at Westminster.

Now, this High Church party had not hitherto been, as a rule, of a very spiritual type of mind. There had been exceptions, indeed, to that rule, for some of the saintliest names in the calendar of England's worthies belong to their ranks. Herbert and Jebb have breathed a sweet fragrance around their cause, which is not excelled by the more masculine piety of Latimer and Jewell. Still, on the whole, the history of Anglican High Churchism had been associated rather with political subserviency, and social laxity, and religious indifference, than with any of the higher and progressive forms of life. It had clung to the past, and, in fond romantic dreams of an idyllic state of society, had been fain to restore maypoles and morris-dancers to the village green, as well as candles, and copes, and chasubles to the service of the village church. But it had not taken to sabbath schools, or prayer meetings, or field preachings, or any of the rough-and-ready methods of getting at the minds and hearts of men. Indeed, the High Churchman did not believe very much in preaching; was utterly opposed to lay ministrations of any kind; rather disliked much education of the people, whether secular or religious; preferred the cold, orderly, regular service, however dead and fruitless, to any kind of enthusiasm; and, on the whole, was more tolerant of a wicked, vicious, brutal mob than of any precise and Puritan order of Christians. The Church and her sacraments were to him all in all: the Church, as a kind of ark into which all manner of people, clean and unclean, might be brought, and whose salvation was pretty nigh secured simply by their being inclosed there, provided, of course, they duly received the sacraments, which seized hold of them at the moment of their birth, provided for their well-being all through life, and never failed them till, with the blessing of ecclesiastical peace, they laid them in the grave "in the sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection." Their whole scheme of Christianity thus hinged on the doctrine of the Church which they had received from Rome, and modified according to the statutes thereto made and provided. The Bible was not, in their view, the supreme authority for determining matters of faith, but the Bible along with primitive tradition, and that as settled and interpreted by the Church; for no one could tell what primitive tradition was, or where it ended, unless the Church, to which the deposit of faith had been originally intrusted with the promise that Christ would be with it always, even to the end of the world. Moreover, this Church, which thus held the keys of all truth, consisted only of priests duly ordained by bishops to whom the sacred chrism had been transmitted in unbroken descent from the Apostles; and any one, not thus consecrated, who should from whatever good motives put his hand to the ark was therefore no better than another Uzzah, who brought the wrath of God upon Israel by his unauthorised help. Such a church then could, of course, only teach dogma, or authoritative doctrine, which it was the duty of the people to receive without question, without proof, without appeal of any sort, simply in virtue of the inherent right of the Church to speak in the name of God. But while the great fundamental truths of Christianity, such as the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the Resurrection, were of course duly set forth, at the seasons appointed for that purpose by the ancient ecclesiastical calendar, this party did not rely much on the diffusion of ideas, or on the leavening power of these truths, or of any truth. It was mainly by its Sacraments that the Church was to save the world. By baptism, properly administered, the infant was regenerated, and became an heir of God. In the communion received from a rightly consecrated priest, the participant ate the very bread of life, the literal body and blood of Jesus, mysteriously but really in the bread and wine, whether he had faith or not, and whatever his character might be. The other Sacraments recognised by the Roman Catholic Church had only a sort of partial recognition by the Anglican; yet there was among many of its priests a more or less hazy notion that confirmation, marriage, penance, and the viaticum were also mysteries of the Church, and through her priestly blessing became high agencies in the salvation of men. The High Church theory, in short, differed almost in no respect from that of Rome, except in being a little less complete and thorough, and that it was national, not Catholic. Always, therefore, there had been among the party an uneasy feeling of defect and weakness in their position. They disliked the insularity of their views, and, conscious that it looked like schism, were ever and anon protesting against schismatics. They had doubts about the number of the Sacraments, and were always hankering for more, which was very natural if the Sacraments were, as they believed, the real machinery of salvation. But up to this time they had not shown, as indeed their system did not lead to, much deep spirituality. They had prided themselves on their stately churches, their comely ritual, their goodly order, their apostolic authority; but they had no missions, no part in general philanthropy, no active interest in the well-being of the poor; rather, indeed, they had, as a rule, set themselves in opposition to every movement of the kind, and been equally opposed to Wesley and Wilberforce, to Newton and Fuller, to the Evangelicals within the Church and the Nonconformists everywhere. They had claimed to be the church, but had not been very careful to do the work of a church, if the work of a church is to enlighten the ignorant, or to raise the fallen, and to restore the world to a new and nobler life.

But about this time a band of noble-minded and earnest men arose in Oxford, who gave quite a new character to the High Church party, infusing into it a vitality and an energy that enabled it successfully to compete with the Evangelical, at least for a time. The leaders in this movement were Dr. Pusey, Margaret professor of divinity, John Henry Newman, and Keble, author of the 'Christian Year.' They soon gathered around them a number of able young men, like Hurrell Froude, Manning, and Wilberforce, most of them drawn from the ranks of the Evangelical portion of the Church; but these three were, in their several walks, the leaders of the High Church revival, the moving powers who inspired it, and directed its course. Dr. Pusey, who still, in a ripe and kindly old age, continues to grace the divinity chair at Oxford, and to justify, by his scholarly productions and his amiable spirit, the early influence he obtained in the university, was at first supposed to be the real author of the movement, on account of the position he held, and hence it was originally called by his name. But there were stronger spirits than his who engaged in it, and who were, it soon appeared, prepared to carry it much further than he ever dreamt of going. For he was the typical Anglican High Churchman, feeling uneasily the smaller position he held, and longing for Catholic union, but withal nowise disposed to submit to papal domination, which is the only condition on which Catholic unity is possible. An amiable gentleman, an accomplished scholar, and a somewhat ascetic Christian, he set himself to achieve religion, much as the Wesleys had done in their college days, by methodical self-denial and patient devotion, striving, according to the old "counsels of perfection," to attain such holiness as the Catholic saints had reached. The Wesleys, after a long struggle, and some confusions and inconsistencies, passed out of this stage by the help of the Moravian brethren, and attained one of higher Christian liberty and certainly of no less sanctity. Dr. Pusey has, however, found a very genuine religious life in those processes which the Wesleys learned to speak of as an unchristian bondage, and a substantial denial of justification by faith alone. It is not our business in this history to discuss nice points of theology, but only to record facts and the lessons which they read. But we may be allowed to say that, granting the higher freedom which Wesley reached at last, not without risk of foundering on shoals of Antinomianism, he was mistaken in thinking that he was not himself a Christian during the first period of his methodical devotion; and we should err still more seriously if we concluded that Dr. Pusey, who has never passed beyond the same stage of devout service, is not living by the faith of Christ. It is by men's fruits, not merely by their views, that we know them, and the Margaret professor of divinity has shown by a long and consistent life the spiritual reality of his Christian character.

The author of the 'Christian Year' is so well known through his works, and the interesting biography by Sir J. D. Coleridge, that it is scarcely necessary to dwell on his character, or on the influence which he exercised from his quiet parsonage on the youth at Oxford. A gentle recluse, he can hardly be said to have taken any active part in the movement, although the effect of his hymns, and of his saintly character, was probably far greater than that of any other man, with one solitary exception. That he was a real poet, with a fine vein of fancy, and a sweet rhythmical utterance, is certain; though it is just as certain that, but for adventitious circumstances, his graceful and flowing verses would never have attained the place they hold in popular favour. As religious poetry they stand deservedly high in a class which, with a few exceptions, finds almost no place in the first ranks of our literature; but they would hold a very subordinate position as compared with the robust and manly vigour of general English poetry. Even among devotional writers, Keble will not, in the long run, abide where he now stands. He has neither the depth of passion nor the reach of thought which find such perfect expression in some of Cowper's hymns; and there is a quaint, rich grace in Herbert which, for closet reading at least, will make the 'Temple' more than the 'Christian Year' can ever be. But Keble uttered in melodious and picturesque verses the thoughts that were now stirring in the hearts of English youth, and they looked up to him with a kind of awe as to the prophet of the new age. Young Newman, coming, a bright freshman, to his college, tells us how he felt when a fellow student pointed out the quiet, mild-looking poet in the quadrangle, and said, "There; that's Keble." And the feeling which he had pervaded the whole party. The 'Christian Year' was more to them than the 'Psalter;' and year after year they sounded forth its praises from rectory and vicarage till it became among the more cultivated Englishmen almost as popular as Mr. Tupper's 'Proverbial Philosophy' was among the class of shopkeepers.

Yet neither Pusey nor Keble was the real leader of the movement, but a far stronger and equally pure character, nobler and loftier in spirit than either, John Henry Newman. The Newmans, John and Francis, came from a strictly Evangelical household, and had been brought up "in the straightest sect" from their childhood; and with all their intellectual aberrations they still retain a remarkable tone of spirituality, and many characteristics of their early training. We have only to do with the elder of the two, his brother having forsaken all churches, and drifted away into a kind of infidelity, which is curiously suffused and softened by the memories of early piety. The career, indeed, of the two brothers offers a singular illustration of the effect of a kind of argument which all ecclesiastical persons are only too inclined to follow. For the theological mind is strangely prone to lay it down that men have only two alternatives before them: either absolutely to accept some authoritative teaching supposed to be infallible, or else to wander, as they say reason inevitably leads us to wander, away into desert regions of utter unbelief. This was the line of thought to which these two young men were subjected; and it resulted in the one choosing to prostrate his mind to authority, with all its incredible absurdities, while the other took his sad way into the wilderness of infidelity, with its thorns, and briars, and dark shadow of death. Both had strict logical tendencies, and each saw no honest way out of the dilemma except what they severally chose; yet surely the one might have seen that God could not have given His creatures an utterly delusive guide, and the other might also have seen that, without being delusive, reason might yet be insufficient. The result, however, has been, as we have said, that these hopeful and ingenuous brothers afford a mournful illustration of the perilous character of that line of argument which Churchmen are so fain to follow.

In his 'Apologia pro Vita Sua'—an apology which was not really needed, and yet is not superfluous, so manifestly sincere and truthful a spiritual history is it, even while it is also so mournful—Dr. Newman has recorded the story of his inner life, with all its troubles and changes, as his brother also did in 'The Soul, its Sorrows and Struggles,' and in 'Phases of Faith.' The reader will find in it a singularly veracious account of the beginnings and growth of the Tractarian party, as they came to be called, and of the mental development of their great leader. It is not necessary that we should enter into the details. This only we would note, that Newman, unlike Pusey, was not so much exercised about the matter of personal religious life, which had been already practically settled in his Evangelical period, as overborne with his ideas of the Church. He had been brought up among a party whose ecclesiastical views were not very different from those of the Nonconformists. Newton and Scott made very little of the Church, thinking they had to do with matters of far weightier concern. Original sin, atonement, election, and such like questions occupied their minds, to the exclusion of lesser matters; and even as regards these it can hardly be said that they dealt with them in a very profound way, like Augustine, or Calvin, or Edwards. But as regards the Church, their views were very "Low;" bishops were little more than superintendents, and Sacraments only helps; and altogether the ecclesiastical machinery was treated as properly machinery, and not at all as an ark securing the salvation of those who were in it. From this Newman's whole nature revolted. Whether rightly or wrongly, the Church was to his mind the central element in Christian faith. To the Church the original deposit of truth had been intrusted, with the view of being preserved and developed. To the Church were given the Sacraments, which it alone could effectually administer. In the Church was a divine grace not to be had outside, a fountain of living water, to be opened only by consecrated hands. But withal, the true spiritual character of religion, as a life in God and for Him, was kept steadfastly before his eyes, and the revival of

High Churchism was meant also for a revival of genuine devoutness, and piety, and service. This was its distinctive character, which made it something better and nobler than the Laudian movement with its maypoles and morris-dancers. The æsthetical element, of course, was not wanting, for it was needed, and has done good service in promoting a general decency through all the churches in the land. But in reality the Tractarian movement, basing itself on extreme church notions, strove to awaken a deeper religious life among the party than had generally hitherto been found in it; and this at once formed its chief power, and was reckoned its chief danger. Vital religion had been, for some time, very much confined to the Evangelical body; it was not to be so any longer. The Tractarians were to be aggressive, earnest, devout; were to have their missions, their parochial machinery, their schools, all toned throughout by their ecclesiastical views, and all meant to sustain a certain ideal type of religious life.

One might have thought that all parties and all sects would have so far, at least, been glad that a portion of the Church, hitherto for somewhile dead, and wielding no moral influence in the land, had at length awakened, and showed some signs of earnest religious life. Better anything surely than a dead member of the body, powerless for good, yet fatally infecting the neighbouring parts. In reality, the Tractarians introduced no new opinions into the Church, for there had always been a similar party entertaining those doctrines since the days of Henry and Elizabeth. Dr. Newman probably stated them with more force and point; at any rate, he breathed into them the spirit of the age; but he did not bring a new thing into the Anglican teaching, not, at least, till he published the notorious Tract No. 90, if even then. But he and his youthful followers did breathe a new life into those dogmas, and manifested an earnest religious spirit in connection with them; and as the most zealous Protestants, with all their dislike, and just dislike, of the theology and corruptions of the Papal Church, nevertheless rejoice when they come across a St. Francis, a Pascal, or a Fénelon, so also it might have been hoped that the various Evangelical parties in England, however opposed to those High Church and sacramental views, would yet have been glad to recognise a measure of awakened spiritual life in that part of the Anglican community which had so long been sunk in mere religious indifference. Better surely a zeal for albs, and stoles, and chasubles; for rood-screens, candlesticks, and faldstools; for daily prayers, frequent communions and fasts, shown by young priests and curates of pure and blameless lives; than fox-hunting, and cock-fighting, and beer-drinking parsons, who held the same views, but were more careful to shear and tithe the flock than to do it any spiritual good. It was not thus, however, that the Tractarian party were regarded. There was a howl over all England as month after month those vigorous tracts were issued. The extreme Evangelical party stormed in Exeter Hall, and shouted from a hundred other platforms, that the Church was being Romanised. Dissenters, in general, joined the cry, for it was a good card to play in favour of voluntaryism, that instead of testifying for truth, the nation was paying for the support of popery. Clerical and other jokers jested at the "postures, and impostures, and man millinery" of the Oxford enthusiasts, who, it must be confessed, went on their way with a rather priggish satisfaction at the storm they were raising. But there were many in England who saw in their patient self-denial, in their faithful visitation of the sick and the dying, in their restoration of tasteful adornments to the Church, and of grave and solemn music to its ritual, something deeper than met the common eye; and though the heart of England remained, on the whole, untouched by the movement, not a few thoughtful and cultivated parsons were drawn into it, and found in its services a fitting expression for their earnest devotions. Shortly after the publication of Tract 90, indeed, the great leader of the party felt himself constrained, along with some others, to join the communion of the Church of Rome. His ideal of the Church clearly involved a visible, organic, Catholic unity, under some recognised ecclesiastical head. It was logically inconsistent both with the insularity of the English Church and with its Erastianism. And so, after the wrench of a great agony, Dr. Newman left the Establishment, and bowed his lofty head to the supremacy of Rome. There he has since remained, somewhat silent and obscure, seeing weaker men, like Dr. Manning, raised over his head, and compelled to submit to an authority which, in spite of his enforced and rather artificial humility, his powerful intellect can hardly help despising. But though several of the early Tractarians thus seceded, amid the premature jubilations of the Romanists, who fancied the day of England's restoration, long prayed for, had at length come, Pusey and Keble still remained faithful to the Church of their love, and the party, as a whole, clave to them. The deeper and more vital character of the movement, however, would seem from the time of Newman's secession to have gradually died away. None of the party now preach sermons like his, full of Christian thought, and of deep heart-searching. The millinery is more gorgeous; the candles are taller and more needlessly flaring on the altar; crosses, and processions, and tinsel are more abundant. If the episcopal theory is higher, respect for actual bishops has passed into contempt; such as almost no Presbyterian would indulge in. And altogether the movement has fallen into the hands of weaker men, with less of spiritual and intellectual power, with more audacity and less conscience, to whom the Church authorities now feel that they must either apply more vigorous treatment or run the risk of alienating the hearts of the people from their shrines and altars.

This Tractarian revival led, in process of time, to a good deal of litigation, which discovered a state of things in the constitution of the English Church altogether unexpected by many of her clergy. But of these we shall speak somewhat by-and-by. Meanwhile, for the better understanding of the state of parties in that Church, it will be well to note another movement which was almost contemporaneous with the Tractarian, and which also bore the same character of a revival.

Just as there had been from the times of the

Reformation a High-Church, or Romanising, party in the Church, who differed, as we have seen, in no essential respects, from the unreformed Church except in acknowledging the royal supremacy, so also there had been a Broad Church party, whose doctrinal and ecclesiastical views differed materially from those of Latimer and Jewell, as well as from the High Church. They had no name at first, and hardly any party coherence. They were never at any time very numerous. Yet their influence has always been great in virtue of their intellectual eminence, their learning, and their charity. It was to this class of men, as represented by Dean Colet, that Erasmus was drawn when he visited England; and probably he had no small share in planting the seeds of their ideas in Oxford and Cambridge, though it is especially with the latter university that they have been historically associated. The Broad Church party, as they are now called, do not seem, in those early years, to have laid down any very definite ecclesiastical theory: for the doctrine, "As is the State so is the Church," seems rather to have sprung up among the Evangelical reformers of Germany. But doubtless their whole bent, then as now, was towards the Erastian theory and a large tolerance, in order that the Church might be truly national. They were diligent students of the Bible, but they applied a bolder criticism to it than commonly prevailed. Their views of atonement and justification differed in some respects from Luther's, and still more from those which were crystallised by the hard, sharp logic of the Puritan. The learned Cudworth speaks of the Puritan doctrine of imputed guilt and imputed righteousness as a new-fangled notion lately introduced into the Church; and the Evangelical idea, that the divine wrath for sin expended itself on Christ, and was appeased in His sufferings, was utterly repugnant to their scheme of theology, according to which those sufferings were meant, not to reconcile God to man, but "to reconcile us unto God," by the moral influence of a supreme act of self-sacrifice. We have not to inquire into the truth of those views, but only to note that the germs of them, at least, will be found in the sixteenth century; that they were eloquently and learnedly maintained by the Cambridge Platonists, Cudworth, Whichcote, and Smith, during the seventeenth; that "the moral theologians" of the eighteenth century represented very much the same class of mind, only with less spiritual insight, and a lower religious tone; that the mystic John Law combined them with rather high ecclesiastical views, and for a period influenced considerably the development of John Wesley's character; and finally, that they had become dead, and of no weight in the country, till a knot of young men, inspired by Coleridge and the new German literature, once more restored them to their place of influence in the Church.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge, a poet who has written such verses as almost to make us regret that he was also a philosopher, was among the first to introduce English readers to the treasures of modern German thought. But it was not Kant and Schleiermacher that suggested his opinions, nor even the early English divines whom he had studied so carefully; for he seems to have excogitated his system very much for himself, with the help of his Bible and Plato. Arnold of Rugby was apparently more indebted to the Teutonic theologians, while Archdeacon Hare owed his views directly to the influence of Coleridge; and Frederick D. Maurice, who became, in the end, the representative divine of the party, confesses to have received his first impulse in the direction he afterwards followed up with such depths of thought and fine spiritual insight from the Scotchman, John Macleod Campbell, who was deposed for heresy by the Kirk in 1832. Whately, afterwards archbishop of Dublin, belonged at first to the same class of thinkers, but in the long run concerned himself less with theology than with political logic. The revival of Broad Church theology, then, was brought about by the labours of Coleridge, Arnold, Hare, and Maurice; and it was, in the strictly religious sense, as purely a revival, a manifestation, and restoration of spiritual life, as that of the Evangelical party during the previous century. There was the same zeal in promulgating their faith; a like earnestness in striving to do good; and a no less pure and lowly Christian life. If Coleridge had his infirmities, he had also his profound penitence, and his strenuous battles to overcome those infirmities. Thomas Arnold was the very type of a head-master in a great public school, maintaining a no less high tone of manly religion than of careful scholarship. And Maurice, amid all the strife of tongues, and the unjust discouragements of his life, toiled on meek and uncomplaining to the last, with a sweet dignity which adorned the noble sacrifice he made. He was undoubtedly the foremost theologian that the Church could then boast of; yet he was driven from his chair in King's College, and never received any Church preferment. He and his party were denounced as Rationalists, as Socinians, as Infidels, and all because they had simply put new spiritual life into a school of opinions which had always been in the Church, though latterly it had been powerless for any good until they arose and breathed a living spirit into it. It was nothing new in the Anglican Church to deny the verbal inspiration of Scriptures, or to call it a mechanical and superstitious liberalism. It was nothing new to reject the doctrine of imputation, which Cudworth two centuries before had denounced as a new-fangled invention. It was nothing new, whether it be the whole truth or not, to speak of the death of Christ as the self-sacrifice of divine love, and not as an appeasing of divine wrath. The only novelty in the case was the earnest faith with which these views were now maintained, and the practical efforts they led to for awakening the Church, and ameliorating the condition of men by the power of Christian charity. Even the ecclesiastical comprehensiveness and Erastianism of the party was not any modern invention. For that matter the Evangelical clergy were quite as Erastian in their notions as the Broad Church, only they would fain have got the law on their side to tolerate none in the national church but themselves; whereas Maurice and Stanley claimed a place there for all the historical elements of Anglican faith—for the Evangelical and the High Churchman, as well as for themselves.

This appears to us to have been the condition of the Church in the early days of the reign of Queen Victoria. There were no strange altars in the Temple, but the service at them all was more earnest, seemly, and ritual than it had been for a long time. The life of the Church was no more limited to the Evangelical party. The others also were doing the same works. The preaching of Newman and Maurice, of Wilberforce and Robertson, was quite as spiritual as and far more powerful than that of Melville or MacNeill. And the pious zeal of the two other parties in the Church vied with that of the Evangelicals in every kind of service. There was still, more or less attached to each of them, a dead, inert mass of mere traditionary followers—of perfunctory Evangelicals, indifferent Broad Churchmen, and careless High Churchmen; but among them all there was a new element of life and devout earnestness: and if the followers of Scott and Newton were efficient guides for the great middle class of Englishmen, and the High Churchmen satisfied the instincts of cultivated taste, the Broad Church was still more required if the Church was to retain within her bosom the intellect and scientific thought of the age. But two of these parties, at least, were bent on devouring the others; and agreeing in nothing else, they combined to attack the third, whose principle it was to protect them both in their rights.

The first note of that warfare of litigation which has so long distracted the Anglican community, and has yielded so little result, was sounded at Oxford in 1832, when Dr. Hampden preached the Bampton Lecture, and took for his subject the scholastic philosophy. His theory as to the place held by that philosophy in the history of religious opinion would now be universally regarded as a very innocent one; and, indeed, the man and his opinions have, for many years, sunk into entire oblivion. It is not worth while reopening a controversy which has been long dead, or has passed into deeper and graver questions. Enough that Dr. Hampden having been chosen professor of moral philosophy at Oxford, and subsequently Regius professor of divinity, and finally bishop of Hereford, a vehement opposition to him, as a supposed representative of the Broad Church, was whipped up at the university; and at his confirmation as bishop it was even proposed to challenge his orthodoxy in presence of the congregation. The authorities, however, persisted in the course they had chosen, and his opponents succumbed. There were several adverse votes. There was wild excitement, especially in the Evangelical camp. There were loud prognostications of evil to follow from these appointments. But after a deal of noise, the tumult subsided, and very little has been heard of Dr. Hampden ever since. It was a false alarm, but, at least, it showed the fearful and suspicious condition of parties in the Church.

The next and first real contest arose in the diocese of Exeter, and is known as the Gorham case. This was an attempt on the part of the High Churchmen to get rid of the Evangelical party. Henry Philpotts, bishop of Exeter, was a High Church ecclesiastic of the hard, sharp, and not very spiritual type; a man with a clear head, and firm will, fearless and consistent, but more of a political than a devotional Churchman. Mr. Gorham had been a fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, for eighteen years, and an unbeneficed clergyman for thirty-five, when he was presented by Lord Melbourne to the living of St. Just-in-Penarth. The bishop, at first, was not unfavourable, till Mr. Gorham advertised for a curate "free from Tractarian Error." This was not pleasing to Bishop Philpotts, and by-and-by one of Mr. Gorham's curates was examined, especially on the doctrine of baptism, and licensed, but not without difficulty. Ere long, Mr. Gorham obtained a new vicarage, and Dr. Philpott declined to institute him without a special examination, to find whether he believed in Baptismal Regeneration or not. All this was quite legal, but also quite vexatious, and it resulted in a declinature of Mr. Gorham as vicar of Bramford Speke. An appeal was made first to the Court of Arches, where the case was decided against Mr. Gorham, and afterwards to the Committee of Privy Council, where that decision was reversed. It is not necessary to go into details. Enough that the final decision simply amounted to this, that strictly Evangelical views on the subject of the Sacraments were not excluded from the Anglican Church. The Privy Council substantially admitted that High Sacramentarian doctrines and mere Zuinglian views were equally consistent with the Articles; and so far they prevented either party from destroying the other, though at the same time they displeased both. High Churchmen objected further to the constitution of the Privy Council as an ecclesiastical court of appeal; and the Evangelical party came under a good deal of ridicule for Mr. Gorham's doctrine of "prevenient grace," invented to meet a special case on which the Church had already ruled. But on the whole, the decision was accepted by all parties as so far keeping peace in the Church.

That peace, however, was not of long duration, and this time it was broken by a strenuous effort on the part of the Evangelical party to obtain a decision unfavourable to the High Sacramentarian doctrine. The Rev. G. A. Denison, vicar of East Brent and archdeacon of Taunton, was examining chaplain to Dr. Bagot, bishop of Bath and Wells. In discharging this duty he was in the habit of inculcating on candidates for the holy ministry the doctrine of the real, but yet only spiritual presence of Christ in the bread and wine of the Communion, which offended Bishop Spencer, then acting as commissary for Bagot. Through his influence Mr. Denison was removed from the office of examining chaplain; but the archdeacon, being a man of fearless courage, instead of recanting, preached and published some sermons, in which his views were clearly set forth and defended. This he might very comfortably do up to a certain point. He could easily show that his doctrine was not equivalent to transubstantiation, for Calvin and the Reformed Church generally, while denying the Romish theory, asserted as strongly the real, spiritual presence in the Eucharist. Even the further notion which seemed logically to follow from this, that all communicants, whether they partook worthily or unworthily, received Christ, the one as the bread of life, and the other as condemnation, might perhaps have found some justification in the writings of orthodox reformers. But his final conclusion, that worship was due to this invisible and supernatural presence in the bread and wine, was certainly opposed to the doctrine alike of Calvin and Cranmer. The archdeacon appears to have revolted from the hard symbolism of Zuingli, while at the same time he also shrank from the Calvinistic theory which makes all depend on the faith of the participant. But he did not teach transubstantiation, and it may be doubted whether Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation is inconsistent with the Articles, or was meant to be excluded from the Church of England. At any rate, he was subjected to a long and expensive litigation, that ended in a finding by which the case was dismissed without settlement of the question at issue. The Court of Arches held that objections ought to have been taken within two years, according to the Church Discipline Act, and this was in 1858 confirmed by the Privy Council; thus, while all parties had been involved in ruinous expenses, nothing was in reality determined as to the doctrine of the Church, except that whatever a clergyman chose to teach, it would be a very expensive business to prevent him from teaching it.

The Evangelical party, however, have always been most willing to part with their money in order to secure what they consider to be the cause of truth; and hence funds have not been wanting to carry on similar prosecutions against both High Church and Broad Church. Two London incumbents, Mr. Liddell and Mr. Mackonochie, have both had to pass through the ordeal, on account of their ritualistic practice and doctrine. But the court has uniformly interpreted the law in favour of ecclesiastical comprehensiveness, as if its guiding principle were that no one of the several parties in the Church should be allowed to destroy the other, and that none of them should get an excuse, even, for creating a schism. Certain extreme forms of ritualism have been condemned, but the sentence has scarcely been enforced; and under that practical immunity Romanising views and usages have greatly increased of late years. Archdeacon Denison's doctrine has ripened in many cases into something very like real transubstantiation. Processions of priests, robed in purple, and bearing great crosses, have gone on what are called missions to the poor, and may be witnessed almost any day in some of the London parishes. There is an enthusiasm for burning tall candles, even on uncanonical occasions, when the Romish Church would quench their light altogether, and consequently laughs at the absurd mistake of her imitator. And especially in the metropolis many members of the Church of England, disgusted with such conduct, are leaving and building free churches, or connecting themselves with Nonconforming congregations. The bishops, feeling the danger of this, and fearing the growth of Dissent, are anxious to get more power to carry out the proper discipline of the Church; and for this purpose the Archbishop of Canterbury introduced a bill which would enable the bishops to do in some measure what they are theoretically meant to do. This measure has passed, and is now law; but meanwhile the episcopal office is still highly exalted, and the episcopal authority outraged and defied.

But the most remarkable of all the late prosecutions in the Church, and that which created the greatest stir among all parties, was that which arose in connection with a volume called 'Essays and Reviews,' written chiefly by clergymen in the Church of England. As we look back on the excitement of that trial, and remember how eagerly the whole country waited for the decision, it is somewhat difficult now to understand what it was all about. The book had been got up by a speculative bookseller, in imitation of certain volumes of essays meant to show the state of opinion in the great English universities; volumes which had been successful in a mercantile way, and not discreditable otherwise. Like them, though edited by one of their own number, it was written independently by the several essayists, who explicitly declared themselves responsible each for his own paper only. The leading authors were, Dr. Temple, now Bishop of Exeter; Dr. Baden Powell, who died, however, before the trial; Professor Jowett, Mark Pattison, Dr. Wilson, and Dr. Rowland Williams, all men of learning, capacity, and liberal views. There was also one of the essayists not in orders, who could not, therefore, be dragged into the Court of Arches, though he had to submit, of course, to his share of the public abuse. At first, the book fell rather dead. The university essays had done their turn, and people did not want any more of them. Some one, however, bent on heresy hunting, wrote a review of the work, and described it as a deliberate and combined attack on the Christian religion by ministers of the State Church; and straightway the bookseller's groaning shelves were lightened of their burden, and the press could hardly keep up with the demand for more. Thoughtful readers, who stood outside of the atmosphere of ecclesiastical partisanship, wondered rather at the loud clamour which had arisen, and were disposed to think that, on the whole, the verdict which the public had first given was the right one; and that by far the wisest course would have been to let the 'Essays and Reviews' remain among the class of books which are treated with indifference by all except perhaps a few studious men. Dr. Temple's essay was simply an attempt to show how the gradual development of Revelation was adapted to the general education of the world; and there was nothing very new or revolutionary in that. Mark Pattison contributed a very wholesome sketch of the moral theologians of England, as they grew harder, and less and less spiritual, during the eighteenth century; which also seems a safe enough line of thought. Dr. Baden Powell was a good man, whose physical studies had led him to certain conclusions with regard to miracles and the supernatural, which may be mistaken, but which he assuredly never meant to use against Christianity, but rather held that Christianity would be strengthened by their adoption. Professor Jowett's idea that the Bible should be read and criticised like any other book is essential to anything like free or fair criticism, and must in the end be adopted by all sincere students of the Word of God. Dr. Rowland Williams' theory of Inspiration, that it was merely the utterance of "the devout Reason," and that the Church was not founded on the Bible, but the Bible on the Church, if it startled people at first, has yet a clear element of truth in it, for no doubt the Church existed before the Scriptures. Mr. Wilson's doctrine of eternal punishments was held by John Foster and by Mr. Maurice, and may be wrong, as Rowland Williams thought it was, but was hardly a sufficient reason for casting him out of the Church. Williams and Wilson were the only two that were put on their trial. Here and there, no doubt, their essays contain expressions of doubtful import, canons which would require more careful deliberation ere we could accept them, conclusions from which many good Christians will differ. Yet the book, on the whole, is no assault on our Holy Faith, either in its principles or its intention. It expresses the views of a number of thoughtful scholars on points of considerable interest, and it was entitled to claim the respectful attention of other thoughtful scholars. Possibly, it may have shadowed forth, more or less fully, the opinions even of a considerable party in the Church, though it was not the manifesto of any section, nor was it adopted by any. Differing from some of its statements, we can still regard it as fairly enough discussing points fairly open for discussion among Christian divines, not without a spirit of reverence, and faith, and charity. Yet its authors were now pursued with something like fury and ferocity, as a band of consecrated conspirators, united in an unholy alliance for the ruin of Christian truth, and to rob the world of the Gospel. Funds were amply contributed for the prosecution by people who could hardly have read the book, or understood what they read; and certainly if their fate had depended on any body of ecclesiastics, several of the highest ornaments of the Anglican Church would have been deposed from their sacred functions without scruple or delay. But, once more, the court held by its purpose not to let any one party, or combination of parties, destroy the other; and this time a distinct decision was given exonerating the accused as men who had done nothing inconsistent with their vows at ordination. Both High Churchmen and Evangelicals were wroth at this result, at the time; and for a moment, the latter party almost distrusted their Erastian doctrine, and were half inclined to adopt the view which was now gaining favour among Ritualists, that the Church should have power to determine all matters of faith for herself without right of appeal to any civil court, or power of control by any external authority. Yet, without entering on the question how far that principle is right, we may safely assert that it is well for the Church of England that its clergy had not the power to determine this question; for a sentence that should have cast these men out of its communion would have been fatal to its very existence as an establishment, inasmuch as it would have swelled the ranks of Dissent with the very element of intellect, and scholarship, and social influence which it wants to give it weight in parliament and in the nation, and thus would have surely precipitated the question of disestablishment. There is nothing that keeps off that question save just the comprehensiveness of the Church. Let either party prevail against the others, or against one of the others, and her fall as an establishment is doomed from that day. Far-seeing politicians see this; and while judicial proceedings are of course guided by the strict letter of the law, yet that letter is read, doubtless, consciously or unconsciously, by the light of political expediency; therefore, whether it be good or bad for the Church as a spiritual power, yet so long as it helps to stave off a political difficulty, this rule of comprehensiveness will be stretched to the utmost. The Evangelical may vex the Ritualist, the High Church may afflict the Low; and both may combine against the Broad, and spend much money on the lawyers, and much passion through the press. But neither party will be allowed to triumph over the other, so as to cause any considerable secession. The image may be part gold, part brass, part iron, and part clay, but so long as it can be held together, it shall not be broken if statesmen can help it. Isolated individuals, like Mr. Voysey, may be repudiated, because all parties repudiate them; and they may go off into Dissent and insignificance. But to sectarianise the Church is to disestablish it; to make it a standing testimony for truth, as it has been called, is simply to abolish it. It could not stand a year after any one of the parties among whom it is now divided had been cast out of its communion. Already the opponents of all church establishments are strong enough to need only a little additional weight, such as the adherence or indifference of High, Low, or Broad Church would give, to secure the fall of the Church; and neither Whigs nor Tories will precipitate the issue if they can help it, though either of them may be compelled to do it by some unexpected and unprepared-for event. We cannot say that the Episcopal Church has, on the whole, been losing ground. On the contrary, we rather think that she has latterly been gaining. She has established episcopates in the colonies. She has a large and influential connection in the United States. In Scotland she has grown very considerably; and generally it is among the cultivated and influential classes that her increase has taken place. No thoughtful observer can have failed to notice that the stringency of Puritan theology and the meagreness of Puritan ritual do not, on the whole, grow in favour according to the growing culture of the people. Beautiful churches are everywhere taking the place of unsightly barns. Organs, and hymns, and choirs, are sounding forth the praises of God, where aforetime people would have tolerated nothing but the Psalms of David, rudely and inartistically bawled by an ignorant music-leader. The harshness of Calvinistic theology is toned down by the humanity of modern thought, and its fictions are giving place to the realities of Faith. Everywhere the spirit of Luther is on the ascendant—the German thought, rather than the French logic. The free principle of the Puritan is indeed growing also: his love of right, his repudiation of authority in matters of faith, and his spiritual life; but in this age we cannot hate forms so heartily as the Puritan did, nor strip worship so bare as he did, nor care quite so much for either presbyter or bishop as they did in the seventeenth century. Yet while episcopal rule or ritual is not felt to be very objectionable in these days, under certain conditions to be determined by the congregations, or at least, more or less, under their influence, the Church of England, as an establishment, holds assuredly a very precarious place. Many are fondly attached to it as an institution, bringing great advantages both to its clergy and people. But the doctrine of established churches has broken down; and their practical benefits may, at any moment, appear to the majority of Englishmen very problematical. All depends on how far the law may have to stretch the principle of comprehension. A very little more tolerance of Romish practices may drive conscientious Evangelicals out of the Church, and turn them into passionate voluntaries. A small amount of repression may compel High Churchmen to become Free Churchmen as vehement as the staunchest Dissenters. Even the Broad Church, with all its Erastianism, if the other two parties combine against it, and could get a decision in their favour, would be strong enough to weight the scale in favour of disestablishment. And affairs are at present in so very uncertain a state that any moment may produce a rupture quite sufficient to overturn the Church, in spite of the dislike of all political parties to meddle with an institution so ancient, so venerable, and, on the whole, so useful to the country. It is from within, however, that the trouble must come; and the elements of division and discord there are so strong that politicians who will almost allow anything sooner than a positive schism may yet be unable to prevent it. This is the ground of that rule of comprehensiveness which obtains, and always has obtained, in the Anglican Church. It is not that the principle of a national church was brought out more fully by the statesmen and ecclesiastics of England than it was in other countries. It is not the result of any profound theory, whether that theory be right or wrong. It arose simply from the balance of parties, at first, which compelled politicians to temporise in order to avoid outbreaks and rebellions, and it is maintained now for the very same reason; because the least unsettlement of that balance would overthrow the Church altogether. That the result has been in the long run favourable to the free discussion and progress of truth will not be denied; and so far it is well for the Christian world that the Anglican Church has been framed so loosely. A more compact and logical constitution would have strangled one or other of the parties in its very birth, and would prevent any growth of religious opinion, unless in the form of dissent and separation, which are discouragements to sincere thought, and often tend to narrowness. Yet allowing all the good that it has yielded, we can hardly say that the English Church has settled the principle of ecclesiastical comprehensiveness, or that the Church of the future will obtain much help there for framing its constitution. It is, to say the least, a clumsy expedient, never likely to be followed by any other communion, to obtain comprehensiveness by means of " a Calvinistic Creed, an Arminian Prayer Book, and a Roman Catholic Directory." Nor is that a pleasant state of things for the Christians to contemplate which presents to us three rival and warring sects, mutually jealous, suspicious, and uncharitable, and only held together by a bond of self-interest and social pre-eminence, and inevitably falling asunder the moment that bond is severed. Moreover, it can hardly be thought that the principle of ecclesiastical comprehensiveness has been settled by a body which cast out of its fellowship the great Puritan Church in the seventeenth century; and which now in consequence stands, as it were, in a perpetual state of siege, with eight millions of Nonconformists encamping round it, and fiercely assailing it. Only by a power acting from within the Church, blending and binding together diversities of view by means of Christian charity, shall the Church ever attain to real comprehensiveness such as the Apostles would have sanctioned. As things are now, the sects outside of the national church seem disposed to draw closer to each other, and to recognise their common Christianity as more than their points of divergence; while the sects that form the Established Church denounce each other as Romanists, or rationalists, and are only united by a ligature which the state may cut asunder when it chooses. It has already done so for that part of the Episcopal Church whose position in Ireland was so long a reproach and a scandal to the nation, and could hardly avoid doing the same thing in Wales if Wales had retained anything like national feeling, and had not sunk into a mere Celtic-speaking province. In Ireland the so-called National Church had always been an alien institution, associated with foreign domination and the supremacy of a caste; had always been the hated church of a hated minority; had always been the maintainer of privilege and favouritism, never once in its history standing by the people's rights, or denouncing the wrongs they endured; had always drawn large incomes for the smallest possible services; had always been an excuse, and a reasonable excuse, for popular disaffection, for it was a standing and manifest injustice, not a moral influence, not even a moral police, though sometimes a spy, and often an oppressor. For many years there was not an English statesman who had not felt that it was an anomaly and a source of mischief, and that Ireland could never be at peace so long as the Church there remained an idle beneficiary, taxing and tithing the industries of an impoverished people. But all alike shrank from dealing with the enormity, because all alike dreaded the strong conservatism of England, and the effect on other established churches which had still, at least, the appearance of being in some sort national. Effort after effort, therefore, had been made to bolster up the Irish Church. For this end, some of its useless bishoprics had been abolished, and their incomes devoted to national uses. For this end, Maynooth College had been endowed, and increased grants made to the Presbyterians in the north, all to put off the " day of visitation " to the establishment. Parties in the establishment objected to these acts as endowing error just as if it were truth. But there is nothing more certain than that they were efforts to buttress that establishment, and to prevent its overthrow. At length, however, it was felt that nothing but strict political justice could allay the chronic rebelliousness of the Celt, and arrest the agrarian and other murders which disgraced our civilisation; and in 1869-70, Mr. Gladstone introduced a bill for disestablishing and disendowing the Irish Church, and carried it triumphantly through parliament, at the cost of an amount of ecclesiastical hatred to himself which no statesman has had to endure since Cromwell abolished the monasteries. His measure was of course sadly clipped, and chopped, and changed in its passage through the lords; and, in order to carry it, he had to consent to alterations which allowed the clergy to rob the nation of no small part of the fruits of his enactment. That was inevitable. It could not otherwise have passed; and the disingenuous policy of ecclesiastics has gone far to make the law ineffectual, and by multiplying curates and other beneficiaries to absorb nearly the whole Church funds, and appropriate them to the service of a community entirely freed from state control. No doubt the ends intended by the state have thus been largely frustrated. No doubt, so richly endowed a disestablished Church may yet become a national grievance, and may have to be dealt with in other times. But, meanwhile, a step has been gained in the direction of political justice, and the Irish Church is at least a scandal of a different kind from what it used to be.

History of Religion in Scotland, from A.D. 1837 to A.D. 1873.

THERE, was little happened of independent religious interest in Scotland during the first quarter of the century. The fusion of the two countries was being gradually accomplished, and consequently the various movements which began in England made their way, in due time, across the border, and every successive wave of opinion in the south by-and-by rippled also the waters in the farthest north. For it is a singular fact that Scotland, with all her deep interest in religion, and though the main current of her thought runs steadily in that direction, can scarcely be said to have contributed any original element to the deposit of Christian opinion. Its greater ecclesiastical leaders, like Knox, Henderson, Robertson, and Chalmers, have been rather wise statesmen than learned or speculative divines; and in their theological teachings have confined themselves very much to the practical enforcement of the system of doctrine which the Church had accepted from Calvin, or to as much of it as they found they were able to receive. Its theologians, with the exception of Leighton, and he only clothed with a rare spiritual beauty the prevailing ideas of Puritanism, have been intensely controversial and dogmatic; but while Rutherford, Gillespie, and Hill exhibit no little subtlety and force of mind, as well as learning, in defending their Calvinistic theories, they shrank, as if they were afraid of it, from such speculative reasonings as appeared to justify the system to an intellect like Jonathan Edwards'. Scotland, therefore, has produced no school of independent theological thought. Its soil has yielded no heresy, unless that of the Sandemanians can be called a heresy, which differs from the common creed of the country only by a definition of faith, which was considered sound alike by Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Macleod Campbell, who was, perhaps, the most deeply reflective divine the Scotch Kirk has ever produced. Sandeman taught that faith meant purely belief in the record of what God had done for men—mere historical belief, as it was called—and that what a Christian had to do was just to build up a devout character and righteous life on the foundation thus provided for him; and he contrasted his system, not without a touch of humour, with the prevalent teaching of the Church in his time, by describing the common method as being like that of the popular novelists, who led their heroes and heroines through all the troubles, and anxieties, and fears that preceded marriage, and then left them; whereas he himself began with the wedding—the union of the soul to Christ in simple faith—and sought to guide it up to the height and fulness of Christian life. Robert Sandeman may be called the only indigenous Scotch heretic, but his system took no root in the country, and has yielded no very notable fruits anywhere, except in the case of Michael Faraday.

This poverty of religious thought, in a nation whose history has been for three centuries so bound up with religious questions, is, to say the least, a remarkable fact. It is not that there have been no powerful and independent thinkers in that country; for there have been not a few, only they have not been in the Church, or their minds have not been directed to original theological research. Scotland took her theology from Calvin at the Reformation; and with some modifications, which are not improvements, drawn from the later Dutch and Puritan divines, it remains to-day exactly what it was three centuries ago, and is accepted alike by every secession and by every sect. Perhaps this is partly to be explained by the many troubles and conflicts of Scottish Church history which necessarily drew her leading minds into party warfare for very life, and prevented calm thought on more purely abstract questions. Perhaps too the stringency and thoroughness of her confession tend to foreclose all inquiry by treating every possible question as substantially settled, and driving speculative minds into other fields. Perhaps the jealous watchfulness of a republican form of government is not favourable to free thought. At any rate, so it is that the land of Hume and Adam Smith possesses no original divine of any consequence. Knox was a great and fearless statesman; Henderson was a sagacious leader of a party; Robertson betook himself to literature; and Chalmers was a wise social reformer. And as to those of her sons who gave themselves to speculative thought, with some slight exceptions, they have almost no place in the history of religious opinion. Till Coleridge commented on Leighton, that thoughtful divine was read by the devout only for his spiritual reflections, not at all for his theological ideas. Boston only reproduces the federal theology of Witsius, and Hill the more orthodox moral divinity of England, with a plausible Calvinistic disguise. The Scotch have no Cudworth, no Butler, no Paley, no Newman; and even their fine poetic genius is cut off from all their national piety, and appears as a Burns, but never as a Keble or a Cowper.

Accordingly, the early part of this century simply shows in Scotland the influence of the Evangelical revival in England. The Scotch "Moderates," as they were called, had at the close of the last century obtained almost exclusive possession of the Established Church, and religious life was very much confined to the various secession bodies, among whom also it appeared in a narrow, impoverished, and ungenial form, which might be real, but was not very winning. The moderate was a somewhat coarse representative of the English worldly and fox-hunting parson. He was too poor to keep hunters, but he was much more anxious to be thought a gentleman than a clergyman. He could not cope with the great lords, but he could hold his own with the small lairds or squires. His scholarship and even learning were often not contemptible; there was probably a larger amount of these among the moderate clergy than among their more devout Evangelical brethren, for they had generally been teachers in schools, or tutors in the higher families, and had, one way or other, kept up their scholastic attainments, and frequently had even a taste for letters. But, as a rule, they were men who would, at the present day, have taken to the press rather than the pulpit. Their spirit was essentially a secular one. They did not care much for preaching, and still less for praying. A presbytery of any considerable size would, by circulating their sermons, make one discourse serve their turn for six months, each exchanging with his neighbour till the course was exhausted. Generally their prayers were the same all the year round, having been committed to memory, and the congregation knew them quite as well as the minister. Yet their pleasant manses were often centres of a wholesome social influence, kindly and genial, if not very spiritual. They felt the clerical restraints to be irksome; wanted to have dancing and theatre-going like their neighbours; took, some of them, more toddy than was good for them or their parishioners, and were altogether inclined to this world. Yet, on the whole, they wanted to make it a decent and orderly sort of world, too, and therefore acted reasonably well the part of a moral police. Most of them disliked the elaborate confession of the Kirk, and some were fain to have it altered. But whether it be a suitable document for a Church symbol or not, they were not the parties to have the mending of it. For they were far more devoted to *belles-lettres* than to theology; and their somewhat thin metaphysics made light of the awful mysteries which are found alike in the Book of Nature and in that of Revelation.

A people, trained as the Scotch had been, in the severe doctrine of Calvin, could not retain their deep religious convictions and also be satisfied with the sort of commonplace moralising which formed the staple of moderate preaching. While, therefore, a large part of the nation sunk, under this benumbing influence, into practical indifference, the more devout and earnest had joined one or other of the various dissenting bodies, among whom there was to be found a gleam of religious life. One of the seceding communities, that which first departed from the National Church under the Erskines, had taken that step reluctantly, but resolutely, in part at least, on account of the defection from orthodox doctrine which they held the National Church had been guilty of; but the other had only sought relief from the yoke of lay patronage as enforced by violence at the instigation of the "Moderate" leaders. None of the seceding bodies objected to a state church. None of them objected to the national Confession of Faith. None of them differed in doctrine or discipline from the Establishment, except that they were rather more Calvinistic in their views, and more stringent in their discipline, than the Kirk now cared to be. But the traditionary spirit of the Scottish Church, its zeal, and piety, and service, appeared to have left the national temple, and taken up their abode in the secession meeting-house; and consequently those who wanted nourishment for their spiritual life had quietly hived off to those places of worship in which they found, though frequently in very homely guise, something of the savour and unction of Christian faith. Scottish Dissent, therefore, was altogether different from English Nonconformity. All were alike Calvinists; all were Presbyterians; all the clergy were alike university men, and had the same education such as the Scottish universities were able to give. There were a few Episcopalians, chiefly the landed gentry, a few Roman Catholics chiefly in Highland districts, a few Independents in the larger towns; but at the beginning of the century the nation was still substantially one in its faith, and whether established or dissenting, the people differed only in the intensity with which they apprehended, and the earnestness with which they applied, the very same religious ideas.

When the Evangelical revival then began to stir the English people, it soon made its way across the Tweed, and found there a people so far prepared by their early training to receive the new life which it proclaimed. The Evangelical doctrines were already there in the common soil of Presbyterian intellect, and only needed quickening. Nor had the vital power ever altogether died out of the national church. There had always been an Evangelical party there, and it had always been the popular party. For a long time, however, it had been in the position of a small and ever dwindling minority, able to do little more than protest against a line of action which it had no power to arrest. Early, however, in the present century, it began to show signs of recruited energy and hope, which by-and-by swelled into triumphant majorities. Sir Henry Wellwood, becoming its leader, lent to it the weight of his judicious counsels, his social influence, and his unfeigned and manly piety. After him, Dr. Andrew Thomson got the reins, and by his keen logic, his vehement and passionate eloquence, and genuine nobility of character, restored in some measure the prestige of the free and courageous Presbyterianism of the land. To him succeeded Chalmers, wisest and greatest of modern Scotch Churchmen, simple, single-hearted, devout, and holy; an earnest patriot ever thoughtfully pondering matters that concerned the public weal; a genuine Churchman who fondly believed in the mission and power of the Christian Church to be the main factor in a progressive civilisation; and one of the very few strictly Evangelical preachers who had, at the same time, a profoundly philosophical mind, that might, perhaps, had his life been differently conditioned, have broadened, and deepened, and given a more Catholic basis to the system of doctrine associated with that name. Under the guidance of these men Scotland now entered on the same course of philanthropic and religious activity which characterised the same movement in England. Home missions, foreign missions, colonial and Jewish missions, Bible societies, anti-slavery societies, sabbath schools, savings-banks, poor law provisions, church extension, church defence, all the manifold work and service which, we have seen, followed the Evangelical revival in England, was now reproduced in Scotland, and as a result the national love of the Kirk was re-awakened and invigorated. Evangelical Scotland indeed, differed in some respects from Evangelical England. Its anti-slavery was more passionate and thorough, as befitted the old Presbyterian love of liberty and hatred of oppression. Its foreign mission work differed alike from that of Carey, which became, from circumstances, chiefly literary, and from that of the Church Missionary Society, which was mainly preaching, and under the direction of Dr. Duff assumed the position of a great teaching institution in which the learning and science of Christian Europe were brought to bear on the errors and superstitions of India. Its home missions and poor law system were in Chalmers' mind unseparably united together; and endeavouring to expand the primitive idea of the Church into a great national institution, he sought to provide, by means of Christian congregations, for all the complex wants of modern society, and to make the voluntary contributions of the people by means of the voluntary labours of the eldership suffice for supplying the wants of the poor. Of course this implied an immense moral influence on their part to prevent waste, and to encourage thrift; it implied also a readiness on the part of a large number of Christian men to devote no small portion of their time to this service. If the Christian Church were at all like what it ought to be, if it were generally acting up to the principles of its great Founder, this would be the best of all plans to secure the well-being of the poor; and on a limited area Dr. Chalmers proved that, at least under his own energetic and enthusiastic superintendence, it was entirely practicable. But that which might be done in such circumstances could not be counted on in ordinary cases. Every minister was not a Chalmers. Every clergyman could not inspire men with his own enthusiasm as he did. Every parish could not provide men with sufficient leisure or moral influence to do the work that was done in St. John's, Glasgow. In point of fact, the scheme broke down as soon as his own hand was withdrawn from it; and the costly, unkindly system of the English poor law had to come in its room, in spite of its tendency to foster a pauper and ignoble spirit. Latterly, there seems to be a growing conviction that Chalmers' ideas on this head were more sound than people at the time believed; and the Christian churches find it necessary to supplement the poor law system with some agency like what he proposed. But either the condition of society must be greatly changed, or the spirit of the Church must be very different from what it is now, if the voluntary supervision and charity of Christian congregations is ever to take the place of our existing poor law. In such schemes, however, the revived Evangelicalism of the Church manifested its new life, and strove to discharge its duty to the land that had endowed it, and given it the many privileges and immunities of an establishment. And the result was that gradually it began to regain the affections of the people who had strayed from its altars, or cooled in their devotion to it. What were then, at least, regarded as very wonderful sums of money for a poor country to contribute poured into the exchequer of the Church. Men who would once have grudged a five-pound note freely gave their hundreds for building new churches. The sixpences once dropped into the mission box were now represented by sovereigns; and the various schemes of the Church had a thriving and prosperous revenue. Schools were established in wild Highland districts where aforetime the primer had not been known. Everywhere there was living energy, progress, faithful work, which warmed the heart of the people to the Kirk, and made it more thoroughly popular than it had been any time for 150 years before. It was no longer among the Dissenters that people sought for spiritual quickening and nourishment. On the whole, indeed, the Dissenters had been fairly distanced by the Evangelical Churchmen, and were even charged with a manifest want of zeal for those good works. They were behind in their mission labours. They had crotchets rather opposed to sabbath schools. They showed some jealousy of the Established Kirk, and its growing activity and popularity; and instead of entering on the race of generous rivalry in good works and patient service, they plunged, as the Nonconformists in England had done, into the violent and embittered voluntary controversy. They had not the same grievances to complain of as their brethren, the English Dissenters, had. There was no tithe in Scotland, no consecrated portion of the burial-ground, no marked social distinctions between the clergy of one church and those of another; almost none of the many irritating provisions which tend to make the Anglican Church press on sore points, and make them sorer. Hence the Scotch voluntaryism became more of an abstract political principle than it was in England. Dissenters there could not make up a case of great hardship, and had consequently to fall back on metaphysical views of the proper relation of civil government to religion. Very likely these were sometimes stated in a rather hard and sharp form that they might be the easier apprehended. It was said, e.g., that the state had nothing to do with religion, except to let it alone. This was denounced by the Church party as national atheism, and the most absurd and unfair accusations were made against men who were as anxious to make the nation truly religious as their opponents could be, only they held that the religion of a nation must be found in the hearts and homes of its people, and not merely in an act of its parliament. We have, however, already described the course of that unhappy controversy, and would here only note that in Scotland it assumed this more abstract and metaphysical character, partly, perhaps, from the national habit of thought, but still more from the fact that the Church was not, in that country, such a practical grievance as it was thought to be in England. We would only add here that the stirring of this question had a very unfortunate result, for a period at least, in creating misunderstandings, and jealousies, and hatreds among parties who, in the deepest relations of spiritual life, had been drawing closer to each other than they had been for a century before. It might have been hoped that the revival of Evangelical faith in the Church would have drawn the Dissenting communities, if not back to the establishment, at least into closer sympathy with it, as an institution which was now confessed to be filling its place far better than it had been doing for many years. The moderate, with his quasi-philosophical creed, was dying out. A new race of Churchmen, genuine, orthodox, devoted, such as the Fathers of Dissent had desired to see, were filling the national pulpit, and pervading the land with their faithful services. Yet Dissent only drew further off, and even allied itself with the Catholic and the Unitarian in order to overthrow the establishment; while the establishment, on the other hand, to maintain its ground as a state church, was leagued with the prelatical English Church, and with the Tory politician, thus forsaking all its own noblest traditions as a Whig and Presbyterian party. Nor was that the worst, though these associations led her to lean on broken reeds, which failed her in her hour of trial which was now at hand. But personal friendships, church fellowships, common interests of the most sacred order, were sacrificed to this question, and all the land was filled with noise and bitterness, and wrath and uncharitableness; while the question of establishment or voluntary church took the place of Christianity, and a man was judged rather by his relation to one or other of these than by his faith in God. The question in England was embittered, as we have said, by many civil social grievances against which citizens had and have a right to protest; but it never became so keen, so unjust, so forgetful of deeper spiritual affinities as it did in Scotland, where there was little to divide men but an abstract political principle. Latterly voluntaryism has grown in that country, and is now certainly in the majority; yet the idea of political voluntaryism is still very repugnant to the Scottish people; and with all the rapid march of events, the feelings which were awakened forty years ago by this controversy are by no means calmed down, but in very many minds are as fresh and warm to-day as they were then, and are exercising a powerful influence on the conduct of ecclesiastical parties.

In all these movements, however, the action of the Christian Church in Scotland was, in great measure, only the reflection of what had taken place in England some time before. It was the same Evangelical impulse which was telling in both countries, and doing good in both alike. But the subsequent movements in the English Church—the Tractarian and Broad Church movements—had almost no perceptible influence there. The former, indeed, could hardly pass the Tweed, or at most could only act in dribblets on the Scottish Episcopalian Church, which had all along been largely the church of Laud, but had never any hold on the country at large. That it has latterly increased in members is certain, and probably its High Churchism has been intensified too on the whole. The Broad Church doctrine, however, entered really into the national church, and is probably at this moment a somewhat influential element there, as it is in England; its power, here as there, however, being more among the intellectual class, which is always limited, than among the people in general. The real author of Scotch Broad Church theology was, we apprehended, the late Mr. Erskine of Linlathen, a layman, a lawyer, of means and social influence, with a mind of remarkable subtlety and reflective power, but without the theological learning necessary for an ecclesiastical reformer, or the effective utterance required for a popular leader. Some fifty years ago he began publishing books on the Brazen Serpent, on Faith, and such like, which were partly Scotch Sandemanianism and partly English Broad Churchism, probably suggested by William Law. He was a man of genuine piety, pure and humble minded, full of reflection on the weightiest matters, and devoted to the loftiest of all ends, the increase of Christian faith which seemed to him dying away. But his speech was not brisk, or powerful, or eloquent, and therefore only told on a few prepared minds, already willing to receive it. Of these, by far the ablest to do justice to his thoughts, theologically, was the late Dr. John Macleod Campbell, who was then a young minister settled in the parish of Row on the green picturesque shores of the Gareloch: a man of fine mind, of a meditative temperament, of singular piety, and fair learning, whom none knew without loving, and none could listen to almost without believing. Yet his utterance, too, was by no means eloquent, or even effective in the way of rhetoric. It was plain, even to baldness. It was often intricate, involved, hard to understand. But it had the power which springs from intense reality. It infected men as truth which goes "from faith to faith." It established for his views a place in the Church of Scotland, which no other so-called heresy has hitherto been able to do. Campbell was a quiet, meek, thoughtful man, and being nowise disposed to take an active part in church politics, but simply to do his duty as a parochial minister, he might have hoped to be let alone in his obscure Gareloch region, instructing his Highland parishioners, and the few Glasgow people who made their summer resort to the green glades of Roseneath, or the quiet watering-place of Helensburgh. But his doctrine was accompanied with so much power; there were so many, especially of the better classes, who followed his ministry, and devoutly believed in his views, and besides, the Kirk was at that time so alarmed by the somewhat extravagant vagaries of Edward Irving, that even so unobtrusive and so holy a man as Macleod Campbell could not be allowed peaceably to go on his thoughtful way. Accused of heresy, he defended himself with great meekness of spirit and force of reason, and with a knowledge of Christian doctrine which contrasts most favourably with the statements of his accusers. But, of course, his condemnation was a foregone conclusion. Moderates and Evangelicals had made up their quarrel, and agreed together for this one object, and in 1830 John Macleod Campbell was deposed from the office of the ministry. It was confidently expected that this vigorous proceeding would put an end finally to the Row heresy; but thought is never slain by mere authority. For a time, indeed, these views disappeared from the pulpit of the Kirk, and only a very few adherents privately gathered round Mr. Campbell as he continued to minister in "an upper chamber" of his own house at Partick. But the seed he had sown took root in the mind and heart of Frederick Maurice, and in due time returned to Scotland again, and was borne by his winged words into many hearts there, where it is now openly taught by not a few of the leading clergy of the National Church, and by others also.

It was about the same period that the Kirk was sorely tried with the conduct of Edward Irving in London. Irving, an eloquent, earnest-minded, but somewhat vain man, full of noble instincts, and glowing with a certain prophetic fire, had stirred the heart of London as no minister had done for many ages. The hollow unrealities of professed religion there had been scathed by his burning words. The spirit and power of a John Baptist seemed to have come among the inhabitants of that great city, calling them to repentance; and multitudes flocked unto him of the gay, the fashionable, the learned, the witty, enough to have turned a head less imaginative than his. But the man was altogether simple and genuine; full of love for the old country and the old Church whose minister he was; having a most real faith in the great verities of the Gospel, and, as we have said, not a little of the fervour and intense reality of the ancient Hebrew prophet. The Kirk also had been rather proud of her eloquent representative in the metropolis, who had drawn to her plain edifice and simple ritual the great ones of the earth, the noble and honourable, the learned scholar and the eloquent orator, and it is probable that he would have been suffered to teach even the doubtful heresy for which he was finally deposed, had he not, under the influence of some foolish persons, permitted irregularities in the public worship which were held to be a scandal. There are some indications that he sympathised in a measure with the theology of Macleod Campbell, at least in his later days. But the general drift of his teaching was essentially of the orthodox type, only stripped of the elaborate fictions with which it had been associated in later Puritan times. Among these fictions, that of imputed guilt seemed to him the most unreal, and accordingly he had adopted a theory about the person of Christ which, while fully maintaining his real sinlessness, yet asserted that it was man's fallen nature he had adopted and sanctified. This was the doctrine because of which he was accused of heresy, and deposed from the ministry; but there can be little doubt that, whether his view be right or wrong, and though divines might quarrel over the subtle point all the more that plain people could hardly see it, it was not this which really led to his being cast out of the Church he loved so dearly. In point of fact, he had been unable to see any scriptural authority for the commonly received opinion that the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost were meant to be only temporary. He could not understand, therefore, why miracles might not still be wrought, if men had faith enough, which he himself confessed he had not, though he believed some of his followers had. He could not comprehend why the gift of tongues might not be as serviceable and as much needed to-day as on the day of Pentecost; and though he never pretended to have the gift himself, he would humbly pause in his thoughtful and stately discourse, when some nervously excited enthusiast would begin babbling incomprehensible jargon. It is sad to think of the noble generous spirit carried away by smaller and meaner natures, and by silly fanatics; and we fancy that his deposition fairly broke his heart. He had so clung to the Scottish Kirk with a passionate devotion, so loved its simple service, so gloried in the sacred traditions, so hoped to lift it up into a place of commanding influence worthy of the Church of Christ, and was altogether so true and loyal to it, that he seemed hardly able to lift his head again under the reproach of its condemnation. Assuredly it was a strange spectacle to see a Christian Church which suffered many ministers to remain in its pulpits who by no stretch of charity could well be recognised as Christians at all, or anything but the merest worldlings, casting out of her fellowship two such saintly, and pure, and earnest-hearted men as Edward Irving and John Macleod Campbell. One might have been disposed to say, "The righteous perish, and no man layeth it to heart. The godly are taken away from the evil that is to come."

And evil days were now at hand for the Kirk of Scotland; days of conflict, or misunderstanding, and of disruption at last, leaving the establishment a mere wreck of what it had been.

The presentation to livings in the establishment has always in England been chiefly in the hands of private persons, college corporations, bishops, or the crown; nor have the congregations ever, till quite lately, complained of this arrangement. How far the system has worked well even there may be a question. It is not an unmitigated good that the squire should train a younger son for the ministry, not because he has any vocation to the office, but simply because there "is a living in the family." Neither is the patronage as exercised by colleges or bishops very advantageous to the parish, which too often has found a useless son or a worn-out fellow appointed with little regard to its own interest. The crown is more amenable to public opinion, but no lord chancellor could, with his many other duties, do anything like justice in the exercise of this trust. The English people have not complained much, but that is no proof that they have not suffered; and the eight millions of Nonconformists there are, probably at least, partly occasioned by the indifferent ministers provided for them by this system. It is not to be supposed that an Englishman, provided the service is decently celebrated, does not care how much twaddle and silliness may be spoken from the pulpit; neither can we believe that the scandalous sale of advowsons is not an offence to his conscience. So it is, however, that a system has prevailed there without much complaint which has been a cause of ceaseless heartburning north of the Tweed, and has been more or less directly the origin of all the secessions from the national church.

Strict popular election had never been the law of the Church unless, perhaps, for the short period of the reign of the Commonwealth, when there was too much excitement of passion to give it a fair trial. But at the Revolution settlement the power of presenting to a living had been intrusted to a parochial committee, consisting of the elders of the congregation and the heritors or larger landed proprietors; and the Church required the adherence of the congregation by their signing a call without which the presbytery might refuse to ordain the presentee. That system continued till 1709, and seems to have worked fairly well: for the Act of Queen Anne, restoring lay patronage to the great landlords, was introduced by the Tory ministry expressly with the view of weakening the Church, which had grown powerful under the previous arrangement, having gained the hearts of the people by consulting their religious interests. Against this act the General Assembly protested, and petitioned parliament for its abolition year after year, till the conduct of the moderate majority made the protest a mere mockery, when it was dropped: but not until two secessions from the Church, mainly occasioned by forced settlements of presentees against the wishes of recalcitrant congregations, had considerably weakened the establishment. For some time, however, the people, though still hating the act, had given over all resistance to its operation, and, when dissatisfied with their minister, either wandered off to the nearest dissenting church or built one for themselves. Towards the latter end of the eighteenth century there had been quiet in the Kirk: but it was not a wholesome quiet. Soldiers were not often called out to protect a presbytery in ordaining an unacceptable minister; but grey-headed men lifted their Bibles from the pews, and bade farewell for ever to the church they loved. There was peace, but in some parts of the country it was only because the clergyman had made a lonely desert of the parish kirk.

Of course, when the Evangelical revival came, there followed also a revived opposition to the law of patronage, which gradually increased with the increasing power of the popular party, till in 1832 Dr. Chalmers carried in the General Assembly what was known as the Veto Law. This act simply granted the power of veto to a congregation, and required the presbyteries of the Church to give effect to such a veto, without any reason being adduced, but just the simple fact that the people did not wish the presentee. As the law stood previously, the Church courts could refuse to ordain any one if reasonable grounds were stated for so doing, and the reasonable grounds were defined to be any matter affecting his doctrine, learning, or morals. Dr. Chalmers was not disposed to interfere with the patron's right to present; but he thought it was competent for the Church to direct her own courts so far, and substantially to say if the people do not *call* the presentee, if they are not so satisfied that they can honestly say, we wish this man to be our teacher, that should be held to be enough. They might have very good reason for vetoing him, which yet they could not explain and establish by proof. It should be sufficient if they did not feel profited, or likely to be profited, by his ministry. This act did not seem to him to traverse in any way the law of the land. It only defined for presbyteries the ground on which they were to exercise their undoubted right of saying whether they should ordain a presentee or not. In this view he was supported by several constitutional lawyers and judges of the highest eminence; and had the moderate party not driven matters so far, during the previous century, it is probable that this view would have been held to be the real constitutional principle of the Scottish Church.

For a time the veto appeared to work very well, though the Church did, now and then, carry matters with a pretty high hand, instead of acting with the caution and thoughtfulness with which it is always necessary to enforce new laws. At length, however, the Earl of Kinnoul, having presented a clergyman to the living of Auchterarder, who was vetoed by the parishioners, determined to try his rights as patron, and brought the matter before the civil courts. It is not necessary to go into the details of litigation which now for some years agitated the Church of Scotland. It was never of much interest except to the people of that country, and is now a matter of little moment even to them, the course of events having carried them far beyond the point at which they stood then. It is difficult even to fancy, in these days, the excitement which then prevailed, and the eager anxiety with which legal pleadings were perused, and the sad feelings with which legal sentences were deplored. Enough that, by a majority, the judges of the Court of Session decided against the Veto Law, as an act quite incompetent for the Church to have passed, and required the presentee to Auchterarder to be settled unless reasons affecting his doctrine, morals, or literature could be established against him. By this time, also, other patrons had followed the example of Lord Kinnoul, and other presentees the example of Mr. Young; and in particular a gentleman, having got a presentation to the parish of Marnoch in Strathbogie, the presbytery there, being enjoined by the Church to delay and by the civil court to proceed to ordination, chose to obey the latter, and, being summoned before the General Assembly, were, perhaps somewhat hastily, deposed for contumacy. This was the critical point in the collision between Church and State. Other stages of the question may be passed over, as no more of general interest. But at this point the ancient spirit of the Scottish Church and Scottish people took fire, and passed beyond control of politicians altogether, who did not understand the matter in the least. It may be safely asserted that the Veto Law, out of which the whole trouble arose, might have been held to be illegal—that the patron might have resumed his so-called rights till parliament saw meet to interfere—for these were confessedly matters on which the Church admitted the state had a right to determine for itself what its own action should be. But it was opposed to all the most cherished traditions of the Kirk that her courts should be ordered by the civil power to ordain a minister against their own conscientious conviction of duty, and that ministers whom in the exercise of their legitimate power the General Assembly had deposed or suspended should be maintained in their office by the courts of law. The presentee, it was said, though rejected by the Church, and therefore incapable of discharging spiritual functions, might continue to receive the salary if the state saw fit. In like manner, also, the deposed ministers of Strathbogie might continue to draw their stipends if the Court of Session declined to give civil effect to the Church's decision. There were two distinct spheres, the one belonging sacredly to the state, the other as sacredly to the Church. The General Assembly had no power over the temporalities, such as manse, glebe, or stipend; but neither had the Court of Session any authority in the matter of spiritualities, such as ordination, deposition, and the like. Thus what was originally a question of the rights of patrons came finally to be a collision of authorities; and it was argued that the General Assembly was a legally recognised court of ecclesiastical appeal whose authority was final in all spiritual matters, so that the Court of Session had no more right to reverse its decisions than the Court of Chancery could have to overthrow a verdict of the Court of Arches or the Privy Council. And this supposed legal authority seemed to the Evangelical majority only a recognition on the part of the state of the kingship or supremacy of Christ over His Church, to maintain which inviolate they were prepared to make any sacrifices, and endure any amount of loss and suffering.

Whether their views were right or wrong, it is not for us to decide; we are mere historians. But we may venture to say this much, that these were manifestly the ideas historically associated with the Scotch Church history, and defended by Knox, Melville, Henderson, and Gillespie, and which, it was thought, had been substantially secured for her by the Revolution settlement. Had the Church in 1688 supposed there was any doubt about her independent jurisdiction in matters spiritual, it is, to say the least, very doubtful if she would have become the loyal and faithful institution she had so long been. And it cannot be doubted now that the men who, under the guidance of Chalmers, proceeded to violate the interdicts of the civil court, and to set its authority at naught, did so under a firm conviction that they were upholding the constitution of the Church which the courts of law had violated, just as in England the House of Commons resented a similar interference of the sheriff with its recognised privilege. But the government, whether Whig or Tory, would not recognise the essential difference between the constitution of the Scotch Kirk and the Anglican Establishment, neither could they understand what a firm hold those ideas had on the minds of the clergy and people of that country. Attempts, indeed, of a feeble kind were made to compose matters by the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Aberdeen, which last carried a bill authorising the presbyteries to give effect to any objections of a tangible kind that the people might urge against a presentee. But by this time the question had passed out of that region altogether, and become a far more difficult one regarding the independent jurisdiction of the Church. Even as to the original matter of patronage, the spirit of the people was changed, and the veto would no longer have satisfied them, nor anything less than entire abolition of the Act of Queen Anne. Nor would that of itself have sufficed, unless the autonomy of the Church had been secured, and her power to determine finally all questions that properly belong to her spiritual functions. And this the state would not concede. Who was to determine what is spiritual and what is not? If the Church claimed that power for herself, it was exactly what the Roman Catholic Church had done, and had encroached on, and crippled the civil authority. Who could guarantee that the Presbyterian Kirk might not some day prove equally ambitious? There can be no doubt that this was where the pinch lay. At present the leaders of the Church were wise and judicious men, not at all disposed to go beyond their proper province. But unless they could have presented a distinct table of rights and functions, that were to be recognised by the state as properly spiritual and outside of its province, it was clearly impossible to legislate in general terms, granting power to the Church to take cognisance of all matters spiritual, and also to determine what are or are not spiritual. On this point the government had no hesitation, and made no attempt even to approach the Church, and attempt a solution of the difficulty. Probably they were the less careful to do so because of the violent language in which some of the more extreme men indulged, and which was, of course, duly reported and commented on. But, indeed, it is difficult to see how they could have legislated about it to any purpose; for if the Church has the right to say what is spiritual, the state has equally the right to define what is civil, and that right no government or parliament can alienate from the land. It was certainly unfortunate that parliament, prepossessed by English ideas, did not from the beginning well understand the Scotch business; it was no less unfortunate that government did not believe in the strength of those convictions under which the majority of the Church had acted; for otherwise it is hardly conceivable that they would have allowed the Church to be rent asunder without some more intelligent effort to compose those quarrels. So it was, however, that at length, after a struggle of some ten years' duration, the majority of the Assembly, which contained also the men of highest intellect and greatest moral power in the Church, the very men who most passionately loved the Church, and had done more than any to strengthen its bulwarks, and to restore its ancient fame, resolved to secede from an establishment in which they could no longer remain with a good conscience. They could not, at the orders of any foreign power, ordain ministers in the Church of Christ against the clearly expressed wishes of the people. They could not recognise men as ministers in the Church who had been solemnly deposed by the Assembly for grave ecclesiastical offences. They could not decline to preach in obedience to the orders of the Church in the parishes of those deposed ministers, even though interdicted by the civil powers, for they believed the state had no right to say where they might preach or where they might not, so long as they were not disturbing the lieges. In all these things they believed they were only obeying that higher power to whom they had sworn supreme allegiance, and also were maintaining the ancient constitutional rights of the Church. But if they were mistaken in this last, and they allowed that the state was of course entitled to say whether they were so or not, then they were prepared to sacrifice all the privilege of their position as an established church, that they might be free to act as conscience required of them. Thus it was that in 1843 the great disruption broke up the once compact and dominant national Church of Scotland. It was a high act of faith when nearly five hundred ministers, after solemn protest, walked in grave procession out of the General Assembly, whose counsels their high-minded leaders had so long guided by their eloquence, and fired with their ardour. In that act they bade farewell to the pleasant manses where their children had been born, and where they had experienced so many of the joys and sorrows of life, and to the quiet old churches in which they had striven week after week to bring men to God, and had seen haply not a few gathered into the fold of Christ; and to all honourable social privilege and pleasant associations bound up with the position of parish minister; and to all the assured means of decent livelihood; and cast themselves unreservedly on the promise of their Master and their God. I do not say that they had not taken such steps as a wise prudence suggested for men in their novel circumstances. To walk by faith is not to walk like a fool. Moral economies had always been a favourite subject on which the genius of Chalmers exercised itself. And anxious to retain in the new voluntary church, as far as possible, the benefits which he had once thought peculiar to church establishments, and to secure the advantages of religious worship for the poor as well as the rich, he had already prepared the scheme of a great central sustentation fund to be supplied by the weekly or monthly contributions of the people, and to be equally divided among all the ministers of the Church. This was to be the common basis of the finance of the new Free Church; but along with it, and making allowance for the different expense of town and country, was a supplementary system by which individual congregations could add to the income of their clergy as they thought proper. The central fund provided that the very poorest districts should have a minister decently endowed by the voluntary contributions of the whole Church; the supplementary fund allowed the wealthiest congregations to place their clergy on a level with others in the neighbourhood. It was a wise and fruitful scheme; and the people cheerfully responded to it. During the first year they subscribed upwards of 100,000*l.*, besides building churches and manses that cost a million or more. And at this present time, the number of ministers in the Free Church is above nine hundred, and the sustentation fund is somewhere about half a million sterling. The people were enthusiastic, and their leaders were sagacious. Churches, manses, schools sprang up over all the land, though in some places the rights of property were strained by the landlords to prevent the erection of places of worship, and congregations had to meet with their pastors sometimes at cross highways, and sometimes on the sea shore, below the tide level, and that, in the wild inclement seasons of a Highland winter, by which more than one minister came to an untimely end. But they were a law-abiding people, and suffered long. No outbreaks of natural indignation worth speaking of happened. The wind and wet might drive about the Lowland flocks as they stood where the roads met, but they patiently sat on, singing psalms or hearing faithful exhortations. The snow might drift and the sea spray dash on the Highland congregation by the big Atlantic waves; and they, too, sat on uncomplaining, drawing their plaids closer about them, their hearts warming within them to the Gospel they loved so dearly. Of course, the ministers who left drew the majority of their congregations with them. But in many parishes the clergyman remained, while the people took up their Bibles and departed. Over great part of the Highlands hardly a worshipper remained in the parish churches, which to this day continue utterly forsaken but for the minister's family, and perhaps a stranger from the south. Nor was it only in Scotland itself that the old presbyterian spirit was shown. All the missionaries in India and elsewhere followed the Free Church. In the colonies a disruption also took place. Wherever Scotchmen were found, this movement appeared, and everywhere the Church was rent in twain. Everywhere also there was an enthusiasm of voluntary liberality, as if the hearts of all Scotchmen had been opened by the revival of their old passionate love of the Church. Statesmen wondered and regretted; but the thing was now done, and could not be undone. And there was one circumstance in connection with the new Free Church which probably tended in some measure to quiet their alarms. It was practically, no doubt, a voluntary church, but it repudiated the voluntary theory. Dr. Chalmers and the other leaders in the movement had been the chief defenders of establishments in past years. They believed in the Church, if only the Church were what they thought it should be. Therefore they declined to join themselves with any party opposed to establishments. This gave the Kirk a day of grace, and the government comparative peace, if not hope. For had the enthusiastic multitude who now swelled the treasury of the Free Church united with the older seceders, and demanded disestablishment, it would have been difficult for government long to resist the demands of the overwhelming majority of the nation, and of all its foremost and best men. A movement for disestablishment headed by Chalmers, supported by Drs. Brown and Woodlaw, and backed by practically the people of Scotland, would have precipitated the question which is only now, at last, rising into formidable proportions. Chalmers, however, took an early opportunity of avowing that Free Churchmen were not voluntaries, though his far-seeing sagacity could hardly be blind to the fact that no church can long continue to have a theory clearly opposed to its actual position in the world, but must sooner or later become in principle what it is in fact, a voluntary church. To this accordingly the Free Church has been slowly but surely tending. Many of its leading clergy have not hesitated to declare that on this point their opinions have suffered a material change; and they have carried resolutions to the effect that there is nothing in the confession of faith to forbid their holding such views. Vigorous efforts even have been made towards the forming of a union with other dissenting churches which have been long notorious for their outstanding voluntaryism; and though these efforts have as yet failed because they threatened to involve a second disruption, there can be little doubt that they will in the long run succeed. For the original ground of the Free Church has been taken from under her feet by the bill which abolishes lay patronage, and makes the decisions of the Church courts final in all matters connected with the settlement of ministers in parishes. That is a measure which indicates an immense progress of opinion in the course of thirty years. It is partly, no doubt, due to a growing conviction on the part of some that the Free Church was right in 1843, and a wish to rectify matters as far as possible now; partly also to a strong feeling that Lord Aberdeen's feeble measure was a source of trouble and scandal in the Church, and must some way or other be got rid of; but chiefly, at least among politicians, it owes its favour to the hope of strengthening the Established Church, and weakening its opponents by breaking up their ranks. For it is certain that while the first enthusiasm which carried the Free Church along on a wave of triumphant success has been slowly subsiding, while it has disappointed the perhaps groundless hopes of many of its early adherents, the Kirk of Scotland, on the other hand, has largely recovered from the panic with which she was smitten by the disruption, and from the terrible impoverishment then caused by the withdrawal of nearly all its highest intellectual and spiritual power. She is no longer poor in these or other resources of legitimate ecclesiastical influence. Her pulpits are filled by many able and devoted ministers. Her Church courts are guided by sagacious and far-seeing counsellors. Her laity are freely contributing of their substance after the example of other Churches both for the advancement of her home missions and the support of her foreign schemes. And unquestionably she holds her own ground in all the philanthropic and other labours proper to a Christian Church. It is known that there are many in all the seceding churches who would gladly see the restoration of the national Presbyterian Church, at present so broken up into antagonistic fragments. Disestablishment would restore the unity for which they long; but it is likely that politicians, anxious to strengthen the Kirk as a bulwark for the sister establishment in England, may have hoped to secure the same end by popularising the Church, and practically granting all for which the Dissenters originally seceded. Whether this result shall be obtained remains yet to be seen. At present it rather appears as if the voluntary party would be increased by the adhesion of the majority of the Free Church, but it does not seem that any considerable number will return to the establishment.

GENERAL REMARKS.

On a review of the history of the period since the century began, it will be seen that, as we understand it, religion has made a general progress in advance of where it then stood. All the churches show more vital force, more earnest zeal, more vigorous faith in their own convictions; and that is a real gain, for whether a church be orthodox or heretical, it is better to be living than dead. The Protestant may be alarmed at the apparent progress of Romish doctrines, especially among the higher classes; yet a sincere belief in even these is better than the hollow, formal Protestantism which had nothing of religion in it but its tendency to intolerance. It is not a good sign of us that we make so much of the conversion of a young nobleman now and then to that faith, and are so little dismayed at the number of them who are drawn into the race-course, the gambling-house, and the many other shrines reared for the worship of the devil. The nation, meanwhile, shows no tendency to Romeward, for the increase of churches and convents is mainly owing to the immense influx of Irish labour, for which it was right that their church should make larger provision than was necessary before. If there be also a large number of people who have left the Christian Church altogether, and fallen into speculative infidelity, yet it may be noticed even of the infidelity of the age that, in general, it is of a less insolent and ribald kind than in the days of Payne; that it is forced to respect, at least, the moral spirit of the Gospel, and reverences Christ along with other good men and benefactors of the race. One feels that the very scepticisms of this age partake something of the higher character of its faith; they, too, breathe more or less a religious atmosphere. Meanwhile, all the churches, alike established and nonconformist, are very much more in earnest about the work they are set to do. The careless, fox-hunting parson is rarely found now even in the out-lying rectories of York or vicarages of Lincoln, and along with him the Scotch Moderate has almost disappeared from the country manse; nor is the mere political nonconformist any more to be found haranguing about the rights of men, instead of their duties to God. As Dean Stanley lately said, at the unveiling of Bunyan's statue in Bedford, the grim giant Intolerance is pretty nearly dead in Britain; or if now and then, in obscure rural districts, he still lifts up his head a little, and refuses to bury unchristened children, or builds a wall between the consecrated and the unconsecrated dead, there is little he can now do to injure the living; whatever his will is, his power is fairly broken. Throughout the whole Christian community there is a deeper sense of right, and a more general recognition of the law that "we must do to others as we would also that they should do unto us." Everywhere, too, the churches are more anxious to educate the people; everywhere they are labouring together for the moral and material elevation of the poor, to secure them better houses, to teach them better habits, to relieve their distresses, and to sympathise with their sorrows. In such labours the clergy, as the natural leaders, take their fair share, and in general are the inspiring powers; but even where they fail to do their part, their congregations are not behind their neighbours, for the spirit of Christianity is no longer in leading-strings to the clergy, but everywhere shows itself a free spirit of goodness. On the whole, with all the conflicts, and confusions, and distractions of the age, we question if any one could point to a period in former history when religion was more living and earnest than it is now. Our literature manifests quite an unusual interest in religious thought. Our benevolent activities are mainly in the form of religious service. Subjects which would once have been scouted from ordinary social intercourse are the common table-talk of the day. And if there is no small waste of spiritual force, and still no little neglect of spiritual things, there is also more than usual reason to be of good courage, and hope on to the end. The Evangelical and the High Churchman are fain to get up rather feeble "revivals," but, at least, all are anxious to have more life, more sense of the reality of things unseen, more earnestness in doing the work of God. None are satisfied with themselves. None are content to be indifferent. They often contend with each other. They are sometimes uncharitable to each other. But yet they are all desirous to love and serve their common Lord better than they had been doing. No one can have acquainted himself with the state of the Church at the close of the last century without feeling that this is very different from what it was when Parson Trulliber was no unusual spectacle, and Parson Adams was the emblem of saintly life, the highest type of Christian easily conceivable.

No doubt, as we have seen, from the brief sketch we have been able to give, this vital progress has been accompanied with some drawbacks. That was to be expected as a matter of course; there is no such thing in this world as unqualified progress. If there is more earnest life in the English Church, yet one cannot look with unqualified satisfaction on the keen and aggressive High Churchism and Ritualism which prevail so largely in its high places. Living Ritualism, capable of enthusiasm and sacrifice, is better than dead Ritualism capable of nothing but wretched formalism; but it is not possible to see even it, without a little anxiety, verging more and more towards Romanism, repudiating Luther and all the work of the sixteenth century, despising the authority of the bishops, whose office it exalts, and apparently hankering for papal recognition, as an outlying branch of the Catholic Church. Again, Broad Churchism has always been in the English Church, and has been a very wholesome element there. We should be sorry to see its tolerant spirit diminishing in the establishment, or its right to exist there doubted for a moment. If it cherishes wrong views, let them be confuted by Scripture and reason: but so long as it holds the essential doctrines of Christianity, let it hold its place, and do its charitable work there. At the same time, the appearance of a man like Mr. Voysey, and his claim to be a Churchman, afford some ground of reasonable anxiety; because many seem to think that the true doctrine of a national church opens up the established pulpits to all kinds of men holding all kinds of opinions. But manifestly the Church, established or unestablished, must first of all be a Church of Christ; and if it has no faith to teach, no faith in Him as the Son of God and Saviour of the world; if it ordains men who can substantially deny that He is God manifest in the flesh, and who can proclaim a salvation that is substantially independent of Him altogether: in that case we cannot call it a Broad Church, for it is simply no Church at all, no foundation of God, but simply an institution for the discussion of philosophical questions planted in every parish, and addressing itself to audiences very little fitted for the discussion or settlement of such matters. There can be no doubt that the Broad Church doctrine has been broadened by some of its defenders far beyond any church doctrine of any sort; in obvious forgetfulness of the fact that what Christ came to establish was not a school of philosophy but a kingdom of God. That kingdom, indeed, is not mere dogmas, any more than it is "meat and drink"; yet it does imply a certain clear recognition of Him as the Son of God, and allegiance to Him as the Saviour of the world, without which there can be no such thing as a church at all. Hitherto, it may be granted that church theories have been too exclusively based on community of doctrinal opinion; but the half political church theory which modern liberals have manufactured out of the raw material of crude popular rights, in which all distinctions of state and church are abolished, is not a thing which Christian men can regard without a measure of anxiety or even alarm. There is danger, no doubt, in the too stringent definitions of ancient creeds. There is no valid reason for imposing the Athanasian Creed on a clergyman. And many of the Church's confessions are mere snares for tender consciences, excluding the sensitive thinker, and drawing into the Church men of blunted moral ideas. But allowing all that—the Church or kingdom of God is still something different from a mere school of philosophy—it is something which has a faith to teach, not merely an institute for the discussion of religious matters.

There are signs that, even among the more advanced liberals, this is being gradually accepted as truth. The Anti-Patronage Bill in Scotland, e.g., limits the election of ministers not only to clergymen approved by the Church, but confines the electors to the congregation, refusing it to the parish, which the absolute Broad Church theory would have selected for the franchise. Had this last prevailed, men of any views of religion, or of none whatever, might have been chosen; and this was at one time actually proposed in the General Assembly. Happily that idea has had to give way. Of course, in Scotland it never could have prevailed. But scientific men in England appear to hanker for some such appropriation of church lands and income for mere scientific teaching combined with the idea of a moral police. They would sweep away creeds and confessions of all sorts; and in the room of rectors, and vicars, and curates, would plant able and thoughtful scientific teachers, who might have a liturgy to read, who should certainly lead quiet and godly lives for an example to the people, but who at any rate should have a weekly opportunity for expounding and discussing the great questions now agitating scientific circles. That is the natural out-come of the extreme Broad Church doctrine, where the latitudinarian loses hold of the Church altogether. It is not likely that such a view will make rapid way, if, indeed, it makes way at all. But it is quite possible that it may, in the long run, add its contribution to the party of voluntaryism, and help the overthrow of the Established Church. For all those who cannot exactly get their own views carried out by the state may be expected to join more or less with those whose principle it is that the state should not favour the opinions of any party more than another, but should leave truth to make its own way simply in virtue of its being truth, and carrying conviction to men's minds by its own reasonableness. This, be it right or wrong, appears to us to be the principle most likely at present to make way among all parties, and to get itself tried, at least, and fairly put to the proof. On the continent of Europe all creeds are paid, and none of them are satisfied. In America none are endowed, and some say it works well, others think differently; but to all human appearance, this is the plan that will generally be adopted here and elsewhere, realising Cavour's doctrine of a Free State and a Free Church.

CHAPTER IV.

History of Literature, Science, and Art, from A.D. 1837 to A.D. 1873.

Part I.—Poetic Literature.

SECTION I.

ALFRED TENNYSON.

If called upon to give a chronological landmark pointing out, as nearly as such a thing can be pointed out, the time at which the transition between the poetry of the earlier part of the present century and that characteristic of its middle period was effected, we should select the ten years between 1830 and 1840. The orchestral music which filled the general ear in the first quarter of the century had died away. Scott, Byron, Campbell, Shelley belonged to the past, and Wordsworth was to the new generation which surrounded him "less an actual man than a marble bust, already in its niche of fame, the lips closed in majestic silence, never more to solicit their applause." In 1830 and 1832 there stole into the world two small poetical volumes, of which, at a first glance, one would probably have said little more than that they were extremely unlike any poetical volumes which had gone before them. The author, Alfred Tennyson, might be presumed to be acquainted with the works of his poetical predecessors, but neither of Scott, nor Byron, nor even Wordsworth, could he be said to be a pupil. Of Shelley and Keats, some might imagine that they traced a stronger influence, but in truth it would have been difficult to make out that the very first lines in the earliest volume of the new poet, those headed 'Claribel,' had a distinct resemblance to any other verses in the language. 'Claribel' is a strange little wail of lyrical melody about "the mossed headstone" where "Claribel low lieth." 'Lilian' and 'Isabel,' and several other poems cast in the same general mould, in the tiny volume, are lyrical word-portraits or character-pictures of ladies known or imagined by the poet. The interest is in the exquisite finish, the delicate brilliancy of the execution; incident, life-story, even so much as we might have in one of the briefest, simplest ballads of Scott or Moore, are lacking. There is rather more of tale in the 'Mariana.' The lonely, moated grange, the sluice with blackened waters "about a stone cast from the wall," the solitary poplar, "for leagues no other tree," that shook alway, the shadow cast upon the bed at midnight by the low moon, are detailed with lingering minuteness. But this is only the framing of the picture, and amid all this melancholy circumstance, perfect in imaginative keeping, the figure of the forsaken woman stands out only the more distinctly before us. We have not, however, the woman as a whole; the poem is an intense realisation of one mood of feminine feeling. Remarkable among these earliest poems of Tennyson's is the 'Recollections of the Arabian Nights.' The piece is an elaborate imaginative delineation of Oriental splendour, the daring with which the poet gives each detail reminding us of Keats in 'Lamia;' but the climax of the whole brings us to the feet of Haroun Alrashid, and all the descriptive jewel-work of the poem falls into its place around the portrait of the monarch. In the 'Deserted House,' the house being the human body deserted of life, and 'Oriana,' a ballad in which a lover shoots his bride by mistake, the new poet showed strength almost unexampled in a very young artist. There were one or two aspiring semi-philosophical pieces, the 'Poet' and the 'Poet's Mind,' and several consisting of wild prismatic fancies set to light yet rhythmic music, the 'Sea-fairies,' the 'Dying Swan,' the 'Merman' and 'Mermaid.' Many of the poems bore witness to the author's identity as a Lincolnshire man. The landscape in 'Mariana' is essentially a Lincolnshire landscape. "From the dark fen the oxen's low" reaches the ear of the lady on her desolate bed. In the 'Ode to Memory' there is marvellous scenery painting of a similar kind; and we are tempted to say that no poet, working with materials so unpromising, has produced a nobler effect in this sort than Tennyson reaches towards the conclusion of that poem. The poet speaks of memory as recalling the landscapes of the past. Whatever of sublimity there is in Lincolnshire—the vast morasses, with the water-courses stretching from horizon to horizon—whatever of beauty can be wooed to live in such a waste—garden-bowers, fragrant with trailing rose, and calmly bright with crowned lilies—we have in the verses of the boy Tennyson.

To the tiny volume of 1830, in which all the poems we have named appeared, the public paid almost no attention; and critics who examined it were for the most part not only surprised but indignant. One critic, indeed, ventured to hail the unknown author as a man of great and original genius, but the Westminster Reviewer was almost alone. Wilson was roused to a fiercer contempt than he might otherwise have manifested by the ecstasies of this eulogist. He wrote a slashing article in 'Blackwood,' administering to Tennyson the chastisement which he deemed suitable to a conceited and over-praised youngster. It is fair to Wilson to mention that a few really feeble and puerile pieces, omitted in later editions, lent countenance to his charges of conceit and childishness. At the close of the article, besides, the critic makes handsome admission that the volume contained beautiful poetry, and seems to indicate that the suspicion was stealing over him that the Westminster estimate might not be so far wrong after all. He gave excellent advice to the young poet—to fling to the winds all affectation, quaintness, conceit, puerility, and to trust less to fine words and more to sympathetic delineation of simple, homely, heart-revealing facts.

Whether young Tennyson had the rare wisdom "to hear his detractions and put them to mending," or whether he was undeterred by Wilson's friendly banter from profiting by his good advice, we cannot tell: but certain it is that, among the poems in Tennyson's second volume, published in 1832, were many in which the interest turned upon the play of the simplest human affections, and that, while the exquisite finish of the workmanship showed, to say the least, no falling off, a far bolder and broader touch was used in the description of men and manners. Popular, in the ordinary sense, the poems were not. The "enchanted reverie" of the poet, spell-bound by his own inspiration, and finding so much delight in his own music as to be indifferent whether it brought him the meed of general admiration or did not, was still evinced in his work. The 'Lady of Shalott," the first of the poems of 1832, illustrates this remark. It reaches the ear like a long, sweet, far away strain of music, played almost in a monotone, and heard in a dream. The imaginative harmony of the poem is perfect, but indeed there is no poet who, in this high quality, excels Tennyson. Every tint of his colouring, every tone of his melody, is in keeping with every other tint and every other tone. The landscape of the 'Lady of Shalott' corresponds with the dreamy plaintiveness of the general tone. There are no mountains, no splendour of cloud, or crag, or storm. The long fields of barley and of rye clothe the wold until it rises in slow undulation to the horizon; the river flows for ever round the four grey walls and four grey towers in the silent isle: willows whiten, aspens quiver on the bank, when the faint breeze lifts their leaves; slow horses trail heavy barges, or the light, silken-sailed shallop flits past, no one hailing it; and in the centre of all, unseen, looking into the depth of the enchanted mirror, is the lady. No eye has beheld her; but at dawn, and in the late evening, the reaper hears her song as he piles the sheaves. It is a landscape of sad trees, willow and aspen, the hills very low (only low hills, under a weeping atmosphere, are "willowy"). Colour seems to break out upon us when the sun comes dazzling through the leaves, and the helmet and the helmet-feather, burning together as one flame, flash into the mirror. But the central image of the poem recalls us from brightness and daylight, and makes us feel that we are in a region of dim and solemn enchantment. Lancelot rides on, not in the pride of his strength, like the sun at dawn, but like "some bearded meteor, trailing light," which, beneath the stars, moves through the purple night over still Shalott. The author of this piece was evidently a musing, dream-haunted poet, who would always regard with aversion the stock imagery and stage effect of vulgarly brilliant poetry.

But there were other and very different poems, besides the 'Lady of Shalott,' in the volume of 1832. There were, on the one hand, poems of homely feeling and simple incident, such as the 'Miller's Daughter,' 'Lady Clare,' the 'Lord of Burleigh,' 'Dora,' the 'May Queen,' the 'Talking Oak,' and, on the other, poems of the most ambitious kind, embodying high intellectual truths, or touching daringly upon the problems of contemporary civilisation, such as the 'Palace of Art,' the lines beginning, "Of old sat Freedom on the heights," the 'Two Voices,' and 'Locksley Hall.' In both cases the execution of the poems was exquisitely delicate, but in the one kind it was the artless delicacy of the dewdrop; in the other the elaborate cutting and rich setting of the diamond. There were other poems which may be described as having a character intermediate to that of these two. They are poems of picture, pure and simple, in which it is difficult to say whether any lesson is taught, any moral inculcated, any truth embodied, but which glow with colour, are perfect in literary form, and delineate with faultless accuracy and expressiveness some phase of emotion, as in the 'Lotus Eaters,' and the 'Day Dream,' or some series of solemn and tragic occurrences, as in the 'Dream of Fair Women.' It is not too much to say that every poem which has been named is a masterpiece; but the list by no means exhausts the masterpieces in this volume. 'Ulysses,' a blank verse poem of sixty or seventy lines, is, for its size, one of the most astonishing poems in the language. In terseness, in dignified brevity and vividness of phrase, it frequently recalls the manner of Shakespeare.

> "Much have I seen and known; cities of men,
> And manners, climates, councils, governments,
> Myself not least but honoured of them all;
> And drunk delight of battle with my peers,
> Far on the ringing plains of windy Troy."

The restrained contempt with which the greatly enjoying, greatly suffering old man regards his pacific son—"mine own Telemachus"—who is "most blameless," "centred in the sphere of common duties," against whom no murmur of complaint is to be permitted to pass the lip or even to shape itself consciously in the mind, but in perpetual converse with whom life is intolerable, is deep and fine as an effort in character-painting. Nor less perfect in its way is the call of the old hero, after he has impatiently dismissed his son in the words, "he works his work, I mine," to his mariners to re-embark with him:—

> "There lies the port: the vessel puffs her sail:
> There gloom the dark broad seas. My mariners,
> Souls that have toiled, and wrought, and thought with me—
> That ever with a frolic welcome took
> The thunder and the sunshine, and opposed
> Free hearts, free foreheads—you and I are old;
> Old age hath yet his honour and his toil;
> Death closes all: but something ere the end,
> Some work of noble note, may yet be done,
> Not unbecoming men that strove with gods.
> The lights begin to twinkle from the rocks:
> The long day wanes; the slow moon climbs; the deep
> Moans round with many voices. Come, my friends,
> 'Tis not too late to seek a newer world."

It is no valid objection to this admirable poem that the mariners who shared the wanderings of Ulysses, who escaped with him from the cave of Polyphemus, and heard with him the song of the Sirens, were all "buried fathom-deep in brine" before the many-counselled returned to take vengeance on the suitors, and to re-embrace Penelope. So Homer sang; but Tennyson was under no compulsion to follow Homer.

We must not pass on without remarking that, in at least two of the poems of 1832, Mr. Tennyson displayed the deep vein of religious feeling, the deep vein, also, of philosophical thought, which are in his nature. The first of these is the 'Palace of Art,' the second the 'Two Voices.' The thesis poetically vindicated in the 'Palace of Art' is that intellectual culture cannot constitute a sufficient object for human life, and that the sense of the beautiful, assisted by all the lower senses and appetites of man, cannot bestow real or lasting happiness. In selfish isolation, in refined superiority to the delights of human fellowship, in proud indifference to the judgment and to the mercy of God, no human soul finds peace. This proposition the poet establishes, not by logical argumentation, but by the higher logic of imaginative and intuitive vision. He gives the soul all that the soul can desire in the way of beauty, of knowledge, of worldly delights. A palace is built for her of radiant splendour; through painted windows stream the lights, rose, amber, emerald blue; enthroned in her pride, the portraits of wise men looking down upon her, she sits to sing her songs alone. For three years she prospers. Then she is suddenly struck through with pangs of beneficent agony;

> "Lest she should fail and perish utterly.
> God, before whom ever lie bare
> The abysmal deeps of Personality,
> Plagued her with sore despair."

A year of terrible, changeful anguish follows. The torment of the soul is bodied forth in a succession of the most ghastly and appalling images. At last,

> "She howled aloud, 'I am on fire within!
> There comes no murmur of reply.
> What is it that will take away my sin,
> And save me lest I die?'"

She throws away her royal robes, and cries for "a cottage in the vale," where she "may mourn and pray." The last stanza is significant. The soul says:—

> "Yet pull not down my palace towers, that are
> So lightly, beautifully built:
> Perchance I may return with others there,
> When I have purged my guilt."

Tennyson evidently suggests that it is not necessary for man, in order that he may remain "true to the kindred points of heaven and home," to abandon culture. The palace towers, in all their beauty, may be inhabited, but not in arrogant, godless solitude, not in icy indifference to God and man.

The 'Two Voices' is a profound metaphysical dialogue clothed in a vesture of loveliest poetry. "This poem," it has been remarked, "is, perhaps, unique. It is in the highest sense philosophic, nay, metaphysical, throughout; yet no lyrical trill of undiluted melody, no lilt sung by village maiden, was ever more purely and entirely poetical." The one voice argues that it were best to curse God and die; the other that it were best to praise God and live. The argument is maintained not under syllogistic but symbolic forms. The imagery of nature becomes vocal, and speaks on the one side and the other. Sorrow is not an abstract term, but the morning weeping "in her still place," or the daisy touched by the foot of death. Joy is written in the sunny calm of a sabbath morn, and in the flowers that hide the grass. "If doubt, disappointed hope, vain aspiration, are shadowed forth, they are emblemed by the mist of the hill and by the crag, momentarily seen, then hidden behind its wreathing folds. If courage and resolution are the theme, we see the flashing of the battle in the distance, and mark the gleam on the face of the dying warrior as he watches the last victorious charge." Unless we bear in mind that the poem is emblematic, and unless we have skill in deciphering nature's emblematic language, we shall find the piece obscure; but, to an eye that can see, it beams with light. The voice of hope and faith is in the end triumphant. The voice of "the spirit that denies" fails to prove a universal negative, to make "all the horizon dark." The light of the sabbath morn breaks out.

> "On to God's house the people prest:
> Passing the place where each must rest,
> Each entered like a welcome guest."

The extraordinary power and the profound originality of these poems were attested by the revolution —for no other word is strong enough to describe the effect—which they produced in national taste and in the practice of poets. Tennyson—sneered at by flippant reviewers, depreciated by middle-aged men, who could not admit the new-comer to a throne side by side with the poets who had reigned supreme in their boyhood—gradually made his way to recognition as our greatest living poet. The suffrage of the American division of the English-speaking race was also in his favour. Admiration of his work became with young intellectual enthusiasts of both sexes a passion, and the picturesque tints of Scott, Byron's splendid rhetoric and biting sarcasm, and Wordsworth's majestic thoughtfulness, gave place, as the model and the inspiring ideal of young poets, to Tennyson's elaborate finish, and careful modulation, and calm breadths of glowing colour, and intense scrutiny—as with a burning glass—of the aspects and prospects of modern civilisation. These last words are specially applicable to "Locksley Hall." The hero of this poem, disappointed in love, and failing to obtain scope for his energies in action, looks into "the vision of the world, and all the wonder that will be," dares to predict a time when "the war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle-flags are furled in the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world." That dread, on the one hand, and that hatred and hostility, on the other, which have characterised the relation between the aristocracies (landed or moneyed) of Europe and the toiling millions are bodied forth in the following stanzas with a felicity and an accuracy not to be surpassed :—

> "Slowly comes a hungry people, as a lion, creeping nigher,
> Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly dying fire."

And when from the passion and speculation of 'Locksley Hall,' we turn to the "golden languors" of 'Eleanore,' of the 'Lotus Eaters,' the 'Day Dream,' we feel that, strangely united by deep resemblances in manner of handling as all these early poems of Tennyson are, the range over which his genius swept was exceedingly wide. "As a poet of unparalleled civilisation," it has been observed, "Tennyson occasionally reflects a mood, differing in a peculiar and remarkable way from any of the moods of passion. Not a few of his poems suggest a time of wearied emotion and jaded sympathy, when passion, as it throbs in human breasts, is looked upon for its artistic effects, and contemplated in unparticipating, unimpassioned admiration. Civilisation lies languid on her noonday couch, oppressed with the weight of her own crown, faint in the sun of her own prosperity. This characteristic of his poetry must have struck Mrs. Browning as distinctive, when she described that poetry in the words 'enchanted reverie.'"

A considerable amount of space has been devoted to those poems of Tennyson which appeared in 1832, or previously, because it was by these that his reputation as a great original poet was gained in England, America, and on the continent of Europe, and because they displayed all the peculiarity and all the power of his genius. It will not be necessary to dwell upon his subsequent works. The first of these which appeared after 1832 was the 'Princess.' It is a narrative poem, written in light, gay, almost serio-comic style, and describes the founding of a university for behoof of ladies (with collateral bearings upon the improvement of mankind in general), and the decline and fall of the project under the influence of old-fashioned, irresistible love. Some of the lyrics which occur in this poem, as "Tears, idle tears," and "Blow, bugle, blow," are extremely fine, but as a whole it can hardly be said to have added to the fame of the author. The subject-matter was too romantic for reality, and too real for romance.

Tennyson's next important publication was 'In Memoriam.' Between the poet and Arthur Hallam, the son of the historian, there had existed a deep and ardent friendship. The latter died in his youth, while prosecuting a continental tour. The event shadowed the life of Tennyson; but his sorrow was of that kind which does not paralyse the intellect or crush the heart, and is consistent with the highest order of mental effort. The poet does not seem to have formed the idea of writing an elegy or eulogy in honour of his friend; but at intervals, in the course of years, he gave expression to his grief and love in strains of tenderest wailing, or august and solemn thought. The pieces were united in imaginative keeping, in tone of feeling, and in form of stanza, but in subject they varied greatly. Grief and love threw their melancholy yet lovely radiance over many scenes and incidents. The maiden combing golden hair, that she may be fair in the eye of her lover whose foot is on the way, but will never cross the threshold; the bride bidding adieu to her father's house, and entering, amid sadness and joy, other realms of love; the true wife, whose husband, though he continues to love her, moves in a sphere apart from and higher than hers, as a statesman or a thinker; the friends of boyhood who part on the village green, the one to return to the furrow and remain toiling there for life, the other to ascend the steeps of fame or empire; the simple girl kneeling at her bedside, morning and evening, and the strong man, racked with thought, falling with his weight of anguish upon "the great world's altar stairs that slope through darkness up to God," move in the solemn and magnificent procession of the poem. 'In Memoriam' is, on the whole, Tennyson's masterpiece, and must be pronounced, in clear recollection of what has deen done in this style by Milton and Shelley, the noblest elegiac poem in the English language.

Of 'Maud' we shall say almost nothing. That within the compass of the poem might be found passages of beauty, power, and melody, is undeniable, but its level of excellence is below that common to Tennyson. After publishing 'Maud,' he devoted himself chiefly to the composition of a series of poems founded upon the semi-mythical legends of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. In 1832 he had given the hint to critical observers that his Muse had gone treasure-seeking in this direction. 'The Lady of Shalott,' already mentioned, is an Arthurian ballad, the mysterious, nameless lady being Elaine, and a principal part in the piece being played by Lancelot. The 'Morte d'Arthur,' in blank verse, is introduced to the reader, in a light introduction, as part of an epic. It narrates, in blank verse of astonishing compactness and force, the legend of King Arthur's departure, after being wounded in his last battle, "to the island-valley of Avilion," borne away in a dusky barge where three queens weep.

In 1859 appeared the 'Idylls of the King,' four poems from the Arthurian period, 'Enid,' 'Vivien,' 'Elaine,' 'Guinevere.' The name of each poem is the name of a woman famed in Arthurian romance, and with each woman is associated in each poem an equally famous man. Enid and Geraint, Vivien and Merlin, Elaine and Lancelot, Guinevere and Arthur, fill the canvas in the separate pieces. Subsequently no fewer than five other pieces connected with the same theme were published. The series, now formally complete, was thrown by the author into its ultimate shape. It consists of three parts, first, the 'Coming of Arthur;' second, the 'Round Table;' third, the 'Passing of Arthur.' The whole poem, accordingly, ends with the part which seems to have been first written, and which was given to the world in 1832. It would, we think, be generally admitted that, though the first has become last in the order in which the pieces are printed, the last continues first in respect of merit. In one or two passages of the subsequent pieces, a higher note may have been struck than in the 'Morte d'Arthur,' but, in sustained excellence, in epic severity combined with grandeur, this piece is, as a whole, at least equal to any of the others. We have here a striking proof of the early maturity of Tennyson's genius. It admits, however, of question whether the rare and opulent power displayed in these Arthurian poems was worthily bestowed by the author. The period they illustrate was the dreariest that has passed over England since civilisation reached her shores. Almost nothing is known with precision of the time, but this very fact goes far to prove the prevailing abjectness. The British islanders had sunk too low to have any relic of a literature. Centuries of peaceable life under the Romans had softened the old fibre and destroyed the old courage of the race. Not permitted to carry arms or practice war, they had become feeble in body and in mind, the slaves of childish superstitions, and were unable to stand the onset of those bold and fierce invaders whom they despised as heathens, but cowered before as men. Christianity, which had probably taken root in the island in the first century of our era, had become a weak asceticism, with accompaniments of specially foolish relic-worship and miracles. Such was the state of things under which the cup brought from Judæa to Glastonbury went amissing, and was sought for as the Holy Grail. All capacity to understand and appreciate Christianity had been lost, and the vague notion which had taken possession of the Knights of the Round Table—if indeed it can be affirmed that, through the wavering dusk of fable, any historical fact whatever relating to those personages is traceable—seems to have been that national salvation was to be wrought out by recovering the cup which had been lost. Out of materials like these no epic structure could be reared comparable with the great epics of literature. The mediæval Church was immeasurably superior to the early British Church, and the knights of the middle ages were men. King Arthur and his warriors are pale, flitting, ghostly creatures, that hardly belong to the solid earth. It is only, however, when compared with Tennyson's best work that even the worst parts of his Arthurian poems appear poor. Every one of the pieces contains admirable poetry and the 'Vivien,' the 'Guinevere,' and the 'Morte d'Arthur' are masterly.

On the death of Wordsworth, Tennyson was appointed Poet-Laureate. The place was his due. With a few dissentients in favour of Mr. Browning, he would be acknowledged, both by the critical few and the mass of the reading public, to be the greatest living poet among the vast population which uses the English language.

SECTION II.

FESTUS.

In 1839 there was published, in London, 'Festus, a Dramatic Poem,' by Philip James Bailey. In size it equalled about five Shakespearian dramas put together. From beginning to end of this vast mass of literary matter a sparkle of poetic imagery was kept up, and the power of the poet seemed as fresh in the closing as in the opening lines. It appeared that the author was but twenty-three years old. In a few poetic words addressed to the reader by way of epilogue, he declared that "he spake inspired," thought coming to him, night and day, "unhelped, undesired, like blood to his heart." He had gone through, he said, a severe course of study, and as a reward saw a few bright seeds in his heart. He sowed these, and the poem was the fruit. To the literal correctness of this the work bears witness. Mr. Bailey, after completing his university career, came to London, and read extensively in the British Museum Library and elsewhere. The store-house of his mind became full, the ardour of youth and genius in its flood-tide impelled him to pour forth his accumulated treasures; and wealth gathered from many poetic lands gleamed on his page. The general plan of the poem was adopted, too frankly to render a formal avowal necessary, from Goethe's 'Faust.' The opening scene has some passages which are literally paraphrased from that of Goethe's poem, and some of the chief *dramatis personæ* in the two poems are essentially the same. Goethe borrowed from the book of Job, and why, it may be asked, should not Mr. Bailey borrow from him? There is no reason, we reply; but a second borrowing is still less original than a first. The English poet follows the German, also, in explicitly stating that the human being whom the devil is permitted to tempt shall ultimately be saved. So long as Faust aspired after goodness and truth—so long as he strove—he might err, but he could not fall utterly into the power of Mephistopheles. Festus, the Faust of Mr. Bailey, is also but partially delivered over to the tempter. His soul remains in the keeping of his Maker.

> "Upon his soul
> Thou hast no power. All souls are mine for aye,
> And I do give thee leave to this, that he

May know My love is more than all his sins,
And prove unto himself that nought but God
Can satisfy the soul He maketh great."

But the Lucifer of 'Festus' differs completely from the Mephistopheles of 'Faust.' To the Mephistopheles of the second part of Goethe's work, Lucifer has indeed some resemblance, but the Mephistopheles of the second part of 'Faust' is a mere phantom—illuminated, shall we say, with metaphysical, æsthetic, and other gases—or ghost of the Mephistopheles of part first. And even the Mephistopheles of Goethe's second part is a more conceivable devil than Mr. Bailey's Lucifer. Out of this last, in fact, the diabolical nature is almost wholly eliminated. Except that he once puts a crowd in a rage by telling them he is the devil, an assertion which, considering that he has just been addressing to them a decidedly evangelical sermon, naturally surprises them, we can detect nothing devilish about him. In Mr. Bailey's hands Lucifer seems to realise the amiable expectation of some Christian fathers that the devil would be converted. Lucifer speaks thus:—

"For Thy glory only can I act
And for Thy creatures' good. When creatures stray
Farthest from Thee, then warmest towards them burns
Thy love, even as yon sun beams hottest on
The earth when distant most."

Lucifer has quite lost the sneer which Satan has in the book of Job, and which Mephistopheles retains in the opening scene of 'Faust.' He has devoted himself to metaphysics, and has become an undeniable bore. The only traditional quality of the devil which he retains is that of wandering up and down, and travelling through the air. He treats Festus to an animated and inspiring ride round the world,—one of the most brilliant passages in the poem. But his favourite pursuit is metaphysics. He is eminent in the art of giving good advice, and had he entered the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli would have pronounced him a very didactic gentleman. His remarks on heaven are more than edifying, e.g.:—

"Heaven is no place;
Unless it be a place with God, allwhere.
It is the being good—the knowing God—
The consciousness of happiness and power:
With knowledge which no spirit e'er can lose,
But doth increase in every state; and aught
It most delights in the full leave to do."

Sound doctrine, surely, but would it not have been more consistent with dramatic verisimilitude to put it into the mouth of an eloquent Methodist minister, or of a bishop famed for the thoughtfulness of his sermons, than into the devil's? The truth is that dramatic talent was of all others the talent which Mr. Bailey most conspicuously lacked in composing 'Festus.' His principal characters, human and diabolical, male and female, talk in the same instructive, hortative, and upon the whole, in spite of the metaphoric splendour of the diction, wearisome fashion. Festus on one occasion favours a lady with a discourse on "the nature of all spiritual things," nearly as long as a book of 'Paradise Lost,' yet she wants more.

"Do let me hear;
Thy talk is the sweet extract of all speech,
And holds mine ear in blissful slavery."

It is painful to relate that the hero's ability as a listener is so inferior to the lady's that, when he has unburdened himself of his metaphysics, and she volunteers a song, four verses of it put him asleep. She exclaims pathetically:—

"He sleeps! the fate of many a gracious mortal
This, to be stranded on a drowsy ear."

We may be permitted, however, to believe that the fair auditor had dozed a little when Festus got to about the ninth page of his lecture. Perhaps it was to disguise this fact that she asked for more.

Let it not be supposed that we wish to cast derision upon this remarkable work. Plainly, however, it labours under the defect of non-observance of those conditions by which ordinary human beings are limited. There are periods when metaphysical aspiration takes possession of the youth of a country. Such a period followed in Germany upon the publication of Kant's 'Critique of Pure Reason,' and under the influence of Sir William Hamilton a similar phenomenon, on a smaller scale, was observable in Scotland. Mr. Bailey, though by birth an Englishman, studied at the university of Glasgow, and we may probably thus account for the fact that, when his genius forced itself into expression, poetry and metaphysics were blended in one impetuous stream. The union was not propitious. The utmost splendour of poetic diction could not render philosophico-theological disquisition enjoyable by a large public, and a just taste in poetry required a more severe regard to the forms of poetic art than was compatible with analytic reasoning. The characters were not felt to be alive. They had no racy human traits about them, no discriminating peculiarities, no humour. They belonged to a race of men, women, angels, and demons which had the one peculiarity of being enthusiastically metaphysical. In the purely lyrical and descriptive parts of the work the success of the poet was decisive, and he evidently intended that they should relieve the metaphysics. They do so to a considerable extent, but they cannot impart dramatic truth or poetic life to the characters. On the whole, the poem wants relief, quietness, simplicity. Its splendour is at first exciting; gradually it becomes oppressive. Had we been introduced by Aladdin to the gardens of jewelry opened to him by his lamp, we might have enjoyed our walk for the first half-hour, but before we had been there for a day the glare would have become insufferable, and we should have found relief in a field of grass or an acre of rye. The error of *too-muchness*, into which youthful genius is betrayed by its own exuberance, was never more strikingly illustrated than in 'Festus.' There is imagery in it enough to fit out fifty poems. There is thought in it enough to supply the requirements of volumes of philosophical essays. And yet, popular as it became both in Britain and America, running through edition after edition, we doubt whether twenty persons have read it from beginning to end. For our own part, though for years we have habitually turned to it and read in it with pleasure, we have never held on through fifty pages at a time.

'Festus' was at first greeted with tumultuous acclamations. The newspaper critics seemed to vie with each other in devising eulogistic superlatives to express its merits. From this a reaction naturally occurred: and when Mr. Bailey published the 'Angel World,' a carefully finished poem, but pitched in a lower key than 'Festus,' and with much of the old fervour toned down, it was treated with unfair and ungenerous disparagement. The 'Angel World' has been incorporated by the poet in later editions of 'Festus,' which Mr. Bailey appears to consider, as he well may, the grand effort of his life. It is a poem which, with all its defects, must be pronounced one of the most remarkable monuments of English literature in the present century. Having noted the resemblance of its general plan to that of Goethe's 'Faust,' we may add that it formally completes the conception of Goethe as indicated by him in conversation. The salvation of the striving and erring Faust and of the deluded Margaret is effected in the first and second parts of Goethe's poem. But the German poet more than hinted that he intended to bring Mephistopheles also at last within the mighty zone of the divine love. Mr. Bailey's poem concludes with the restoration of all things. Lucifer, having throughout acted as God's minister of darkness, emerges into light; and, as evil and sorrow have vanished from the universe, and his occupation is therefore gone, becomes a good angel. And thus the grim legend of the sixteenth century, manipulated by Marlow, by Goethe, by Bailey, is elaborated into a universal triumph of goodness over evil, a hymn sung in many stanzas and varying measures to the Omnipotent Love.

SECTION III.

MRS. BARRETT BROWNING.

Elizabeth Barrett Browning had already attained a world-wide reputation when she exchanged her maiden name for that by which she has since been known. The distinguished poetess bestowed her hand on a distinguished poet. The most marked characteristic of her genius is an impassioned imaginative vehemence, which, in its extreme form, tends to shrillness, and is almost suggestive of a feminine scream or shriek, but which, in such a poem as the 'Cry of the Children,' produces, in its intense wailing, an almost unexampled effect of pathos. Her first poems of an important and ambitious order were the 'Drama of Exile' and the 'Seraphim.' Both poems are founded upon the Scripture account of the fall and redemption of man, and probably indicate that the author had been deeply influenced in her youth by the genius of Milton. In the 'Drama of Exile' an attempt is made to penetrate by metaphysical acumen into the motives and purposes of the spirit of evil in compassing the fall of man, to invest the event, thus explained, with a garment of imaginative beauty, and so to satisfy at once the intellect and the imagination of the reader. The effort was bold, too bold for complete success; but there is little risk in the assertion that the conception and treatment of these mysterious and awful transactions by the youthful poetess are nearly as successful as the nature of the subject admits. The artistic perfection, the austere majesty and great reserve of force, which render Milton's work sublime, place 'Paradise Lost' and 'Paradise Regained' high above the 'Drama of Exile' and the 'Seraphim;' but you can read these with satisfaction even after turning from those visions of heaven and hell which flashed upon the sightless orbs of Milton. The idea worked out by Mrs. Browning, that Lucifer, having felt the ruinous effects of sin in his own person, thinks that sin must bring evil and only evil, upon sinning men, by a natural necessity irresistible even by God, and is baffled by the divine wisdom and beneficence bringing good out of evil, is not derived from 'Paradise Lost,' and is an addition to the scope of satanic motive as exhibited by Milton in the Pandemonian conclave. The victory of Christ is shown in its completeness by his leading back all the fallen human race; but the poetess did not venture to crown the sublimity of her poem by touching with a ray even of distant hope the mind of Lucifer himself. If the triumph of good over evil is to be absolute, this would be required, and the glory of Christ, the divine hero of her poem, demanded that this His final conquest should be unveiled. We of course do not speak theologically, but with a view to the imaginative completeness of the poem. The problem set for herself by the poetess in the outset is to show that divine beneficence can vanquish sin and sorrow; and while sin and sorrow, human or diabolic, remained in the universe, this problem could not be said to be imaginatively solved. The problem taken for solution by Milton was "to justify the ways of God to man." This he could maintain that he had done when he revealed to us, in the course of his poem, the Creator perceiving that His creatures had been betrayed by a tempter and offering them a Saviour. Their fall came from without; their redemption came from without; the Almighty was just from first to last. But unless the fundamental idea of Mrs. Browning's poem is the same as Milton's, and therefore a repetition, that idea is that the power of good or God is necessarily more enduring than the power of evil or the devil, and that the power of God, incarnated in Christ, will prevail over and extinguish *all* evil; and this is not brought out in the evolution of the poem. Perhaps it is on the whole an advantage that the poetess did not attempt to follow her principle to its last logical consequences, as a world in which evil had absolutely no existence would be too shadowy for human conception.

But the metaphysical qualities of this remarkable work have detained us too long. Of more real value than its speculative theology is the tender and noble delineation which it contains of the feelings and relations of the primal pair. There is simple, heart-felt poetry in this which comes home to bosoms that will remain wholly unmoved by the angelic sorrows and the metaphysical subtleties of the poem. When Eve asks Adam to attempt to propitiate God by scorning her who had caused him to sin, all men can sympathise with this, his reply:—

"If God
Who gave the right and joyance of the world
Both unto thee and me, gave thee to me,
The best gift last, the last sin was the worst,
Which sinned against more complement of gifts
And grace in giving."

And all women can sympathise with Eve's rejoinder:—

"Is it thy voice
Or some saluting angel's—calling home
My feet into the garden?"

There is also rich truth, as well as exquisite beauty, in these lines, descriptive of the joy which merciful woman feels (though she does not make that joy the object of her pursuit) in helping weakness and relieving sorrow:—

"A child's kiss
Set on thy sighing lips shall make thee glad;
A poor man served by thee shall make thee rich;
A sick man helped by thee shall make thee strong.
Thou shalt be served thyself by every sense
Of service which thou renderest."

Most readers will probably be inclined to agree with a critic of Mrs. Browning's that, since her command of "the mother tongue of noble passion" was so great, it is to be regretted that the machinery of this poem is so oppressively grand, and its erudition so far-fetched and exacting. "The sense reels," he observes, "under the bewildering pageantry of earth spirits, and bird spirits, and river spirits, and zodiacs, and stars, and chorussing angels; the mind is perplexed with gnomons, and apogees, and vibrations, and infinites. One stares on all this as one might on the foam, glorious in its shivered snow and wavering irises, which roars and raves round a coral reef. The vessel draws near the reef, and many an eye looks into the foam; but its beauty fascinates only for a moment, and the sail fills, and the island is left for ever. Never, perhaps, is it known that in the heart of that island, hidden by the torn fringes of tinted foam, there was soft green grass, and a quiet, crystal fountain, and cottages smiling in the light of flowers, and all the home affections."

In the 'Seraphim' the young poetess, with the audacity characteristic of her genius, assays to realise and to express the feelings with which Zerah and Ador, two of the heavenly host, looked upon the crucifixion of Christ. The following passage presents one of the few instances in which our recent literature has reached sublimity. The moment is that of the death of the Saviour.

"Ador. The pathos hath the day undone:
The death-look of His eyes
Hath overcome the sun,
And made it sicken in its narrow skies—
Is it to death?

Zerah. *He* dieth; through the dark
He still, He only, is discernible.
The naked hands and feet, transfixed stark,
The countenance of patient anguish white,
Do make themselves a light,
More dreadful than the glooms which round them dwell,
And therein do they shine."

High, however, as is the value we attach to these Miltonic poems of Mrs. Browning, we cannot regret that her genius stooped from a region in which permanent flight must have proved fatiguing both for her and her readers to wander among the hills and watered valleys of the common earth. In the 'Poet's Vow' she may be regarded as giving articulate expression to her belief—which, indeed, is perfectly reconcilable with her previous writing—that simple, busy, faultful, joyful, sorrowful humanity forms, with its relations to its Creator, the noblest theme of poetry, and the best sphere of individual effort. A youth of genius resolves to "forswear man's sympathies," to turn from the riot which, in his thistle-field of a world, man fancies to be happiness, to put aside with scorn

"His changing love—with stars above!
His pride—with graves below!"

Readers acquainted with the works of Goethe will recognise in these last lines a thought of his, and one which has been familiarised to the British public by Carlyle; but Mrs. Browning's use of it is apt and beautiful. The poet, resolved to renounce all human society, parts with Rosalind, his betrothed, vainly trying at the same time to induce her to marry a friend. He shuts himself into a lonely castle—comparable, by-the-way, with the palace in which the soul secludes herself in Tennyson's poem on essentially the same subject—in order that he may dwell in the serene and solitary altitudes of thought. The first effect of his announcement to Rosalind that they must bid farewell to each other is very fine:—

"She looked upon him silently,
With her large, doubting eyes,
Like a child that never knew but love,
Whom words of wrath surprise:
Till the rose did break from either cheek,
And the sudden tears did rise."

The stern vow being carried out, Rosalind dies of a broken heart, giving direction with her latest breath that her corpse shall be borne to the castle in which the poet is secluded, and placed where he must see it when he comes out. At midnight, when he has no cause to fear human interruption to his musings, the poet undoes the bolts of his door, and his eye falls on the corpse.

"It lay before him, human like,
Yet so unlike a thing!
More awful in its shrouded pomp
Than any crowned king."

Upon the breast of the corpse lies a scroll, written by Rosalind. It is her last appeal to her lover to abandon his self-worship. He relents. His human nature, long restrained, "gave out its lion cry," and the shock of the moment rent him with "a mortal agony."

"I tell you, friends, had you heard his wail,
'Twould haunt you in court and mart,
And in merry feast, until you set
Your cup down to depart—
That weeping wild of a reckless child
From a proud man's broken heart."

Meanwhile the stars, which he had come out to contemplate, "looked on all indifferently." Surely it would be difficult to set forth a noble thought in nobler imaginative emblems than we have in this poem.

The 'Vision of Poets' might be described as a critical poem, were it not that the word "criticism" seems too cold to convey a just idea of its intense thought and vivid language. It consists principally of a succession of word-portraits, each executed with one or two brief touches, yet each containing a marvellous likeness of some one of "God's prophets of the Beautiful." How deeply, sadly true is it of Shelley that he was "in his white ideal all statue-blind!" Byron, "quivering with the dart he drave," is also fine and felicitous.

Most of the other poems of Mrs. Browning deal expressly with personal emotion, and contain some incident or tale. In 'Isabel's Child' she depicts the maternal affection; and though her old error of over-loading her page with imagery, which bewilders rather than enlightens the reader, has not been avoided in this piece, it does not stifle the strong and tender humanity which beats in the stanzas. When her child is dead, Isabel says:—

> "His little body which is dead
> And hidden in the turfy fold;
> Doth make the whole warm earth a-cold."

This has been the experience of many a mother, but it was never so well expressed; and it is the gift and the privilege of the great poet to put into words what has often been felt, but never articulately uttered.

The poems we have mentioned belong to Mrs. Browning's earliest period, and are all included in the first volume of the two-volume edition of her works, which appeared with a dedication to her father in 1844. It was, however, in the second volume that the poems in virtue of which her place will be fixed among great poetical writers, principally appeared. In the 'Romaunt of the Page,' the 'Rhyme of the Duchess May,' 'Lady Geraldine's Courtship,' and 'Bertha in the Lane,' she presented to the world a series of poems in which the interest centred in the heroines. The character and feelings, the inner spirit and essential life and soul, of woman were poetically delineated. In some of them, as in the 'Romaunt of the Page,' the cold pride and exacting fastidiousness with which men even of noble natures are apt to treat women is brought out with subtle power, as seen against the perfect self-sacrifice, the violence done even to the delicacy of their own feelings, by loving women. The page, in the 'Romaunt,' is a lady in disguise, who having been wedded to a knight in a darkened chamber, so that he did not know her by sight, followed him to Palestine, served him in camp and field, saved his life in peril, and then, by telling him her own tale under pretext that it was the story of her sister, found out how far, after all her devotion, it was possible for her to gain his love. The intrepidity blended with tenderness which had made her endure so much was not, it appeared, sufficiently woman-like for his exquisite taste. A wife who had followed him, served him, saved him, loved him as the page had done, he "would forgive." Nay, he "would love her" as his "servitor," but "never as his wife." This discovery breaks her heart. She bids him ride on a little in advance, and then, refusing to escape, she is slain by a body of Saracens. Probably the poetess intended to convey in this poem a hint to women, as well as to cast a glance of fine disdain upon men; to say, namely, that when a woman forgets the supreme demands of her feminine nature, and in the slightest degree lowers herself from the dignity of her graciousness, the very man for whom she makes this hardest of self-sacrifices will regard her with an inextinguishable something of contempt. He will no more love her as his equal, his wife, his queen, but as his "servitor."

In 'Lady Geraldine's Courtship,' which is one of the most wonderful of all Mrs. Browning's poems, a high lady loves and marries a poet. He is poor and sickly, but the poetess contrives, with strange indescribable skill, to envelop him in an atmosphere of enchantment. The piece is wildly, impossibly romantic. Wherever Lady Geraldine might have let Bertram know her love, it would not have been in her own mansion amid her own Sussex woods. And yet, such is the witchery of Mrs. Browning's genius, and so happy is the imaginative fancy of Bertram's supposing her, when she tells Bertram that she loves him, to be but a vision presently to vanish into air, that we do not feel the poetical outrage done to reality.

The 'Duchess May' is another poem which will repay the most careful study. It is replete with genius. The conception is daring, original, striking; the imagery is remarkable not less for aptness than for freshness and splendour; the language is powerful and vivid; the rhythm is deeply in harmony with the rapid action and the burning passion of the poem. In spirit and motion this piece is intensely modern; in form it is archaic. The poetess has for her purpose to show that, when a noble woman loves with her whole heart, and is loved in return, the highest reward and the greatest joy she can have is to encounter every danger which assails her lord (in the old English sense of *lover-d*), going with him to death itself. Such a motive, artistically speaking, for the poem is germane to that essential romance which lives ever in the youthful heart, and which is not less but more characteristic of our own time than of other periods. But romance, to be felt, must, by one expedient or another, be kept unmistakably clear of commonplace; and the interest and impressiveness of the romance of Mrs. Browning's poem are enhanced by the air of remoteness and solemnity which the tolling of the bell in the old church tower for the dead, and the environment, so to speak, of the reader by the tombs in the churchyard, give to the weird and terrible story. There is no work of the poetess in which her manner of poetical treatment is more characteristically displayed than in the 'Duchess May.' Bold, impetuous, brief; never dwelling upon particular thoughts or images, never elaborating minute details or slowly working out shades of meaning, or delicacies of ornament; trusting to broad, generic strokes, and strong contrasts of colour, she is the Rubens of poetesses, with a spiritual and a tender vein far deeper and finer than anything we find in Rubens. Take, for example, the picture of the castle of Linteged, to which the Duchess May and her lover fled after their marriage.

> "Down the sun dropt large and red on the towers of Linteged,
> Toll slowly.
> Lance and spear upon the height, bristling strange in fiery light,

> While the castle stood in shade.
> There, the castle stood up black, with the red sun at its back.
> Toll slowly.
> Like a sullen smouldering pyre, with a top that flickers fire,
> When the wind is on its track."

There is little or no form here, it is all colour, red and black. There is a deeper imaginative truth in this than the poetess may herself have been aware of. Colour is essentially the language of emotion. In all times and ages sorrow has been clothed in funereal black, and the red flame has been the emblem of terror. In striking the key-note, therefore, of a poem which is to be sorrowful and terrible, in black and red, Mrs. Browning went to the very heart of imaginative truth, and "showed that subtle appreciation of nature's symbolism which belongs to the great poet."

To the castle of Linteged, three months before the occurrence of the main incidents of the poem, the owner, Sir Guy, had borne his bride, the Duchess May. She had been the ward of Lord Leigh, who, for the sake of her "dowry gold," had intended to wed her to his son. With womanly pride and inflexible resolution, she had defied both.

> "Unto each she bowed her head, and swept past with lofty tread,
> Ere the midnight bell had ceased, in the chapel had the priest
> Blessed her, bride of Linteged."

The description of the flight and pursuit through the night-storm is superb. The rain poured; the foemen galloped; Sir Guy led the flight on his red-roan steed;

> "And the bride lay on his arm, still as if she feared no harm,
> Smiling out into the night."

For three months the lovers were left in the enjoyment of hymeneal bliss; then the Lord of Leigh and his son laid siege to the castle, and in a fortnight had brought the matter so far that the breach had but to be entered, and the resistance of Sir Guy and his few remaining friends to be overpowered. Seeing the catastrophe to be imminent and inevitable, and knowing that the Leighs could be satisfied with nothing less than the removal, by his death, of what hindered the marriage of the lady to the young lord, Sir Guy had set his heart upon securing his own death while the Duchess May remained alive. With that subdued but ineradicable sense of the injustice of man to woman, even when he loves her and is himself of noble nature, which we found Mrs. Browning betraying in the 'Romaunt of the Page,' she represents Sir Guy as quite sure that, once he is gone, his wife will accommodate herself to her fate and make young Lord Leigh a happy husband.

> "She will weep her woman's tears, she will pray her woman's prayers.
> But her heart is young in pain, and her hopes will spring again
> By the suntime of her years."

Such are the reflections of the knight, accurately representative, Mrs. Browning doubtless believed, of the views of gentlemen in general upon the question. In the person of her heroine, the Duchess May, she resolved to show that he and they have been mistaken. The lady penetrates her husband's intention. He has exacted an oath of the friends who still stand by him that they will not strike another blow in his defence, but will lead his war-horse, the same on which he rode home with his bride three months before, up the winding-stair to the top of the castle. His determination is to leap the horse over the wall, and perish. She resolves that, if he leaps over the castle wall, she shall leap with him. If she could ride with him to happy life, she will ride with him also to honourable death. All his arguing, all his pleading, all his kind violence are in vain; with her head upon his breast, "where she smiled as one at rest," as on that night when they fled together through the storm, she fell with him over the castle wall. The description of the horse, rearing over the parapet, before the death, is magnificent in its imaginative realism.

> "They have caught out at the rein, which Sir Guy threw loose in vain.
> For the horse in stark despair, with his front hoofs poised in air,
> On the last verge rears amain.
> Now he hangs the rocks between—and his nostrils curdle in—
> Now he shivers head and hoof—and the flakes of foam fall off;
> And his face grows fierce and thin!
> And a look of human woe from his staring eyes did go,—
> And a sharp cry uttered he, in a foretold agony
> Of the headlong death below."

The Duchess May is, without question, one of the most notable female portraits in the whole gallery of art. The conception of woman which it embodies agrees with that presented by Shakespeare in his Cordelia and his Desdemona—a conception embracing a faithfulness, a tenderness, a courageous love which know no limits, and triumph over death. It is in the completeness and profundity of the delineation—in that it penetrates to the very core of the female nature—that it resembles the delineations of woman by Shakespeare. Scott's women, when they are not, as they often are, mere lay figures, or when their natures are not obviously limited by circumstance and education (as in the case of Jeanie Deans), are never exhaustively treated. We know a great deal of Die Vernon, and what we know is brilliantly correct; but we feel that we have been admitted to but the outer courts of her noble nature. We have never seen her under the dominion of a conquering passion or a transcendent impulse. The great women of Shakespeare, great whether in good or in evil, are always furnished with some occasion important enough to reveal the inmost deeps of their being. And so it is with the women in Mrs. Browning's poems; so it emphatically is with the Duchess May. Passing through the ordeal of terrible events, her woman's heart yields up all its secrets of strength, of pride, of faithfulness, of passionate affection. "Her whole external existence," a critic has observed, "her haughtiness, her beauty, her queenliness of mien and manner, are touched in with the airy vividness of Scott; her inmost heart is laid bare, her boundless womanly tenderness, her inflexible womanly pride, her womanly ecstacy of self-sacrifice, with the power of a Shakespeare."

We should convey an inadequate idea of this poem as a whole if we did not mention that, after telling us how, "back-toppling, crashing back, a dead weight flung out to wrack," the horse and the lovers fell over the battlement, the poetess fixes our attention upon the little grave, beneath a willow tree, of a three-year child. From the agitation of the frightful leap we are conducted back to the deep repose of the small green mound, to think, with the poetess, how "God's greatness flows around our incompleteness, round our restlessness, His rest." We are left looking up into the infinite blue, glistening as in morning softness, which canopies all storms.

After the publication of her poems in the two-volume edition, Mrs. Browning seems to have contented herself, for some years, with minor efforts and the preparation of new editions. But in the latter part of 1856 she presented the world with a narrative poem, filling one entire volume, entitled 'Aurora Leigh.' This is the name of the heroine, the interest of the poem centring, as usual with Mrs. Browning, in the female characters. The general subject-matter is that on which Tennyson touches in 'Maud,' and which has given so much occupation to the genius of Ruskin and Carlyle,—the social question and the amelioration of the body of the people. It cannot, we think, be affirmed that, either in prose or in poetry, its treatment by these eminent writers has been felicitous. Mr. Carlyle's 'Past and Present' is the only book produced in connection with the condition-of-England question which can be pronounced satisfactory; and 'Past and Present' would certainly have been a far less conspicuous success than it is if the inimitable episode of Abbot Samson and his career at St. Edmundsbury had been omitted. There is something so stiffly unpoetical, so ruggedly and rudely difficult, in the fearful problems of our social state that genius, even so consummate as that of Tennyson and Mrs. Browning, has not contrived to beat much music out of it. In the attempt, however, to treat social questions of to-day rather than to wander in the primrose paths of romance, there is merit; and poets and poetesses at least may be permitted to believe that the lyre retains in the nineteenth century a remnant of that irresistible power by which it wrought wonders in the days of Orpheus and Amphion.

'Aurora Leigh' has much graver defects, as a work of poetical art, than the best of Mrs. Browning's earlier poems. That it displays great genius, and abounds in fine passages, is indisputable. Nay, we are ready to admit that, in some parts, there is a mellowness in the colouring, a softness in the touch, which indicate maturity of artistic execution, as contrasted with the hard impetuosity of her earlier manner. The description of the love of Marian Erle for her child is perfectly beautiful. The English landscapes, the Italian landscapes, the broad, generic strokes by which London is set before us, are beyond praise. But the heroine is an unlovable blue-stocking, conceited, didactic, painfully self-conscious; and the hero is a fool. This may be thought a severe word with which to describe so well-intentioned, well-spoken a personage as Romney Leigh. But the notion that society is to be regenerated, or any good whatever done, by the marriage of a rich patrician to a poor plebeian girl, and by the illustrious exhibition thus afforded of the reconciliation of classes, is quite imbecile. The man who deliberately frames this theory, looks at it on this side and on that, and then determines that he will act upon it, has not been endowed with the modicum of brains common to humanity. The idea is a pure absurdity, and as no one capable of thinking at all could think it anything else than a pure absurdity, nothing was to be gained by the practical demonstration of the fact through the machinery of a poem. Accordingly, a sense of dissatisfaction—a feeling that splendid genius has doomed itself to work at a hopeless task—accompanies the reader from the first book to the last. The sense of failure becomes oppressive when we reach the scene in the church where Romney is to be married to Marian Erle. Mrs. Browning intended it doubtless to be intensely real—with a dash of humour in the delineation; but she lacked humour. The scene in the church when the crowd of London poor come to see Marian Erle married to Romney Leigh could not have been poetically treated without strong and fine humour, and Mrs. Browning's treatment is not correct even on the ground of the simplest prosaic realism. If you would contrast the views presented of a mob by one who really understood what a mob is—understood its piteous infantile helplessness, its piteous lack of discernment, but also its piteous, pathetic stretching out of its hands to welcome any one that promises to help it—first read Mrs. Browning's account of the conduct of the mob in the church when they found that Marian had disappeared, and then compare it with Shakespeare's treatment of mob impulse and mob character in 'Coriolanus.' In Shakespeare's drama the people act with childish folly; but their very knees long to bend to the born leader, Coriolanus; and all, as Shakespeare says with his own unfathomable wisdom, that they require of Coriolanus, in order that he may obtain their suffrage, is that he will deign "to ask it kindly." Few things are more remarkable, nothing, perhaps, is more pathetic, than the fondness and faithfulness with which the people have ever clung to the man whom they really believed to be their friend. Such an enthusiast as Romney Leigh was the very kind of person to whom their childishness would have made them passionately devoted. When he told them that Marian Erle had refused to marry him —had gone away from him at the last moment— the probability is that they would have believed him, and cried shame upon the girl. That they should suspect him of having murdered her, after having invited high and low to church as if for the purpose of securing that his murderous guilt might be trumpeted abroad, is thoroughly inconsistent with the proved shrewdness of the lowest London mob. A woman among the plebeians speaks thus:—

> "I'm a tender soul,
> I never banged a child of two years old
> And drew blood from him, but I sobbed for it
> Next moment, and I've had a plague of seven.
> I'm tender," &c.

A woman might say that she never boxed a brat without crying for it, but the specification of a two-year child, and of the circumstance of drawing blood, could not conceivably have occurred. Humanity does not so readily bear witness against itself.

This poem is a novel in verse, and by no means one of the best novels in the English language. It ends in the orthodox fashion, marriage of hero and heroine. Romney gets rid of his nonsense, and marries Aurora. The change in his matrimonial prospects is accompanied by a general change in his views. Unhappily, though the poem is very greatly laboured towards the conclusion, and though the poetry, as poetry, becomes grand, there is no intellectual result worth mentioning. Neither Romney nor Aurora has anything particular to say on the social question. In effect they advise people to get married with as much judiciousness and speed as possible, in spite of *Punch's* laconic *Don't.*

> "Wedded love is fruitful of all loves. It is a rose
> Whose calyx holds the multitude of leaves,—
> Loves filial, loves fraternal, neighbour-loves,
> And civic, . . . all fair petals, all good scents,
> All reddened, sweetened from one central heart."

When we say that this wedded love comes in the poem after "God's love," we have proved that the doctrine is unexceptionable; but can we add that it is in any sense new? Can we affirm that it is made one whit more clear and convincing at the end of the poem than it was at the beginning? And if the hero is a dreaming simpleton, the heroine a conceited blue-stocking, and the intellectual outcome of the poem a truism, are we not shut up to the conclusion that 'Aurora Leigh' is a failure? But we must not omit to say in the same breath that the beauties of the poem are innumerable. We could fill a sheet with noble passages and pithy or profound sayings. What a capital thought is this!

> "I worked with patience which means almost power."

And the beauty of the passages descriptive of landscape is not to be surpassed.

Mrs. Browning was a woman of remarkably strong feelings, and her interest in art, and in all other pursuits in which intellect and imagination work their marvels, was not more ardent than her political and social sympathies. Politically she was a liberal of the boldest school, and the cause of Italian unity and independence, as well as the cause of free labour against slave labour in the United States, found in her an uncompromising advocate. The intensity of her social sympathies had been attested at a much earlier stage of her career by such poems as the 'Cry of the Children,' one of the most pathetic pieces ever written with pen, and it is potently evinced in 'Aurora Leigh.' In the poems written and published by Mrs. Browning after the appearance of this last work, her genius, though still present in splendid jets and gleams, did not, on the whole, show to advantage. The Italian policy of the French emperor was lauded by her in terms of generous emphasis, and she panegyrised the man with an enthusiasm which, though his uniformly good intentions as a ruler may have gone far to justify it, has been rendered almost absurd in the eyes of a generation which looked upon the fire-baptism of Saarbrücken and the capitulation of Sedan. The besetting sin of Mrs. Browning always was a tendency to exaggerated vehemence and spasmodic intensity, and in her latest poems she offends more than ever against the artistic laws of moderation and repose. With all fair deduction, however, it must be declared that she was not only the greatest poetess that ever used the English language, but that no woman, in ancient or modern times, has been her equal.

SECTION IV.

THE SISTERS BRONTÉ, AND OTHERS.

It may promote perspicuity and convenience to add here what requires to be said of those poetesses who, in the latter part of Mrs. Browning's life, or since her death, have attracted general notice.

A little volume of poetical pieces was published in 1846, with the announcement that they were the productions of Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell. It was a tiny book, and contained a good deal of girlish stuff, but the immortal spark was unmistakably hidden within it. In due time the public became aware that Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell, were the three sisters, Charlotte, Emily and Anne Bronté. Charlotte, having won far higher distinction as a writer of prose fiction than Emily or Anne, was declared by the mob of critics to have written better poetry than that of her sisters. A discerning eye here and there decided that, though Charlotte wrote with most fluency, and evinced the readiest command of conventional imagery and diction, the poetry of Emily was the best. This opinion appears to have since become general. There was indeed a deeper melody, a greater massiveness of thought, and a more genuine originality of impassioned feeling, in Emily's verses than in anything from the pen of Charlotte. They revealed a genius like that shown in Emily's novel, 'Wuthering Heights,' a genius of immense strength, not yet accustomed to its weapons. But it may be doubted whether Emily Bronté, even if her career had not been cut short by death, would have made important additions to English poetical literature. In the intensity of 'Wuthering Heights,' there is something morbid, feverish, distempered; and the sadness of the poems, relieved by hardly a gleam of pure merriment, is unwholesome and oppressive. The lines on a 'Death Scene,' those 'To Imagination,' those entitled 'Self-interrogation,' and those beginning, "How clear she shines!" are characteristic. The thought in these last, that the world lighted up by garish day may be that in which alone distress and anguish prevail, is expressed in 'Stars,' and seems to have been one on which Emily Bronté loved to dwell.

> "Oh, stars, and dreams, and gentle night,
> Oh, night and stars, return!
> And hide me from the hostile light,
> That does not warm but burn;
>
> That drains the blood of suffering men,
> Drinks tears instead of dew;
> Let me sleep through his blinding reign,
> And only wake with you."

One of the most mournful episodes in the whole history of literature is that which tells how these gifted women, carrying the seeds of mortal disease in their constitutions, aspired nobly, and struggled heroically, and fell side by side in the noontide of their years. There is melancholy yet not unreal consolation in the thought that all three won that literary immortality of which Charlotte alone could in her lifetime have any sense of possession. Though Emily Brontë's poetry was the best, yet that of Charlotte was of great merit, and there was a touching and tuneful simplicity even in that of Anne.

One of the most thoughtfully tender and delicately melodious of recent poetesses is Miss Jean Ingelow. Her long poem founded upon the scriptural account of the Flood was a failure, and appears to be well-nigh forgotten, but such poems as 'Divided,' and the 'Letter L.,' and the 'Brides of Enderby,' and the 'Brothers and a Sermon,' are not likely to die out of the language. They are fine and strong in feeling, and they exhibit an original and very delightful style of poetic handling. A scene, a figure, a landscape, is touched in with an airy grace by means of a few vivid, picturesque words. These are thrown out, as it seems, without any particular specification of place or time, and yet their effect is to transport us instantly and completely to the spot where the imagination of the poetess wishes us to be. "A world of heather," "purple of foxglove," "yellow of broom;" there seems little of the art of description in such isolated touches or rather tints; yet, when they flash upon the mind's eye, we feel ourselves borne away to a land which is ideal yet intensely real, and we are by the side of the two playmates, boy and girl, who breathe the perfume of the broom, and crush out the sweetness of the heather-bells. We see the tiny streamlet, a fine thread of silver scarcely visible among the flowers, which rises between the children and which they gaily step across. We see the slender thread strengthening into a cable of twisted eddies, a vigorous mountain brook. Gradually it widens, and widens, and widens, until cities glass themselves in its waters, and navies float upon its breast, and the divided friends, gazing across to each other from the distant banks, can no longer hear each other's voices, but are separated for ever. In the singularly ingenious and brilliant poem entitled the 'Letter L.,' the lady who plays the most important part in the piece sweeps thus into the imagery of the poem:—

> "The voice of one that near us stood,
> The rustle of a silken fold,
> A scent of eastern sandal wood,
> A gleam of gold!
>
> A lady! in the narrow space
> Between the husband and the wife,
> But nearest him—she showed a face
> With dangers rife;
>
> A subtle smile that dimpling fled,
> As night-black lashes rose and fell:
> I looked, and to myself I said,
> 'The letter L.'"

A stronger originality than that of Miss Ingelow has been claimed, and perhaps not unjustly, by most critics, for Miss Christina Rossetti. Her 'Goblin Market' reveals, along with habits of meditative thought, and quaint, unwonted feeling, a rare command of poetic language, and a curiously fine perception, probably constitutional, in this family of artists, of the beautiful. The two sisters lying asleep, "golden head by golden head," form, for a reader who has any imagination, a visionary picture never to fade from the mind. Miss Rossetti is the author of many sonnets, and these have been highly applauded by critics. It is a form of verse which, except in the hands of Wordsworth, Keats, and one or two others, has not been adopted with complete success; and although there may be something in its involved and uniform cadences favourable to majesty, and not hostile to the genius of the English language, yet its want of flexibility, and incapacity to express the varying moods of lyric emotion or even of speculative thought, seem to have warned from it our spontaneous and impulsive poets, from Shakspeare (for his sonnets are not in the usual sonnet stanza) to Burns.

The lady known to fame as George Eliot is acknowledged to be one of the greatest living novelists, but it is only with a grudge that her claim has been admitted to a place among poets. Justice, however, demands that not less than this should be conceded to the author of the 'Spanish Gipsy' and the 'Legend of Jubal.' The 'Spanish Gipsy' is a dramatic poem, dramatic at least in form, but the treatment approaches in some respects the epic model. The scene is Spain:—

> "Broad-breasted Spain, leaning with equal love
> (A calm earth-goddess crowned with corn and vines)
> On the mid-sea that moans with memories,
> And on the untravelled Ocean, whose vast tides
> Pant dumbly passionate with dreams of youth.

The time is the close of the fifteenth century. Along the Danube and by the coast line of the Adriatic, far into Italy, the Moslem faith glares like a column of advancing flame; but in Spain the victory is clearly with the cross, and the crescent flickers like a torch in a night storm. Spain, therefore, is the land in which new and daring projects naturally have birth, and such a project is formed in the breast of Zarca, chief of the Zincalo, or gipsies. Zarca's daughter, Fedalma, had been brought when an infant to the castle of Bedmar, had been reared with all tenderness and splendour, and had won the heart of Don Silva, count of Segura, fourth duke of Bedmar, champion of the cross, and flower of Spanish knighthood. When the day for the nuptials of Fedalma and the duke approached, Zarca was brought prisoner to the castle with a troop of gipsy comrades. He recognised his daughter, revealed himself to her, announced to her his resolution to become the Moses or Mahomet of the Zincalo race, and told her that she was pledged from her birth to accept this mission with him. She endures a terrible mental conflict before her father bends her to his adamantine will. "The first young passionate wail of spirits called to some great destiny," as Zarca philosophically defines her anguish in parting with her love, and abandoning the hope of her life, makes itself heard in long remonstrance. But it is vain. She is heart-broken, yet she consents to go and wed her people's lot. The ring which was to have made her a wife next day is put aside.

> "Stay, my betrothal ring!—one kiss—farewell!
> O love, you were my crown. No other crown
> Is aught but thorns on my poor woman's brow."

She releases her father and the other gipsy prisoners, and leaves the palace with them. Only sorrow and disappointment follow. Don Silva, an admirably drawn character, whose feebly speculative intellect and wavering impulse-driven will contrast strongly with the rock-like strength of Zarca, follows Fedalma. He resolves to cast in his lot with her, and give his wealth to promote Zarca's enterprise. But Zarca is impracticable. As well argue with Ailsa Craig. Silva's love, wealth, rank, are nothing to his inexorable pride.

"I tell you, were you King of Aragon,
And won my daughter's hand, your higher rank
Would blacken her dishonour."

Nay, it were better that she were beggared because it would be want, not desire of wealth, which urged her to wed "among an alien race to whom her tribe owed curses." Don Silva most justly and temperately replies that

"Such blind hate
Is fit for beasts of prey, but not for men."

Zarca is unmoved. Don Silva tells him, with pointed truth, that he is offering up his daughter's youth "to mere grim idols of his phantasy;" and that his obstinacy will cut its way like a sword, though the first stab is through his daughter's heart. At this Zarca merely changes his tone to that of "calm irony."

"You are loud, my lord!
You only are the reasonable man;
You have a heart, I none."

Then he addresses his grim arguments to his daughter, whom he prevails upon once more to "choose sublime pain" and give up her lover. Zarca ungraciously and unwillingly permits Don Silva to adopt the gipsy badge, and fight on the gipsy side. The cruelty, however, with which Zarca carries on the war, murdering Don Silva's dearest friends in the town which Silva had formerly commanded, at last drives the noble Spaniard to despair. The immediate occasion when his rage against Zarca becomes uncontrollable is when the latter insists upon the execution of Father Isidor, a Christian, who had never been a friend of Don Silva's, but whom, the more on that account, he vehemently exerts himself to save. He snatches a dagger and plunges it into the heart of Zarca. The rock-hewn man, indifferent to his own fate as to that of all others, when the cause is concerned, does not utter a word of anger, but summons his daughter, and uses up his remaining energy in committing to her the leadership of the gipsies, and directing her how to proceed. But his death is irreparable. The tribes love and honour Fedalma, but she has not her father's authority. The enterprise gradually collapses. She bids a final adieu to Silva, who undertakes a pilgrimage to Palestine; and though she conducts the few gipsies who adhere to her into Africa, as her father intended, she knows that the wandering Zincali will never become a nation. Their hopes lie buried in the grave of Zarca, and she mournfully says to Don Silva:—

"We
With our poor petty lives have strangled one,
That ages watch for vainly . . . . . .
My father held within his mighty frame
A people's life: great futures died with him."

And this is the tragedy, the pathos, of the poem. In the great Shakespearian tragedies it is some one or two noble souls that perish; a Lear and Cordelia, an Othello and Desdemona, a Romeo and Juliet; here it is a nation that "dies before the dawn" because its hero perishes. The idea is original, even in its philosophical aspect, for no writer, so far as we know, has put forward the theory that the abject and wandering races of the world are such because the heroic leaders, who might have set them among nations, died before attaining their purpose; poetically, at all events, it is new. Perhaps it is of too abstract a nature to form a suitable basis for an extensive poem; and even were this point not pressed, it might be urged that the gipsy race was unfortunately chosen. It has not had enough of a history to possess an epic interest. A Messenian Zarca, a Red Indian Zarca even, would have been a more promising hero than a gipsy Zarca. The poem exhibits that extraordinary command of language and imagery which is evinced in all the works of the author; and perhaps in no one of her prose compositions is the faculty of psychological analysis more strikingly displayed. Her delight, as an author, is to describe the lights and shades of character, and to thread the twilight arcana of human motives. Such a being as Don Silva is the very plaything of her analytic imagination. She loves to depict his wavering moods, and to trace in him the long, agonising struggle between the past, with its heart-subduing associations, on the one hand, and the present, with its living passion and its breathing love, on the other. But Don Silva is the only character in the poem who really wins the reader's affection. Zarca is intolerable. His cast-iron inflexibility might be respected; but he is impracticable, perverse, void of all sagacity, prudence, or ability to rule circumstances by bowing to them. He is the slave of his own formula, and by sheer wrong-headedness he not only fails to derive any advantage from Don Silva in the prosecution of his enterprise, but draws on himself the death-stab from the frantic lover of his daughter. Fedalma, though a fine conception, and not improbable beyond what is permissible to a poet, has no such hold on our sympathies as Maggie, in the 'Mill on the Floss,' and is shadowy and unreal compared with Dinah Morris.

SECTION V.

MR. BROWNING, MR. M. ARNOLD, MR. ROSSETTI, AND OTHERS.

AMONG living poets the very highest place is demanded by some for Mr. Robert Browning, the husband and survivor of Mrs. Barrett Browning. Mr. Browning's manner forms a marked contrast to that of Tennyson. He seems to court ruggedness, and either has not the power of writing plainly, or does not desire to be plain, or will not take the trouble necessary to polish his stanzas into perspicuity. Our opinion is that, whether with consciousness or not, he does not desire to be easily understood even by educated readers. That he can write on occasion not only perspicuously, but with intense clearness, is proved by himself in one or two such pieces as 'How they brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix.' Scott himself never wrote with simpler intelligibility, we had almost said visibility, than we have in this wonderfully graphic and spirited piece. In Mr. Browning's drama of 'Strafford,' also, there is nothing which those acquainted with the history of England in the seventeenth century will find really obscure. But so acute and practised a critic as Mr. Hutton, favourably disposed as he is towards the author, pronounces Mr. Browning's 'Sordello' incomprehensible; and we believe that an immense proportion of readers, however well disposed to the poet, however confident in his powers, however willing to make allowance for genius, must agree with Mr. Hutton. We cannot admit that the language which sufficed for the expression of Shakespeare's thoughts is too meagre to express those of Mr. Browning, and it is the critic's duty to insist the more strongly upon the literary culpability of his obscure composition from the fact that he seems to make a merit of it, or at least to hint that there are a select and superior few to whom he is intelligible. He tried, he tells us, to remove the obscurity from the 'Sordello;' to turn the work into "what the many might—instead of what the few must—like." That is to say, "the few" must admire, or at least prefer, Mr. Browning's obscurity. This is really to hold out an inducement, and an inducement of a most fascinating kind, to conceited and affected persons, to pretend that they are enraptured by that dusk of meaning which, to ordinary readers, is unintelligibility. Affectation is at this moment, more perhaps than at any other period, the bane of our literature, our art, our criticism, both in print and in society; and it is therefore proper to maintain with all decision that no author, be his genius what it may, has a right to refer to his obscurity as a merit, not a fault.

At the same time we are bound to say that the individuality of a writer—the peculiarity and uniqueness, apart from any question of superlative excellence of his genius—may render it difficult to understand him. Shakespeare was not only capable beyond all other poets of rising to the altitudes and penetrating to the depths of thought, but possessed an infinite and insatiable sympathy with common men. Among great poets, he and Homer stand apart from all others in their intense *popularity*. Browning is incommensurably less great than Shakespeare, but the language of ordinary life, formed as it is from the experience of ordinary life, may be less adapted to express the idiosyncratic genius of Browning than to express the universally sympathetic genius of Shakespeare. Mr. Browning's culture, also, is very largely a culture drawn from books, and his illustrations, even when clearly enough expressed, are apt, on account of their mere reconditeness, bewilder to readers who are either uncultivated or unaccustomed to Mr. Browning's manner. A reference to the powerful and beautiful lines entitled 'One Word More,' addressed to E. B. B. (Elizabeth Barrett Browning), will explain what we mean. The poem is profound in its tenderness and exquisite in its beauty; and there is no thought in it more difficult to understand than this—that every man, common or uncommon,

> "Boasts two soul-sides, one to face the world with,
> One to show a woman when he loves her."

This thought he expounds by two illustrations: first, that of Raphael, who painted Madonnas for all the world, but who wrote also a hundred sonnets in one volume, and permitted but one human eye, that of the woman he loved, to look into it; secondly, that of Dante, who painted, or tried to paint, an angel for Beatrice. These illustrations, unfamiliar to English readers, are worked out with such subtle thinking and such involution of language that, while they serve the purpose of the poet with those accustomed to his style, and who read him with the requisite patience and care, they render his main thought to those who glance hastily over his verses more obscure than if it had not been illustrated at all. And if particular stanzas are separated from the context, they will appear wholly incomprehensible.

> "Oh, their Rafael of the dear Madonnas,
> Oh, their Dante of the dread Inferno,
> Wrote one song—and in my brain I sing it,
> Drew one angel—borne, see, on my bosom!"

These are the last four lines of the poem of which we have been treating. As they stand, no one could say what they mean. Read in connection with what the poet has detailed of the sonnet-writing of Raphael and the angel-painting of Dante, they form a perfectly simple and most appropriate conclusion and climax. Mr. Browning is a voluminous writer, and his efforts have ranged over various kinds of poetry. Sometimes his imagination seems to have made the poet himself its slave, forcing him to put into words every wild freak of its phantasmagoric dreaming. This remark applies to the indescribable poem, 'Childe Roland.' Critics may perplex themselves as to its imagery, and attach ever new ingenuities of meaning to its dissolving views; but it is mere colour-work of imagination when all is done. Not a few of Mr. Browning's poems, however, exhibit the shrewdest humour, and a sympathetic knowledge of human nature. 'Bishop Blougram's Apology' and 'Sludge the Medium' are, in different ways, good examples of his power in this kind. Many of his poems are styled by him, not inappropriately, dramatic lyrics. They are imbued with the glow and intensity of lyric emotion, and yet they dramatically describe some scene, character, incident, or mood of feeling. And this species of dramatic, yet lyrical, description becomes exceedingly powerful in Mr. Browning's hands. With impetuous, impatient force he brings out his effects by a few broad, bold strokes, awakening the imagination of the reader and leaving it to fill in the details.

No inconsiderable amount of the obscurity complained of in Mr. Browning's poems arises from his extreme fondness for the dramatic style. His usual mode of conceiving a subject is to impersonate, by strength of sympathy, some one of the principal actors, and to speak the poem through his lips. With consummate energy of workmanship he studies himself into the life, character, times, environment, of the man or woman in whose person he speaks. He is at no pains to inform the reader of the impersonation; and it thus becomes literally a fact that the more intense the verisimilitude with which he expresses his assumed being, the more is the reader apt to be puzzled. Suppose a mediæval artist or craftsman were to rise from the dead, and without announcement as to who he was or whence he came, to launch into discourse bristling with allusions to the street in which, five centuries ago, he lived, the cathedral tower struck ten days since with lightning, the picture with which the townsfolk marched in procession last week, and so on. Would not the effect be bewildering? Browning begins by making himself absolutely familiar with what such a resuscitated artist or craftsman must have seen and known, and, speaking for or rather speaking through him, amazes English readers with a torrent of the everyday talk of mediæval Rome, Florence, or Verona. He invariably leaps *in medias res*—knows nothing of prefaces, explanations, introductory statements. Such is the habit of the dramatic mind. Shakespeare does not inform you, in a score or two of brilliant lines, that the Capulets and the Montagues are at deadly feud; he shows you the partisans of the antagonist houses fighting in the streets, dyeing the pavement with their blood. In dramatic power Browning must, we think, be pronounced superior to Tennyson. In rugged force of thought, also, and torrent-like abundance of ideas and illustrations, his works form a contrast to those of Tennyson. In melodiousness, in subtle sweetness, in true originality and depth of thought, the palm must, we think, remain with the laureate.

Mr. Browning's longest poem is the 'Ring and the Book,' his longest and, in the opinion of so qualified a critic as Mr. Hutton, his greatest. It is founded on a trial which purports to have taken place in Rome in the year 1698. Count Guido, of Arezzo, with the aid of four cut-throats, murdered his wife, a girl of seventeen, who had just born him an heir. With her he slew the aged couple who had brought her up. His wife, Pompilia, survived for four days after the attack, and figures in the poem. The plea put forward by the count was that she had been unfaithful to him, having run away to Rome with Caponsacchi, a handsome priest, and that the old couple had incited her to her infidelity. The defence was that Guido had set a trap for her with a view to securing her property after a divorce; that he had forged letters to Caponsacchi from his wife, who could neither read nor write, and who was true to her marriage vow. Guido and his instruments were doomed to death; and Pope Innocent XII., although some interest was used with him in favour of Count Guido, confirmed the sentence. Such a theme was fitted to awaken and call into strenuous exercise all Mr. Browning's powers, and his success is admitted on all hands to have been signal.

For brilliance, lucidity, ingenious thought, delicate feeling, and exquisitely appropriate imagery, the poems of Mr. Matthew Arnold could hardly be excelled. In his 'Empedocles on Etna,' a dramatic poem founded upon the story of the suicide of the philosopher in the crater of the Sicilian volcano, imaginative beauty is combined with great intellectual vigour. The conception of the piece is admirable. Three characters play a prominent part in it. Their differences combine to form one harmonious whole. Each contrasts with the other two. Pausanias, the simple, quiet, unspeculative, unmelodious man, throws into relief both the tuneful sympathy of the lyric poet, Callicles, and the melancholy isolation of Empedocles. Without the interspersed lyrics of Callicles the piece would have been too rugged; we should have seen only the calcined crags, not the wooded dells of Etna, and the philosopher would have been wearisome. The lyric interludes, beautifully carrying on the main action of the poem, are charming in themselves. That which describes the contest between Apollo and Marsyas is a masterpiece. The philosophy of Empedocles is a pantheistic naturalism, and by his death he intends to reunite himself to the unconscious elemental powers. It is not easy for the reader to escape the impression that the author of the poem is not merely dramatic in his sympathy with Empedocles, but summons him from the dead in order to afford occasion for expressing opinions, or at least speculative guessings and surmisings of his own. There certainly is no hint in the piece that the views of Empedocles are defective or erroneous; and if his opinions are in no sense Mr. Arnold's, critics will have to consider the grounds on which they hold that Lessing speaks in his 'Nathan,' or Byron in his 'Lara,' his 'Juan,' and his 'Cain.' Of course it is possible, nay, in the highest degree probable, that the soliloquies of Empedocles express only a phase, or passing mood, of speculation in Mr. Arnold. His other works, prose and poetical, prove that it would be an absurdity to find his creed in the words of Empedocles; but none the less do these exhibit what was once the habitual speculation, or even the qualified belief, of the poet. Some of the shorter poems of Mr. Arnold are very noble. We know nothing of the kind in the language superior, in deep thoughtfulness, in expressive imagery, and in correspondence between sound and sense, to his stanzas on 'Dover Beach.'

Another original and delightful poem by Mr. Arnold, verging, however, in its simplicity upon mawkishness, is founded on an old sea-side legend of a merman having wedded an earthly maiden, who at last deserts him and the children she has born him. It was difficult to avoid absurdity in describing a merman coming out of the sea and looking through the window of the village church where his absconded wife sits with her terrestrial relatives; but Mr. Arnold has thrown much tenderness into the management of an uncouth subject.

The poetical honour of Scotland has been recently maintained by several writers of genius. Mr. Alexander Smith became not undeservedly famous. His 'Life Drama' is a magnificent piece of writing. His power of expression was great; but his gift, in poetry at least, was almost exclusively in expression. He had no fount of matter, whether intellectual or emotional, forcing itself along in a stream of melody. Give him a thought, he could model it exquisitely in language; but he had no intellectual originality. And, like his intellect, his imagination lacked native strength. This is shown in 'Edwin of Deira,' the conception of which is feeble. It is in execution alone that his poetical work is consummate; but his best passages have a polished splendour, combined with a compactness and nervous force which have perhaps never been surpassed. His prose, also, is exquisitely finished. His early death is deeply to be deplored. The capabilities of his nature were by no means exhausted; and in mature manhood, emancipating himself from the habit of extreme elaboration and writing less with the dread of critics before his eyes, he might have struck into a path of true poetic originality. His brave and friendly character, and his resolute industry in his vocation as a man of letters, were worthy of high admiration. Cold and heartless critics did him incalculable evil by making him afraid to indulge the florid exuberance natural to his genius.

Mr. Robert Buchanan has been, in comparison with Mr. Alexander Smith, a reckless and voluminous writer. His difficulty seems to be to control the torrent of thought, metaphor, fancy, which pours in upon him, and to force it to respect the boundaries of grace and moderation. He revels in grotesque and fantastic limnings, sometimes attaining a rare degree of excellence in literary grotesque, as in his poem on the love of huge Polyphemus for small Galatea, which is, so far as we know, unique, and seems to combine touches from Rabelais, Swift, and Sterne. He has written a great deal of more or less affected and ephemeral verse. True poetry, however, and true feeling abound in what he has told the world about his poet-friend, David Gray, and one at least of his poems has the stamp of immortality visibly impressed upon it. We refer to 'Meg Blane,' which, though it has a few serious defects, must, in our opinion, be assigned a high place among the masterpieces of English literature. The subject is deeply tragic, but not too tragic for the legitimate effects of poetic art. Meg Blane is a woman who lives in the shadow of a crag on the shore of the North Sea, with her only son Angus, an idiot. She is robust, brave, resolute.

> "Not old in years, though youth had passed away,
> And the meek hair was tinged with silver grey,
> Close to the gloaming of the day of life,
> She stood, calm-featured like a wedded wife;
> And yet no wedded wife was she, but one
> Whose foot had left the pathways of the just,
> And meekly, since her penance had been done,
> Her true eyes sought men's faces, not the dust.
> Her tearful days were over; she had found
> Firm footing, work to do upon the ground;
> The elements had welded her at length
> To their own truth and strength."

With what help her little-witted son could give her, she got her livelihood by going out in her black boat along with the other fishing-boats of the village, and casting her net into the sea. "Lives had she snatched out of the waste by night, when stormy winds were blowing," and no man leaped with cooler courage than hers into the life-boat when a wreck was coming ashore. When stranger seamen came to the village, she eyed them searchingly as if she were looking for some one.

> "And finding not the object of her quest,
> Her hand she pressed hard upon her breast,
> And wore a white look, and drew feeble breath,
> Like one that hungereth.

One night, as she sits pondering sadly in her cottage, the cry reaches her ear of "A ship ashore!" She rises, casts one look on her sleeping son, and, going forth, takes the helm of the life-boat. One, and but one, of the shipwrecked crew is saved. Meg looks on him as he lies in the deep sleep of exhaustion, and recognises the father of her son. With a command of language and imagery, a knowledge of the human heart, a pathos and a tenderness, which would do honour to any poet, Mr. Buchanan describes the revelation of herself by Meg Blane to her lover. At the thought of past days and of his promise to come, sooner or later, "and marry her in kirk with holy rite," a quiet radiance,

> "Rose-like and maiden, came upon her face,
> And softened her tall shape to nameless grace,
> As low winds blowing on a birch-tree green
> Make it one rippling trouble of white sheen."

But it is too late. For seven years he has been wedded. Meg does not faint away or shriek, but she has received her death-blow, and in psychological and physiological truth and overpowering pathos Mr. Buchanan's description of her slow death under the unconquerable anguish which has come upon her, is not, to our knowledge, surpassed in the English language. We abstain from quotation simply because we cannot quote enough to do justice to Mr. Buchanan. The pathos of the words, uttered by the dying woman,

> "The Lord that made the wind, and made the sea,
> Is hard on my bairn and me,"

is deep as that of a Hebrew psalm. The poem is altogether great; the more we examine it, the more are we impressed by its transcendent merits. The infinite sadness of the story is in perfect imaginative harmony with the rugged and stormful grandeurs, sublime in their mournfulness, of the North Sea. The elemental powers of nature, which do not pity man, the night, the tempest, the moaning sleepless ocean, are around us, and we seem to feel the gaunt silence which encompasses the suffering human hearts. The anguish of the tale is so actual —the tragedy which moves us is so exactly, in its main features, of the kind which every workhouse could attest—that the chief facts have probably been supplied to the poet; but the very highest invention is displayed in his method of treating the subject.

Mr. George MacDonald's admirable works of prose fiction and devotional theology have partially eclipsed his poetical efforts, but these evince unquestionable poetical genius, and an extraordinary degree of literary skill. There is nothing in Wordsworth's lyrical ballads superior, for poetic delineation of simple incident and for heartfelt pathos, to his 'Child Mother.' His dramatic poem, 'Within and Without,' is defective, the emotion of the piece being too effusive and ecstatic, but in a 'Dream within a Dream' and 'A Hidden Life' there is a very beautiful and quite original glow of colour. A deep thoughtfulness pervades his poems, with great fervency of religious feeling. Never has the gullibility of the mob, combined as it naturally is with conceit, complacency, and a fancied enjoyment of the extreme of liberty, been more exquisitely yet more gently satirised than in the quiet reference to

> "Wild waves, ruled by wilder winds,
> Which call themselves the free."

In the 'Disciple,' in many sweet snatches of song suggested by the story of the 'Holy Grail,' and other poems, the poet touches in a manner partly analytic, partly sympathetic, always delicate and true and deep, upon spiritual and intellectual questions which agitate minds in the present day.

Mr. William Morris has ventured once more to enter the enchanted region of Greek mythology in order to bring thence spells to charm modern readers. Mr. Ruskin pronounces his poems illustrative of the religion and legends of Greece "nearly as beautiful as the work of Keats, and, in general grasp of subject, far more powerful." We hesitate to endorse eulogy so startling, but we cannot, consistently with justice, refuse to admit that the success of Mr. Morris has been signal. His skill in narrative is very great, and if his fire is hardly strong enough to express the ardours of lyrical passion, it is admirably adapted to diffuse that uniform lucency and mild glow over his poems which befit their classic landscape and archaic fashion of life. His 'Life and Death of Jason' has in the highest degree that interest which is probably the only interest now to be awakened by means of the story of the Golden Fleece, to wit, that of a fairy tale. The modern reader is pleasureably, never painfully, excited. The sense of illusion is just sufficiently strong to permit imagination to linger on the scenes portrayed, and to realise the colouring of the poet, but the whole is felt to be a picture. The most dreadful distresses described in the 'Arabian Night's Entertainments'—the most piteous sufferings of damsels changed into black dogs, or princes turned, from the waist downward, into marble—fail to move us. The nature of the subject, the avowedly limited extent of the illusion, render it simply impossible that we should feel such woes in the same way in which we feel the anguish of Desdemona, or the despair of Gretchen. Man can, at bottom, sympathise only with man, and with man under possible circumstances. This is essentially the reason why modern classic poetry, even in such hands as those of Goethe, Keats, and Morris, can never stand higher than the second rank. If, indeed, it were within the power of any poet to make us feel, in listening to his classic strains, as those felt to whom the poems of Homer and the dramas of Sophocles were first recited, this position would be invalidated. But to do so is beyond the power either of poet or of painter. Never again can we believe that the stars faded from the ethereal plain at the strain of Medea; and not the most sympathetically imaginative among us can realise the sensations of that audience which condemned the tragic poet to a fine for having too painfully terrified them by his figures of the Furies. The greatest of poets seems never to have thought of attempting a resuscitation of departed modes of feeling. Into his classic personages he pours the common flood of human life as he knew it. They are Englishmen, not Greeks or Romans, but living Englishmen will always be felt to be more just realisations of ancient Greeks than artificially constructed Greeks would be. 'Julius Cæsar' and 'Coriolanus' belong to the highest order of poetry because they are true to universal human nature, and because truth of local costume is frankly disclaimed. And one cannot help asking with something like sadness and wonder whether modern Europe, modern England, modern voyages, modern wars, modern bridals and burials, have ceased to furnish themes for song, so that our poets must have recourse to the days of Jason. After all we have little right to complain. The temple of English song is large enough to admit many singers, and Browning and Tennyson and many others have done justice to modern themes. Mr. Morris himself, in his most recent poem or collection of poems, entitled the 'Earthly Paradise,' has come nearer to modern life.

It is in connection with the faint classical renaissance of the third quarter of the nineteenth century that Mr. Algernon Charles Swinburne is to be mentioned. His dramatic poem, 'Atalanta in Calydon,' is one of the most striking—we can hardly say important, for the whole effort and achievement of these latest classicists will, we think, prove ephemeral—works of the school. The language is exceedingly splendid, though there is a theatrical strut about it suggestive of rhetoric rather than poetry, and though the artifice of alliteration, the besetting sin of Mr. Swinburne, is boyishly indulged in. The tragic tone is well sustained, and the pathos reached is perhaps as deep as the materials admitted. The idea of the sternness of nature and fate is brought out with great force. It may be questioned, however, whether the pessimism which is the ground tone of the poem is true to classic times, or, in the language of warriors, not philosophers, to any times. The preposterous and offensive expression "the supreme evil, god," could be the formula of no sect or school save that of the atheistic and pessimist materialists of modern Europe. It may be objected to this poem, besides, that there is in it too much of philosophic speechifying and too little of picture. Mr. Swinburne's power is lyrical and perhaps, to some extent (for the two are not incompatible), metaphysical; his dramatic faculty is limited in the extreme, except in connection with morbid and horrible states of feeling. Few men, for example, could enter with more curiously sympathetic intelligence into the mind of Count Cenci. In 'Chastelard,' a tragedy in which Mr. Swinburne turned once more for poetical materials to the times and the history of Mary, Queen of Scots, illustration is afforded of this capacity of dramatically realising morbid states of mind. Many of Mr. Swinburne's small pieces display spirit. In his zeal, however, for pagan naturalism, he offended the moral instincts of his countrymen, and a volume of his poems was withdrawn from circulation. His 'Bothwell,' though unreadably long, is his most mature and solidly able work.

Mr. Browning refers in one of his poems to the inclination frequently evinced by poets to express themselves in painting, and by artists to express themselves in verse. Three living artists of eminence have afforded illustration of this remark. Sir Noel Paton, whose rich fancy and simple unaffected feeling gave him high reputation as an artist, published in 1861 a volume of poems entitled 'Poems by a Painter.' They are brilliant in language, but lack imaginative power. This verse, part of a description of sunrise in a forest, under the old symbol of the chariot-driving, bow-bending Apollo climbing the sky, is fine :—

"Through the long grass—o'er the awakening flowers—
Up the grey boles of cedar, beech, and pine,
His golden splendours slant in arrowy showers,
Or, snake-like, leap and twine."

In 1861 the literary and art-loving public learned with some surprise that Mr. Thomas Woolner, known for the austere grace and intense veracity of his works in sculpture, had published a poem, 'My Beautiful Lady.' The work was instantly pronounced by critical judges to possess merit, and ran through several editions. It displays high poetical excellence, and derives a somewhat curious interest both from its similarity and its dissimilarity to its author's works in marble. It recalls Mr. Woolner's marble groups and busts, from the rigidity which is in all its beauty; but its rich colour, its opulence in metaphor, and the comparative freedom and fluency with which, as the poem draws near its close, the melody seems to gush forth, suggest that the cold marble has always been something of a tomb for the genius of Mr. Woolner, and that his nature has suffered constraint in being bound to work in form, and being denied colour. 'My Beautiful Lady' purports to be a poem detailing the experience of one who has had a great sorrow in youth, and felt its hallowing effects. The beautiful lady of the piece is the beloved of the singer. The ardour of their affection is described in language and imagery richly sensuous without the faintest trace of sensuality. The lady is smitten with fatal disease. The "gorgon of our island," the cruel malady that turns bright faces, radiant with youth, white and cold as stone, strikes her even while, regardless of the east wind, she lingers in the garden leaning on her lover's arm. The difficult period of their intercourse while she passes through stage after stage of the disease, both of them knowing that it must end in death, is described with delicate skill. She comforts him; and the admiration and delight produced by her words, while anguish at the thought of her inevitable death still presses on him, result in a conflict of emotions indicated by the striking imagery embodied in the last two lines of the following stanza :—

"The music stopped, and passed into a smile
Of tenderness, which she impressed to guile
Her pain from me: I gazed as one awhile
Escaped, who sees twin rainbows shine
O'er his wrecked ship gulphed in brine."

She dies. Still she seems to speak to him, but he has no language to express her utterance :—

"I can no more, with glimmering trope,
That into darkness runs,
Reveal its depth, than they could hope,
Who on in life-long blindness grope,
To sing of rising suns."

The third artist-poet whom we have to mention is Mr. D. G. Rossetti. Sir Noel Paton is more a painter than a poet, Mr. Woolner is more a sculptor than a poet, but Mr. Rossetti is greater with his pen than with his brush. On this point, indeed, there may be a difference of opinion. Mr. Rossetti's pictures have been highly applauded, and some would place him at the head of the pre-Raphaelite brotherhood. We are convinced, however, that his imagination is too fertile, fluent, impatient—too remotely suggestive—too much bound up with complex processes of thought and idiosyncratic moods of feeling, to find adequate expression through his, comparatively speaking, far inferior capacity of pictorial execution. To do full justice on canvas to his thought, his feeling, in one word, his imagination, he would have required the executive power of a Tintoret or a Turner. This he emphatically lacked, and the consequence was that his pictures displayed a quaintness, a trick of singularity, a straining after effect, calculated to convey the impression of affected and straining mediocrity. We shall not affirm that none of these qualities are to be traced in the poems of Mr. Rossetti, but in the best of them, indeed in all, there is unmistakable evidence of poetical genius and imaginative power. The 'Sister Helen' affords a good illustration of success in poetry under conditions which would have forbidden success in painting. The mysterious horror and awe—the pity for distress, checked by suggestion of criminal love and of fiendish intensity of hatred—produced in the mind of the reader by the poem could not have been realised in painting. The fiendlike woman, gloating over the agonies she is inflicting on her false lover—the wraithlike forms which plead with her on his behalf in vain—the terrible imagination of two souls passing to perdition, the one through evil love, the other through evil hate—would have become mere Fuseli-like spectrality if Mr. Rossetti had attempted to embody his conception in a picture. This poem proves Mr. Rossetti to be a master of execution in words, and his range as a poet will be apprehended if the reader turns from 'Sister Helen' to 'Jenny.' The one is weird, remote, belonging to olden time, to some grim land we know not where; the other is as modern as are the gas-lighted streets of London, with their gin-palaces, and music-halls, and Jennies who do not spin and are not ashamed to do worse than beg. We hardly see what good end, either in the way of information imparted or remedy suggested, Mr. Rossetti proposed to attain in making the commonplace prostitution of London, exhibited in its bleak frivolity without peculiarity of character or novelty of incident, the subject of a poem. The 'Last Confession' is, for the majority of readers, perhaps the best example that can be offered of Mr. Rossetti's work. It is the confession of a wounded soldier on his death-bed to the priestly father who comes to administer the consolations of religion, that he had murdered his sweetheart. There is dramatic truth in this poem which could not, we think, have been excelled by Browning, and it has touches of tenderness and sweet glimpses of landscape which we might have sought in vain from the older and greater poet. There is marvellous imaginative truth and sympathy in the reiterated shrinking of the dying man from the point when he comes to the murder; and the association of friendliness, love, jealousy, and irrepressible rage in one heart, is doubtless true to the Italian character. This poem is a masterpiece, and it is not the only masterpiece in Mr. Rossetti's volume. His sonnets are elaborate, bold, and original, but occasionally far-fetched in thought, and obscurely grand in diction.

It has, of course, not been our aim, in this sketch of the history of recent English poetry, to mention every one who has deserved the name of poet. A large number of writers have possessed the accomplishment of verse, and would have attained distinction, had not the poetical standard been held high by more gifted contemporaries. Lord Lytton, Mr. Disraeli, and others, have published brilliantly worded and pleasingly modulated poems. Of more genuine poetical genius were Robert Nicoll and William Thom. Some of Nicoll's stanzas have nearly as much spirit as those of Burns, and the ill starred poet of Inverurie wrote with a pathetic tenderness and a vivid simplicity which have not been surpassed. The poems of Mr. Thomas Aird, which have run through several editions, display original imaginative power, an extraordinary command of language, and a fresh and loving acquaintance with the aspects of nature. Very beautiful and melodious pieces have been published by Mrs. Charles, authoress of the 'Schönberg Cotta Family,' Mrs. Craik, Mrs. Isa Craig Knox, and "Dora Greenwell." In no poet whom we have named has the lyric inspiration been more pure than in Mr. Gerald Massey. The best of his poetry is like the warbling of birds and the gushing of rills, as natural, sweet, bright, and inimitable. But he injured his reputation and impaired his power by producing and publishing quantities of ephemeral verse, and the public has been taught to turn from every poet who offers them anything except fine gold. Mr. Sydney Dobell became suddenly famous by the publication of a dramatic poem, entitled the 'Roman.' He owed his inspiration to enthusiasm for the cause of Italian unity and independence, and the work glows with patriotic ardour. It was followed by a narrative poem of considerable length, styled 'Balder,' and this by a volume of comparatively brief pieces, suggested by the Crimean war, and designated 'England in Wartime.' In these the effort to give dramatic expression to the feelings and notions of every personage introduced issued in a somewhat crude naturalism which offended the fastidious public. Mr. Dobell's poems, with the exception of the 'Roman,' have not attained wide popularity, but they are full of metaphoric brilliancy, and of unaffectedly noble and manly sentiment. Verses of admirable wit and light brilliancy have been published by Mr. Norman Locker; and a variety of poems, didactic, reflective, and narrative, have earned a high poetical reputation for the author of 'Olrig Grange.'

Part II.—Prose Literature.

Were it our object to produce a complete and detailed history of the fictitious literature of Great Britain during the present century, we should now enter upon a minute examination of the novels of Galt, second only to those of Scott in appreciation of Scottish character, in racy picturesqueness and in mother-wit, the novels of Lockhart, Scott's son-in-law, which possess a high value were it only in the compact vigour and nervous strength of their style, at least one novel by "Thomas Hope, the far-famed 'Athanasius,'" and perhaps more than one of the splendidly worded but boneless and sentimental stories of Professor Wilson. What we propose, however, is to treat almost exclusively of those who have successively borne the sceptre as reigning favourite in the novel-writing and reading world during the period with which we are concerned, merely glancing at less celebrated novelists, and not engaging even to name any save a few of those who stood nearest the throne. We therefore proceed at once to that writer of fiction who first taught the English-speaking public that, though the wizard of Waverley had ceased to scatter enchantment, there was a novel-writer alive who could rival his spells. The reader anticipates the name of Charles Dickens. In 1837 began to appear the 'Pickwick Papers.' The author, who had already attracted some little notice by his 'Sketches,' was then twenty-five.

Of 'Pickwick' it may be safely said that it has produced more of innocent laughter than any book in the English language. In fun, regarded as something lighter and more on the surface than humour, it is unrivalled by any work of Scott's; and if humour is the finest and kindliest essence of fun—fun that loves the very foibles and absurdities at which it laughs—then must it be admitted that, in the delineation of Mr. Pickwick, there is a trace of genuine humour. We laugh, and laugh only, at Mr. Pickwick when we see him perched upon a chair, one hand under his coat-tails, the other waved in the air to increase the oratorical effect, addressing the club. There is fun, and nothing more than fun, in such incidents as his being wheeled into the pound, or his tumbling on the ice. But we begin to feel more deeply respecting the old gentleman when his indestructible warmth of heart, and sturdy resolution not to submit to injustice, and utter absence of malice, and incapacity to retain anger, are revealed to us. The portrait is, to some extent, a frank caricature. It is not possible that a Londoner in Mr. Pickwick's position could be quite such a simpleton. But there is much in him of the true John Bull, and the longer the novelist keeps him before us the more does the caricature slip, like a masque, aside, and the real man—honest, brave, simple-hearted, always willing to put himself about to do a deed of benevolence—dawn out upon us. There is, with all its farcical scenes and burlesque incidents, a ripeness of literary power in this book which places it among the wonders of literature. The writing, considered as writing, is surprisingly good. There is always the right word in the right place—never a word too many, no boyish flourishing or rhodomontade. A style so mature and masculine was remarkable in so young a writer, but still more remarkable was the perfect vitality, perfect individuality, of every character in the large and varied group. Every member of the Pickwick club is relieved with exquisite precision from every other, and each will be found to represent a distinct species of the enormous genus "simpleton"—fool would perhaps be the better word if it were understood to be used in the sense that was in Shakespeare's head when he said, "Foolery, sir, doth walk round the orb like the sun, it shines everywhere." There is Winkle the sporting, bragging fool, Tupman the philandering fool, Snodgrass the rhyming fool. Jingle, for all his clever impudence, is a fool, also, and a very common one. It is characteristic of Dickens that neither among the members of the club nor elsewhere in the book is there the venomous fool. Not even when he gets among the lawyers does he introduce to us a malignant villain. If, indeed, we may trust an impression derived from a pretty extensive acquaintance with his books, we should say that he generally fails in his types of villainy. Sykes is doubtless a very bad man, and yet we feel him to be true to nature. Dickens had probably seen men enough of the Sykes pattern while attending the criminal courts of London in capacity of reporter, and there is nothing unlikely in the history of the burglar. But Dickens's bad men have a tendency to become mere monsters like Quilp and Jonas Chuzzlewit. Fagin is admirable as an imaginary portrait, but he has hardly more humanity than Caliban. One of the most warm-hearted men of his time, Dickens described thoroughly bad men from the outside, as a naturalist of to-day might describe the case of a repulsive reptile of the Lias formation. With every one definable as a good fellow, however weak, however ridiculous, he was at home. His sympathy was an "Open Sesame," that admitted him into every noble heart. But his fancy was too rich, his wit too brilliant, to let him keep closely to his materials. Knowing London and Londoners consummately, he was nevertheless the inventor of Sam Weller. Only the rudest suggestion could have been derived from London streets either of the inimitable son or of the inimitable father. Both, however, fulfil to perfection the one essential canon of literary art; they "might have been." Given the natural outfit of cleverness, that is to say, make a London cabman as clever as Dickens, and London circumstances would produce just such an one as Sam Weller. He is the most interesting character in the book—the most popular indeed of all Dickens's personages. There is neither depth nor pathos in the delineation, and it belongs to the region of wit and of fun rather than to that of humour. With men this is a drawback; the humour of Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Scott gives them more to dwell upon; but with boys Sam is the most popular character in the whole range of literature. The 'Pickwick Papers' were published in monthly numbers, with illustrations by Mr. Hablot Browne, so true to the conceptions of the author, so piquant, bright, and charming, that they added largely to the attractions of the book. When the monthly sale, which began at a few hundred copies, reached 40,000, it was evident that a novelist had arisen who, as a public entertainer, could vie with Scott. Dickens took the pseudonym of Boz, Browne of Phiz, but no effort was made to preserve the disguise when success was assured.

It is a curious fact, perhaps unexampled in the history of literature, that 'Pickwick' was written or at least undertaken to order. When Charles Dickens began it, he was a reporter, a tenth-rate journalist, a bookseller's hack; when he completed it, he was the most famous novelist in Britain, perhaps in the world. He no doubt kicked over the traces as he proceeded with the work, but the plan of the sporting club was given him, and the course he was to pursue mapped out. The racy freedom of the sketching with which the book abounds, and the charm it has when opened at any page and read for half an hour, are probably due in part to the absence of plot. In devising and executing his next novel, 'Nicholas Nickleby,' Dickens was his own master. It is a regular novel, with continuous story, and formal, though slight and unimportant plot. It has been much praised, and was received with favour even by a public fresh from 'Pickwick.' The episode of Dotheboys Hall, despite its caricature—for Squeers is more of a monstrosity than of a man—is imperishable both for its pathos and its comicality. But we can form no comprehension of the state of mind of those who speak of 'Nicholas Nickleby' as Dickens's best novel. Its inferiority to 'Pickwick' seem to us immeasurable. The one book adds at least two figures to art's gallery of immortals—Sam Weller and Mr. Pickwick, while there is not a single character in the other on which the mind cares to dwell. Here and there, in its love and its heroism, 'Nickleby' verges towards the Minerva press and histrionic schools. There are nobly eloquent passages—glowing with the warmest tints of fancy—but the gaiety, the light sportive buoyancy, the holiday air and boyish jollity which pervade 'Pickwick' have almost vanished. 'Oliver Twist,' the author's third great attempt, was again supremely successful. The only objection that can be made to this novel is that it is too short; and it is too short only inasmuch as we wish, when we have done, that there were more of it, not in the sense of being imperfectly or impatiently finished. We have now a very different company of performers from the 'Nickleby' set. The workhouse boy, the workhouse beadle, the Artful Dodger, Fagin, Bill Sykes, and Nancy, are creations of which any novelist that ever wrote might have been proud. Oliver is not much *per se;* nay, he illustrates, in his angelical simplicity, purity, and courage, a pervading fallacy of Dickens's character-painting, namely, that it takes no note of the action of circumstance upon human development. But the one incident of the "asking for more," with its antecedents and results, is so intensely expressive of the condition, feeling, and destiny of a workhouse boy that it alone suffices for a portrait. As for Bumble, the supreme, solitary, unapproachable incarnation of English beadledom, Homer or Shakespeare would have cried with delight over such a creation. As a piece of artist's work, Bumble is, as Mr. Ruskin says of Holbein's George Gyzen, "perfect with a fine perfection." He has exactly that proportion of literal and of imaginative truth which goes to a faultless ideal. And with what lingering and inexpressible satisfaction of soul does the reader behold the dealing out to Bumble of poetical justice, when the yoke of Mrs. Bumble galls him to the quick. "I went cheap," says Mr. Bumble, "dirt cheap." The mind of man cannot conceive a happier stroke than this. The death of Nancy and that of Sykes are as profoundly and grandly tragic as the fun of the earlier portion of the book is exquisite; and the materials out of which the master produces such effects are the dismal love and ghastly death of a London gallows-bird and his mate. Dickens was not yet thirty when he produced this superlative novel.

Passing over two or three works which maintained the great reputation which he had won, and remarking only that little Nell has probably drawn more tears than any heroine in modern fiction—many more, certainly, than Goethe's Mignon—we come to 'Martin Chuzzlewit,' in which Dickens brought out several characters that at once impressed themselves upon the national imagination. Pecksniff, Mrs. Gamp, Mark Tapley, and Tom Pinch have one and all the stuff of immortality in them. All of these are more or less exaggerated, and Mark Tapley in particular is about as much a creation of the fancy as Ariel. Yet Mark has passed into current English literature as the type of the faithful and indomitable servant, and is interesting as a sort of lyrical dramatisation of Dickens's conception of what a true and brave servitor might be. Mrs. Gamp is a caricature, but hardly so extravagant as to lie beyond the limits of serious art. Tom Pinch is one of Dickens's best characters—a personage in delineating whom his own home-bred, heart-felt kindliness had full play. It was perfect happiness for Dickens to depict such people as Tom and his sister Ruth. Pecksniff is another of the many characters of Dickens which have become familiar in the mouths of men as household words, and have furnished material for adjectives and proverbs. But it may be seriously questioned whether Dickens's method of portraiture, as exhibited in Pecksniff and one or two more of his characters, is sound. Hypocrites do not wear their hearts on their sleeve. A bad man, in the overwhelming majority of cases, not only hides his badness from his neighbours, but sedulously disguises it from himself. Hypocrisy, of all vices, appears to be naturally akin to cunning and dissimulation, and the profound hypocrite is discovered only by the carefully observant and penetrating eye. Every man, woman, and child who heard Pecksniff speak must have perceived his hypocrisy; if Tom Pinch did not make the discovery, it merely proved that Tom was innocent in a sense not quite so complimentary to his brain as to his heart. It is the part of a true artist to exhibit the characters of his personages by words and actions that compel them to yield up secrets which it may be the effort of their life to conceal; but Pecksniff proclaims from the housetops that he is a hypocrite. It may be said that Shakespeare sanctions, in his Richard III., this style of delineation. "I am determined," says Richard on the stage, "to prove a villain." But though Richard says this on the stage, he says it in soliloquy, and the moment he ceases to be alone—the moment Clarence appears—he becomes the sympathising brother. On the whole we must decide that Pecksniff belongs to the signboard style of literary painting; but we may add, first, that Pecksniff is a consummate example of the style, and, secondly, that Molière's Tartuffe, who, likely enough, may have suggested the character to Dickens, is executed in the same. On the whole, 'Chuzzlewit' must be pronounced one of the author's masterpieces. There are some passages in it of extraordinary power and eloquence. Tom Pinch's ride on the top of the coach to London is one of the most genial pieces of half comic, half lyric description known to us in any language; and its interest is enhanced by the probability—almost the certainty—that it was suggested by Dickens's own experiences when a reporter.

He was actually issuing 'Martin Chuzzlewit' in monthly numbers when the thought struck him of publishing a Christmas tale, and the result was the 'Christmas Carol' of 1843. Nothing more characteristic of Dickens than this little work has come from his pen, and if he had left nothing else behind him, it would suffice to demonstrate that he was one of the kindest-hearted of men. The writing is remarkably good—terse, telling, graphic, with a warm glow of imaginative ardour. The fun and the humour—exquisite though quiet—give it a flavour as of old and costly wine. Tiny Tim and Bob Cratchit, and the entire Cratchit family and *ménage*, are as characteristically and inimitably products of the genius of Dickens as the description of the wards in Melebolge is characteristic of the genius of Dante. Several Christmas stories followed the 'Carol' in successive years, but it has been generally recognised that the first Christmas book was not equalled by any of the others.

The only other book by Dickens which it is necessary for us to do more than mention is 'David Copperfield.' This we put side by side with 'Pickwick.' The one was the greatest novel of his early manhood, the other of his middle age. It might have been seen at the time to be to a large extent autobiographical, and this fact has been explicitly certified by Mr. Forster in his life of the author. The circumstances of his early life were of course altered and disguised by the novelist, but David Copperfield, boy and man, is unmistakably Charles Dickens. Doubtless he is idealised, but not so much as to destroy the authenticity of the portrait. Never was boyish love depicted with more arch geniality, with more brilliant gracefulness of sympathetic fancy, than those shown by Dickens in describing young David Copperfield's affection for Dora. The description of the Peggoty family and of Barker's courtship recall Scott's sketches of life among the Fifeshire fishermen. Dickens does not reach the stern and rugged pathos of the scene in which old Mucklebackit mends the boat from which his son Steenie has been drowned, and, on the other hand, Scott has nothing to set off against Barker's wooing. The rivalry in love of Ham and Steerforth is delineated with powerfully contrasted, admirably chosen colours, true to human nature and to the modification which our common nature receives under the varying action of circumstances and of society: and in the death-scene of the rivals, Dickens becomes sublime. No character in the book has made a deeper impression on the general mind than Micawber. It is not quite pleasant to reflect that the original of this portrait was Dickens's father; but neither does the thought occasion deep pain, for Micawber, with all his absurdities, is a good-hearted, well-intentioned creature, whom misfortune cannot sour, and of whose ultimate success in Australia the reader is glad to hear. From an artistic point of view, Micawber deserves high commendation. He is the type of a large class of men, and his peculiarities are depicted without more of exaggeration than was necessary to secure the attention of the multitude of readers. The power and truthfulness with which, in this celebrated character, Dickens embodied the distinctive traits of one of the permanent varieties of human nature, are attested by the enormous range of illustration which Micawber affords to the journalist. The politician who is always promising, but bringing forward no substantial measures—the projector who, often foiled, is ever ready to put his trust in some new scheme—the speculative tradesman bankrupt of everything but hope, are each and all realised for the reader by a stroke of the pen referring to Micawber. Surely also it is but just to say that in such a character there is an immense *didactic* value. There are perhaps no qualities of more importance to the attainment of that amount of success in life without which a man is a distress to himself and his friends than precisely those which are so conspicuously absent in Micawber that no man can be stupid enough not to perceive the want. A dozen sermons on the virtues of industry, prudence, constancy of effort, sobriety of judgment, and thoughtful self-command could not enforce them so strongly as the simple contemplation of Micawber. The lad who, having followed Micawber through Dickens's volumes, does not, in his heart of hearts, *feel* the difference between vague hopefulness, ever looking for something to "turn up," and the quiet, resolute self-trust which puts the hand to the plough and does not look back, will learn by no schooling. A middle-aged Micawber may perhaps be irreclaimable; but we know no novel which we should put into the hands of young men with more confident expectation of their deriving benefit from it than 'David Copperfield.'

Until his death in 1870 Dickens continued to publish novels, of which 'Hard Times' is probably the best. In this book he addressed himself to the satiric exposure of the cruelties and iniquities that attach to our manufacturing and mercantile system, with a heartiness comparable to that with which, in the morning of his fame, he lashed educational tyrants and impostors in the person of Squeers. But Gradgrind is a feebler portait than Squeers, and both are caricatures. There is a great deal of imaginative writing in this book, and it was evidently the fruit of conscientious conviction and careful effort; but Dickens had no scientific mastery of the subject with which he dealt, and there is little or nothing in 'Hard Times' in the way of suggestion as to the melioration of our social ills that can be pronounced at once new and true. In some of his later works, notably in 'Little Dorrit,' Dickens fell into that *falsetto* tone which we quite fail to trace in his earlier productions, although Dr. John Brown seems to apply the term to his writings generally. In such passages as "Little Dorrit's evening party," there is a straining after effect, issuing in a mixture of sentimentality and bombast, to which there is nothing similar in the books of his prime. He declared, however, that his later works were read by larger numbers than his earlier, and he continued to be to the last the most popular living novelist. No critic worth listening to denied the originality, richness, or fascination of his genius; but, so early as about 1850, a detachment of readers ventured to declare that, though the most popular, he was not the greatest of contemporary novelists. This detachment swelled gradually into a host, and the man whom they bore on their bucklers into the throne of the world of fiction was William Makepeace Thackeray.

Born at Calcutta in 1811, Thackeray was one year younger than Dickens, but his genius reached maturity by a much slower process of development than that of his brilliant rival. He passed through the regular stages of an English education at the Charterhouse School in London and the university of Cambridge. His father, a civil servant of the East India Company, was in easy circumstances, and his son found himself in early life in possession of about 20,000*l.* In choosing a profession, therefore, young Thackeray was not under the necessity of making pecuniary emolument a primary consideration, and he chose the career of an artist. A vein of genial, good-humoured drollery made him a charming companion. In his travels in France, Italy, and Germany, he appears to have done comparatively little of that hard, close, long-continued work by which alone, except in the case of those whose natural capacity as draughtsmen or colourists is transcendent, the difficult language of pictorial art can be mastered; but he was all the time, without knowing it, laying up stores of delicately humorous or genially sarcastic observation of human nature, and preparing himself, in a circle of jovial young friends, to become a most accurate and felicitous and sportively sympathetic describer of the young men of the upper and lower middle class in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is a significant jotting in the account of his continental rambles that, in the last years of the life of Goethe, he was one of "at least a score of young English lads who used to live at Weimar for study, or sport, or society; all of which were to be had in the friendly little Saxon capital." He was already a sketcher of caricatures, and he was made "very proud" by being told that "the great Goethe" had looked at some of them. Of his art studies in London we have a record, touched with the most delicious drollery, but no doubt correct in main points, in his account of Gandish, R.A., and his Art Academy, in 'The Newcomes.' That account has an additional interest for the critic of art as revealing what Thackeray certainly did not think of when he wrote the passage, namely, one at least of the causes why he, Thackeray, did not become a great painter. Gandish, with his high-flown notions of historical art, was not the man to impress upon his pupils that the hand of a painter must pass through a severe and difficult training, whatever may be his intellectual qualifications. Thackeray never learned to draw a firm, or free, or subtly accurate line, and therefore his illustrations to his books, though precious on account of the flavour of his peculiar drollery which seems to linger about them, suggest the idea of thought imperfectly expressed, of power that works in shackles, or that has not the command of its instruments. It has often been mentioned that Thackeray made an offer of his services to illustrate the first works of Dickens, and that the latter, with honest friendliness, pronounced an unfavourable opinion as to his ever being able to succeed as an artist.

Happily for the literature of England, Thackeray's pecuniary resources were so crippled about the time when he completed his period of art-study that he was under the necessity of addressing himself to work of some kind or other with sufficient earnestness, assiduity, and success to secure a livelihood. He called in his pen to aid his pencil, and soon found that the pen was likely to prove the more efficient servant of the two. It was in 1841 that John Sterling, dashing off, for his mother, the occurrences of his daily life at Falmouth, made this entry:—"I got hold of the two first numbers of the 'Hoggarty Diamond,' and read them with extreme delight. What is there better in Fielding or Goldsmith? The man is a true genius; and, with quiet and comfort, might produce masterpieces that would last as long as any we have, and delight millions of unborn readers." This criticism is worthy of the fine intellect and generous heart of Sterling. In the 'Great Hoggarty Diamond' the genius of Thackeray is revealed in its richest essence, and it seems strange that, with this tale to instruct them, so many who have written upon Thackeray should have pronounced him a cold and cynical judge of human nature, a bitter and remorseless satirist. It is the simplest goodness of heart that is the heroism of this book, and the satire is never grave enough to chill the sunniest smile from the face of the reader. Exquisitely also in this little book is there displayed the power which Thackeray possessed of distinguishing gentleness of heart and soul from all its counterfeits, and discerning the true lady beneath humble weeds; and, along with this power, that which its counterpart or its other side, namely, skill to detect the sham gentleman, the snob, the vulgar person, under any garniture of rank or wealth. The genius displayed in the 'Great Hoggarty Diamond' is of finer quality than that exhibited in 'Barry Lyndon,' another of Thackeray's early books. This is a tale of Irish life and is exceedingly amusing, but the style adopted is that of obvious caricature, almost of farce, and Barry is essentially a stage Irishman. His leaping his horse, with its burden—himself and his sweetheart—over the parapet of a bridge into the torrent below, is an incident too wild for serious fiction. As a rollicking, clever, devil-ma'-care story, however, 'Barry Lyndon' can hardly be too much praised. It was published after the 'Great Hoggarty Diamond,' and it strikes us as probable that, finding the quiet and careful work in the latter too slow for the popular taste, he dashed out into the bold, broad, comparatively random sketching of the Irish tale. The pseudonyms chosen by Thackeray in his first time appears to indicate that he ranked himself as a light horseman in the army of literature. "Michel Angelo Titmarsh," "George Fitzboodle, Esq.," and "The Fat Contributor," were designations which were suspected by but a penetrating observer here and there to be the varying and fantastic suits of armour which covered the limbs of a new literary Lancelot or Cœur de Lion.

The secret was divulged when the rattling sketcher of 'Barry Lyndon,' and the whimsical caricaturist whose drolleries enlivened *Punch*, stood unmasked before his contemporaries as the author of 'Vanity Fair.' Thackeray was not yet forty when this novel appeared, but his education as a literary artist was at an end. He had attained perfect mastery of a style distinctively his own, and he had fixed upon a class of subjects as new as his style, and admirably fitted to be treated of in his peculiar forms of phrase and diction. The style of 'Vanity Fair' is the easy, racy, expressive talk of a genial yet caustic observer of society, who, from his arm-chair, "rays forth" remarks to a confidential audience, who reward him with a smile of assenting merriment rather than with loud laughter or vehement applause. He is not a Homer reciting with impassioned reverence the deeds of heroes; he is not a Walter Scott, intent upon his narrative, keeping himself in the back-ground, and apologising for even so much comment as he finds necessary to place the actors in his drama clearly before the reader; he has discarded heroes altogether, —frankly proclaims that the book is a "novel without a hero,"—tacitly assumes that reverence, at least as applied to human beings, has been discarded as a slow, old-fashioned virtue, and makes the tale itself subordinate to or, to say the least, of no more importance than the piquantly philosophical observations which character and incident suggest to the novelist. It is manifest that a style like this admitted of the utmost elaboration in detail, and afforded an opportunity for the use of any stores of learning, ancient or modern, which the author might have amassed. It was in fact a combination of the styles appropriate to narrative and to essay respectively, and had more of the allusive richness of the latter than the writing either of Scott or of Dickens. In this respect it corresponded to the style of Balzac, of whose works Thackeray is known to have been an attentive student. The personages in 'Vanity Fair,' and in Thackeray's most important works generally, are exactly such as suit the purposes of the gently ironical philosopher. They have one and all some badness or some weakness which render them expressive illustrations of the remarks of a social satirist. One fact seems to have struck Thackeray more than any other in his survey of human life,—the frequency with which wit and worth are found entirely separated from each other in different individuals. His clever men and women are scampish, his good men and women are dull. He saw that, in life, the scampishness does not prevent the clever people from being agreeable, the worthiness does not prevent the innocent people from being bores. He perceived that an immense deal could be made of this fact in the way of mildly satirical writing. The lower reading public found the observation of human nature on which he depended for his effects too refined to interest them, but even the select reading public forms in the present day a large audience, and with the select reading public Thackeray was, from the time when he issued 'Vanity Fair,' to the day of his death, the reigning favourite. In his closing years George Eliot shared the throne, but could not be said to dispute it. Becky Sharp and Amelia Sedley are the expressly contrasted female characters, good and bad, in 'Vanity Fair,' but the real contrast is between Becky and Major Dobbin. Amelia's goodness is of too neutral tint to be sufficient even as a foil to the picturesque and spicy badness of Becky; but Dobbin is so exceedingly good—so brave, so self-sacrificing, so generous—and yet so hopelessly stupid, that the relief thus afforded to the piquant impishness of Rebecca is irresistibly effective. Moralists may inquire, plausibly or more than plausibly, whether it is altogether right or advantageous to exhibit goodness in its most prosaic aspect and to make vice so pleasant, and there is no rejoinder on behalf of Thackeray except that it is often so in life; but even this argument, questionable on other grounds, would not palliate the assignment to virtue of any clearly superfluous and unnecessary elements of absurdity or uncouthness. It was Aytoun, we think, who put it pointedly to Thackeray whether Dobbin should have splay feet. Strange to say, the splay feet of the estimable Major are felt to be perfectly in keeping with the rest of his personality, and Dobbins in real life are curiously apt to have either splay feet or some other grotesque belonging which makes their warmest admirers smile. To do justice to Thackeray, it must be admitted that Dobbin, with all his dulness, is loved and honoured by the reader, while Becky, with all her cleverness, is felt to be a tainted thing, incapable of happiness, and always as miserable as she makes others.

Of the 'History of Pendennis,' another novel of contemporary life in which Thackeray made use of his experience in literary and fashionable circles in the metropolis, and introduced to his readers that model of housewifely goodness of the middle-class English type, Laura, we need not speak; and of 'Esmond,' regarded by many as the most perfect of the author's fictions, we say only that, in vivacity of narrative and changeful animation of incident, it is immeasurably inferior to Scott's historical novels; but it is proper that we should make a few observations on that book which we regard as, without question or comparison, Thackeray's masterpiece, 'The Newcomes.' This novel answers in some respects better to the idea of a prose epic than any work of fiction of the century. Colonel Newcome is essentially the hero of the book, and he is in the highest sense, that is to say in the moral sense, heroic. The colonel is a vindication of Thackeray's manner, or at least a perfect presentation of a plea in defence of that manner. "I do not intend," virtually says the author, "to depict virtue and its environment differently from the reality as I behold it in the world around me. But this I do intend,—that virtue shall, in my work, be seen to be infinitely lovable, infinitely honourable, whether in prosperity or in adversity. Colonel Newcome is no ideal hero. He has weaknesses; he has prejudices; he will be laughed at by clever people, and made a prey of by cunning and rapacious people, and despised and hated by bad people; but he is a true man, brave, simple-hearted, upright, kind; and prosperity cannot intoxicate him, nor misfortune embitter him, nor anything of which the world and the devil are capable make him utterly unhappy. As a novel 'The Newcomes' would probably have been more taking if the colonel had ended otherwise than as a poor brother in a charitable institution, but the grandeur of the book would have been lost. We know nothing in fictitious literature morally so sublime as the closing period of Colonel Newcome's life; and the moral sublime in this instance is as different a thing as could possibly be imagined from the moral sublime of the Minerva press. The colonel has been compared to Fielding's Squire Alworthy, but we have no hesitation in pronouncing the comparison to be too flattering for Fielding. Alworthy is a fine character; contrasting in his somewhat stately but genuine goodness with the scape-grace recklessness of Tom Jones and the harum-scarum blatancy of Squire Western; but he is more like a statue in marble, not to to say chalk, which goes through certain formal motions by machinery, than a living man. The colonel is alive to the finger-tips. We know him, boy, youth, man, and grey-beard, as we know our dearest friends. The identity of the character is preserved throughout with a fidelity worthy of Scott or of Shakespeare. The impulsive, passionate, gallant English boy, who kicks fiercely out against harshness, but is always tameable by a tender word, is just the youth to fall in love with the sweet French girl whom he cannot wed—just the man to rush into the city when he returns from India expecting to be clasped to their hearts by his brothers—just the man to be victimised by Mrs. Mackenzie—just the man to carry on the war savagely with Barnes Newcome—just the tottering old white head to listen to the prattling of Clive's boy, and to be chivalrously considerate of the child's little nurse, and to mutter no syllable of complaint against Providence or against man when he answers to his name as a pensioner in the Charterhouse. But the colonel, though the noblest character in 'The Newcomes'—the hero and true centre of the book—is by no means its one successful or notable portrait. There is a whole group of personages on the boards—English, French, and Indian, men, women, and children—and not one of them is a lay figure or mere walking gentleman. Barnes Newcome is a wonderful portrait, vividly distinct in the drawing, finished to the fingers of his irreproachable gloves. Ethel is one of the finest realisations of brilliant, wayward, witching, ambitious, but not so ambitious as leal and loving, girlhood in the whole range of English fiction. The serious body of the work is admirably relieved and enlivened by the duel between the Gascon and Lord Kew with all the attendant incidents; and Fred Bayham, and Paul de Florac, and the Reverend Charles Honeywood, and Rosie and her awful mother, and the Marquis of Farintosh, and Clive himself, and the young poet-painter J. R., play their respective parts with felicitous truth to nature and immense entertainment to the reader. The defect of the work lies in the story. As a novel it has no construction, no evolution. The problem which, from the novel readers' point of view, Thackeray had to solve in it was the attainment of connubial felicity by Clive and Ethel; but, as we had formerly occasion to remark, the solution of this problem which we have in 'The Newcomes' is not the joyous and triumphant one which suits the conclusion of a love-story, but the limping make-shift or make-amends of a plot that has broken down. If the construction and development of the tale had been equal to those of Scott's best novels,—we regard these as superior in plot to 'Tom Jones'—we should without qualification or doubt have declared 'The Newcomes' the finest novel in the English language. Even with acknowledgment of this defect, we are not sure that it cannot claim the first place. In the breadth, variety, and graphic distinctness of its delineation of modern English society it has no rival. And when we say that it is out of form as a novel, we are constrained to express a doubt whether the partial sacrifice of its interests as a novel was not justified by the accomplishment of higher ends than are generally compassed in novels, ends which might not have been attainable without the double marriage of Clive. Ethel, though at heart noble, is a mixed character; not only is she no angel, no heroine of romance, she is less brightly and innocently noble than thousands of English girls. She has in her a strong alloy of worldly pride and worldly ambition. For this she suffers; and, from the point of view of the domestic historian and the ethical instructor and rebuker of social worldliness, no suffering could be either more naturally brought upon her, or more bitter, or more pointedly primitive and admonitory, than that of seeing the boy of Clive in the arms of Rosie. Had she been quite true to herself and to her love, she would not have known the humiliation of being renounced by Lord Kew, of having to jilt Farintosh, and of being Mrs. Clive the second. The incidents in the colonel's career, his simple love affair, his departure for India, his return from India, his misfortunes with the bank, his second departure for India, and so on, are drearily tame compared with the incidents of a Scott novel; but in a biography of Colonel Newcome they come in, each in its place, with the air of actual occurrences, and enable us to see into the heart of the man further than we might have done if we had accompanied him in the most startling and melodramatic adventures. It is to be recollected, also, that, if Clive and Ethel had been married and prosperous in the colonel's life-time, the tragic pathos dependent on the disappointment of all the old man's hopes and schemes must either have been foregone or have been attained by recasting half the book. As a biography, a history, or even as a tragedy, the work holds well together; and if it has lost form as a novel, the reason partly is that the glorious metal burst the mould. We have only to add, respecting Thackeray, that the charge so frequently brought against him of being cold, severe, and cynical, of believing in the dark side of human nature and in that alone, is one of the shallowest ever devised even by the stupid malignity of critics. He took the liberty of describing men and women as they are, making them not one whit worse than, in the average, they are found by the honest observer of life to be; but that reader must be bad and base indeed who, when perusing Thackeray's books, does not love the good men and women in them, and detest the badness of those who are evil. We have spoken of Dobbin's splay feet. In that case Aytoun may be allowed to have trodden with some success upon Thackeray's toes. But do we not love Dobbin, splay feet and all? There is hardly a character in Thackeray's books, even including the colonel, whom we more affectionately esteem than the major. And the novelist intends this,—unmistakably intends it. The priceless thing is the golden heart, this is what Thackeray always teaches. He teaches too that the righteous are not forsaken; that the scamp and the snob get, on the whole, their deserts, bad as mankind are; that virtue, even with Dobbin's splay feet or the colonel's broken heart, is not utterly desolate, and that selfish vice and brilliant scampishness carry about with them their own hell.

Thackeray was, like Dickens, engaged upon a work of fiction, 'Dennis Duval,' when, at the premature age of fifty-two, he died. We call this age premature in relation to the frequent length of human life, but his genius had fully ripened, and it is not probable that, though he had completed the usual term, he would have done greater things than he had already accomplished. There was not, however, in his case, as in that of Dickens, any traceable decay of power in the last years. 'Little Dorrit,' is of quality essentially inferior to 'Oliver Twist' and 'Copperfield; but 'The Adventures of Philip' and 'Lovel the Widower' are as perfect, though by no means so great, as 'The Newcomes.' They are light tunes, but only one instrument could play them; Thackeray is not putting out his force, but we feel that the force is there; in passages of 'Little Dorrit' the author is perceptibly straining, but the genius that once answered the call of its possessor is in abeyance. Of the two, Dickens had, by nature, the greater genius, but in culture Thackeray was far the superior.

We accepted Dickens as the legitimate successor of Scott in popularity and power as a novelist, and having treated of Dickens, we could not help taking up next in order the illustrious rival friend with whom he is always conjointly named. But if we had held strictly to the order of succession in time, we should have spoken of a celebrated novelist who began to publish before either Dickens or Thackeray was ten years old, and who may on some grounds be alleged to have better claims than either to be the legitimate successor of Scott. Lord Lytton, long previously known as Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, and known first of all as simply Bulwer, succeeded beyond Thackeray or Dickens in securing the attention of the extra-British audience of Scott. The Waverley novels were popular throughout Europe, and the next novelist after Scott whom French and German boys and girls learned to read was Bulwer. In Germany in particular he was enthusiastically admired, more enthusiastically, we fancy, than Scott ever was. We are not sure that the circumstance is wholly to his credit or to the credit of Germany. The imaginative literature of Germany has a weakness on the side of sentiment. It tends to emotional flabbiness. Every reader of German poetry must know what we mean by the German-sublime; and we cannot repel the notion that it was to his command of the German-sublime with its high-flown, fantastic raptures, in which no English novelist approaches him, that Lord Lytton owed much of his popularity in Germany. No man could go so far in the gushing style as Lord Lytton without becoming absolutely soft and silly. Wilson was still more sugary in his sweetness and lachrymose in his pathos, but Wilson, while magnificently successful as an essayist, is perfectly insufferable as a novelist. Lord Lytton knew the point at which effusiveness becomes unreadable even by boys and girls, but he could advance with easy confidence to this point, and such a writer was sure to be the darling of all but a select and critical few in the vast reading public of Germany.

It was, however, to another and a higher cause that Lord Lytton partly or chiefly owed his advancement to the place of Scott as a favourite with French and German readers. His style was not so insular, so distinctively English, as that of Dickens and Thackeray. Dickens was at home only on English streets or in English meadows. When he saw Rome, his first thought was that it looked like London. Thackeray knew France and Germany well, but he too chose all his leading characters in England. Lytton had, in the form of his style and sentiment, nothing locally English; and he followed Scott more boldly and successfully into the realm of historical romance than Thackeray; Dickens never attempted the historical novel. We shall not say that, as works of art, and tried by the standard which readers of intelligence and culture can apply to them, 'Rienzi,' 'The Last Days of Pompeii,' 'Harold,' and 'The Last of the Barons' are superior to 'Esmond' and 'The Virginians;' but they are written in a more free, rapid, and glowing style, and if they lack that historical verisimilitude and that nice literary finish which are appreciated by the instructed reader, they possess far more of the elements of general popularity. We think that, when all has been said on behalf of Thackeray, the most successful producer of historical romances since Scott must be allowed to be Lord Lytton.

While it has been generally and justly held that in originality of genius, and in its essential and incommunicable quality, this author was inferior to Thackeray or Dickens, it may be no less confidently affirmed that, in comprehensiveness, exhibited in connection with a high, though not the highest, standard of excellence, he was not only unrivalled by these his contemporaries but unsurpassed by almost any man that ever wrote. As a literary man—one who, by natural endowment and training, is fitted to turn out any kind of literary work—he stands, among English writers, alone: and in the literature of Europe, with the exception of Voltaire, Schiller, Goethe, and perhaps a few more, it would not be easy to name his equals. Goethe and the other Germans did some things better than Lytton—incomparably better; but neither Goethe nor Schiller succeeded in the novel, though both tried. Voltaire, perhaps the most versatile man of genius that ever lived, is the only writer whom we can at the moment think of as more marvellous in his versatility than our all-attempting Englishman. Lytton succeeded in the drama far more decisively than Dickens or Scott. He wrote one of the most successful political pamphlets ever issued, 'The Crisis.' He wrote volumes of poetry which, but for the extreme fastidiousness of our poetry-reading public in the present day, would, we believe, have been much more widely read even than they have been. He wrote creditably in history, brilliantly as a critical essayist. As an orator he obtained the ear of the House of Commons, and could command the attention of great public audiences; but it was in the novel that his versatility was most conspicuously displayed. He succeeded in four, if not in five, distinct styles of fiction—the fashionable novel, the sentimental novel, the historical novel, the domestic novel, and the politico-didactic novel. By this last epithet we try to define such books as 'The Coming Age' and 'The Parisians,' in which, as we understand him, the novelist mildly counterworks the democracy which he believed to be sapping the stable institutions of Western Europe. This prodigious versatility was associated with and partly caused by a power in which none of his contemporaries equalled Lord Lytton, of knowing what the public wanted and supplying the particular kind of literary ware that was, for the moment, in vogue. We may admit that he would have been a greater man if, instead of *taking orders from* the public, he had *given law to* the public by being steadily conscious of his ideal and resolutely endeavouring to attain it; but must we not also grant that such capacity to discern and to supply the popular demand implied an extraordinary degree of sympathy and an equally extraordinary degree of intellectual vivacity and of observational alertness? Nor is deference to the general taste altogether a bad quality in literary men. If the well-marked and firmly maintained literary personality of a Tennyson, a Browning, a Carlyle is a greater thing than the tacking and veering of a Lytton with every change of the popular gale, we affirm that Lytton's obedience to the general will was immeasurably better than the dogged persistence in mannerism, the perverse obstinacy and affectation, by which not a few have attempted to extort, on behalf of their crochets and singularities, the recognition due to the immortal beauties of genius. Lytton erred on the safe side. No man is great enough to be justified in arrogantly disregarding the popular choice, nor is it necessary that modest and manly deference thereto should degenerate into slavishness. Where genius is indubitable and great, as in the case of the authors we have named, we shall not blame a certain amount of consistent mannerism; but, on the other hand, it is certain that Shakespeare, Scott, and Turner did not think it beneath them to make themselves aware what kind of work it was that the public asked for, and to take this information along with them in designing and executing their works.

It would occupy a considerable space to give even a catalogue of Lord Lytton's novels. As typical of his various styles, we may mention 'Pelham,' 'Paul Clifford,' 'Harold,' 'Ernest Maltravers,' 'Eugene Aram,' and 'The Caxtons.' It was in 'Pelham' that he first arrested the public attention. It is distinguished by brilliant satirical sketching of society, by delineation of foppery which has itself been considered rather foppish, and by a power of describing picturesque terrors and horrors which furnished a presage of the author's future eminence in the sensational department of fiction. Of the impression made by this book we may judge from its having been thought worthy by Carlyle, engaged about the time of its issue on 'Sartor Resartus,' to be sarcastically alluded to in a facetious passage respecting the Dandiacal sect—a passage, however, which is the least felicitous in that famous book. 'Paul Clifford,' 'Ernest Maltravers,' and 'Eugene Aram,' though very different from each other, may be thrown together as illustrating in various ways the unwholesome moral element which is without question present in Lytton's novels. In 'Paul Clifford' and 'Eugene Aram,' if we are not expressly invited to sympathise with lawlessness and crime, we are at least led to regard with a sickly sentimentalism the miseries which interesting criminals bring upon themselves. In the relations between the hero and Alice in 'Ernest Maltravers' we have immorality enveloped in the glow of colour in which it might be invested by a prose Byron. Neither Scott, Thackeray, nor Dickens condescended to work with the spells of unhallowed passion, or to tamper with those moral ordinances on which the stability of society depends. 'Harold' is perhaps the best of Lord Lytton's historical novels, but we would not pronounce decisively on its relative superiority, as the level of excellence in his historical fictions is high. There is more rich and brilliant colouring — more striking sensational effect — in 'Rienzi' and in 'The Last Days of Pompeii;' but the power in 'Harold' is all the greater that it is subdued. The passage descriptive of the battle of Hastings is magnificent in its breadth and vividness. 'The Caxtons' introduced Lord Lytton to the public in an entirely new character, and one which it might well have been pronounced impossible for the author of 'Pelham,' 'Paul Clifford,' and 'Ernest Maltravers' to assume. He became the patron and apostle of the domestic virtues, his heroes elderly gentlemen and model young men, his heroines angels of the household. The transformation was the more piquantly wonderful from the fact that Lord Lytton deliberately borrowed from Sterne the machinery of his book. We find in this act of borrowing no disparagement to the originality of Lytton, for one would think it more difficult to convert Sterne's characters into faultlessly proper and rather prosaic personages than to invent them altogether. Let it not, however, be supposed that we allege this charming novel to be tiresome. Lord Lytton, indeed, did not possess the genius or the humour which produced Uncle Toby, but if he had not Sterne's gift of dainty grotesqueness and sly fun, neither did he stain his page with Sterne's foul jest and flimsy pathos. Pisistratus Caxton, his father and uncle Jack, are thoroughly genial and amusing portraits, and the novelist has been astonishingly successful in enveloping them and the scenes and incidents of the story generally in what we may call the atmosphere of English domestic life in the nineteenth century. If Lord Lytton's power was essentially talent rather than genius, must we not pronounce that a truly surprising kind of talent which, after catching the tone of fashionable fops in 'Pelham,' and of mock-heroic highwaymen in 'Paul Clifford,' and of brilliant sentimental rakes in 'Ernest Maltravers,' and of ingenious, erudite, woe-struck scamps in 'Eugene Aram,' could, without becoming in the slightest degree dull, adapt itself to the prim regularities and invincible sacred proprieties of middle class English life in the Victorian era? It is a grave question—which, upon the whole, we should answer in the negative—whether an author whose feat essentially was to play whatever tune the public called for, to produce a cart-load of successful books, ought to have been enshrined among England's great men in Westminster Abbey; but there is no question at all that Lord Lytton was one of the most surprisingly gifted men that ever lived.

Referring again to our plan of dwelling only upon the most prominent and important names in the recent history of English literature, we now pass with but a verbal mention the sensational brilliancies and horrors of Mr. Harrison Ainsworth, the author of 'Jack Sheppard,' and the one hundred and eighty-nine volumes of Mr. George Payne Rainsford James. Both Mr. Ainsworth and Mr. James were men of extraordinary powers, and attained the particular kind of success at which they aimed, namely, to be accepted as literary entertainers by a large body of readers. We proceed to speak of the most successful political novelist of the period, the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli.

This splendid and eccentric genius flashed at once into notoriety by his 'Vivian Grey.' The book appeared in 1826, when Mr. Disraeli was in his twenty-first year. The two volumes are of unequal merit, the first being in freshness and bright audacity decidedly better than the second; but they announced without possibility of mistake the existence of a writer who would make his personality well known whether in literature or in public life. Vivian Grey, as depicted by Disraeli, is the most dashing and brilliant of all the young sparks known to us as heroes in novels. Pelham is slow compared with the irresistible youth who enchants Lord Alhambra by quoting with eulogy lines from his lordship's poem which are not there, and whose precocious wisdom and glowing eloquence quite carry away the not too enthusiastic Marquis of Carabas. The fun in the book is remarkably good, when the boyish age of the writer is taken into account. "Oh"—the speaker is Vivian Grey, the scene a dinner-party—"there is Alhambra, next to Dormer Stanhope. Lord Alhambra, I am quite rejoiced to see you."—"Ah! Mr. Grey, I am quite rejoiced to see you. How is your father?"—"Extremely well—he is at Paris—I heard from him yesterday. Do you ever see the 'Weimar Literary Gazette,' my Lord?"—"No. Why?"—"There is a most admirable review of your poem in the last number I have received." The young nobleman looked agitated. "I think, by the style," continued Vivian, "that it is by Goethe. It is really delightful to see the oldest poet in Europe dilating on the brilliancy of a new star in the poetical horizon." This was uttered with a perfectly grave voice, and now the young nobleman blushed. "Who is *Gewter?*" asked Mr. Boreall, who possessed such a thirst for knowledge that he never allowed an opportunity to escape him of displaying his ignorance. "A celebrated German writer," lisped the modest Miss MacDonald. "I never heard his name," persevered the indefatigable Boreall; "how do you spell it?"—"G-o-e-t-h-e," relisped modesty. "Oh! *Goty!*" exclaimed the querist; "I know him well: he wrote the 'Sorrows of Werther.'"—"Did he indeed, sir?" asked Vivian, with the most innocent and inquiring face. This is really superior sketching—so free, firm, and natural—for an author of twenty. It is curious to note that, in not a few revealing touches, the Disraeli of future years betrays himself in the book of the stripling. "If you wish," says the novelist in his own person, "to win a man's heart, allow him to confute you." It is almost impossible not to fancy that the dare-devil radical orator, who developed through the patronage of Lord Derby into the leader of the conservatives, has acted sometimes on this maxim. Already he had learned to talk with contempt of intellectual notabilities as compared with those of rank and fashion. The breaking up of the party which had been visiting at Château Désir is thus described: "The Courtowns, and the Beaconsfields, and the Scropes, quitted immediately after Cleveland; and when the families that form the material of the visiting corps retire, the nameless nothings that are always lounging about the country mansions of the great, such as artists, tourists, authors, and other live stock, soon disappear." An incidental description of Vivian Grey seems expressly intended to hint what Disraeli felt himself at the time to be: "A young adventurer, alike unconnected with his (say, the English) race in blood or in love; a being ruling all things by the power of his own genius, and reckless of all consequences, save his own prosperity." Mr. Disraeli's faculty of linking together sonorous words, never quite devoid of meaning, but with meaning hardly proportioned to sound, is exhibited in high perfection in this novel. "Byron's mind was like his own ocean—sublime in its yesty madness—beautiful in its glittering summer brightness—mighty in the lone magnificence of its waste of waters—gazed upon from the magic of its own nature—yet capable of representing, but as in a glass darkly, the natures of all others." How often have audiences hung admiring upon the lips of Mr. Disraeli while phrases like these rolled out, phrases so fine in sound that it is almost unreasonable to ask that they should have meaning also, and which, except in one instance, have really some faint trace of sense! Ocean "gazed upon from the magic of its own nature" means absolutely nothing, but the perfect vacuity of the words may easily escape detection in the vague magniloquence of the sentence through which the meaning shimmers feebly, like aurora borealis through Ossianic mist. But in 'Vivian Grey' we have examples not only of Mr. Disraeli's resounding eloquence, but of the sharpness and shrewdness of which, on occasion, he has no lack. In one word, with all its extravagance, the novel showed a knowledge of the world, an insight into human nature, a consummate cleverness, which might be trusted, if length of years were given him, to carry the author far. Morally the book was, what Mr. Disraeli's life has to a considerable extent been, a chaos of vague generalities. Vivian's notions on religious subjects may be approximately arrived at, or guessed, by collating his own account of his deepest belief with Mrs. Guy Lorrain's counter-statement on the same subject. "I recognise," says Vivian Grey, "no intermediate essence between my own good soul and that ineffable and omnipotent Spirit in whose existence philosophers and priests alike agree." And Mrs. Guy Lorrain, who is a woman of penetration, rejoins:—"It is not true, Vivian Grey; you are but echoing the world's deceit, and even at this hour of the night you dare not speak as you do think. You worship no omnipotent and ineffable essence—you believe in no omnipotent and ineffable essence; shrined in the secret chamber of your soul, there is an image before which you bow down in adoration, and that image is—YOURSELF." Along with 'Vivian Grey' may be considered those other extravagancies of Mr. Disraeli's early manhood, 'Popanilla,' 'The Infernal Marriage,' and 'Ixion in Heaven,' in which, more perhaps than in his graver works, the essential character and native force of his genius are evinced. The second and third of these are, in our opinion, superior to the first. They are in their way unequalled by anything of the kind in the language. In audacity they reach the standard of Swift, but there is in them an incomparably lighter and more genial spirit than the morose and remorseless misanthropy of the dean. In frank and fearless *diablerie*, in rattling sarcasm, in wit and fun and jovial mockery, they stand alone in our recent literature. The remark of Ixion to Jupiter, "I'm glad you told it to leave off thundering," with Jove's reply, "A cool hand this," could not be more piquantly droll. Any good judge might have predicted from these performances that their author would have a notable career, but the best judge in England could not have guessed that it would be that of leader of the Tories and chief of a conservative administration.

A more grave, sustained, and deliberate attempt to establish a literary reputation was made by Mr. Disraeli in 'Contarini Fleming.' This is a professed study of character and psychological development, the type of character chosen being one in which Italian vivacity, eccentricity, and genius are combined with Teutonic or old Norse hardihood and homely strength. "Contarini" indicates the Southern, "Fleming" the Northern element in the hero, whose extraction corresponds to his name. The coincidence of this compound personality with Mr. Disraeli's own scarcely requires to be pointed out. By descent a Spanish and Venetian Jew—for his family migrated from Spain to Venice, and from Venice to England—he is by birth an Englishman. Contarini Fleming is almost as audacious as Vivian Grey, but he is more solidly able, and the style in which the novelist describes him and his adventures is more precise, penetrating, and compact than that of Mr. Disraeli's first novel. But in this as in the earlier work we have glimpses of that real and authentic Disraeli of whom his political career has been, in great measure, a theatrical disguise. The author describes himself in the opening chapter as "one who, by a curious combination of circumstances, finds himself without country, without kindred, and without friends," and who therefore seems to be favourably situated for escaping "the fatal prejudices of an irrational education." That Mr. Disraeli's Hebrew lineage and up-bringing exempted him from the influence of English prejudice, there can be no doubt; whether they did not consign him to other prejudices, still less rational, bearing upon the innate superiority of the Jewish race, may be questioned. We would not, however, be understood to say that it is in any sense discreditable to Mr. Disraeli that he has cherished an ardent enthusiasm for the honoured people with which he is allied in blood. Even if it is a prejudice, it is natural and respectable in a Jew. It can be traced in several of his most important novels. In 'Coningsby,' for example, which is perhaps the most important of all, and which was published long after Mr. Disraeli had become famous, there is a glowing passage in which the power of the Jewish intellect as a force in modern affairs is enlarged upon. "You never observe a great intellectual movement in Europe"—it is the eulogist of the Hebrew race that speaks—"in which the Jews do not greatly participate. The first Jesuits were Jews; that mysterious Russian diplomacy which so alarms Western Europe is organised and principally carried on by Jews; that mighty revolution which is at this moment preparing in Germany, and which will be, in fact, a second and greater Reformation, and of which so little is as yet known in England, is entirely developing under the auspices of Jews, who almost monopolise the professorial chairs of Germany. Neander, the founder of spiritual Christianity, and who is Regius professor of divinity in the University of Berlin, is a Jew. Benary, equally famous, and in the same university, is a Jew. Wehl, the Arabic professor of Heidelberg, is a Jew. Years ago, when I was in Palestine, I met a German student who was accumulating materials for the history of Christianity, and studying the genius of the place; a modest and learned man. It was Wehl; then unknown, since become the first Arabic scholar of the day, and the author of the 'Life of Mahomet.' But for the German professors of this race, their name is legion. I think there are more than ten at Berlin alone." Soult, we are next informed, was a Hebrew, and so was Massena, "whose real name was Manasseh." It is vain for inferior races to hope to prevail against the pure Jews or Caucasians. "Pure races of Caucasus may be persecuted, but they cannot be despised, except by the brutal ignorance of some mongrel breed, that brandishes fagots and howls extermination, but is itself exterminated, without persecution, by that irresistible law of Nature which is fatal to curs." We can now understand how Mr. Disraeli, finding himself a pure Caucasian amid English curs or bull-dogs, should be conscious of being exempt from prejudices usually associated with an English education. It is interesting and consoling to observe that the Jews, thus extolled as the leaders of the world, "are ever anxious to see the religious systems of the countries in which they live flourish." A Hebrew premier of England might, therefore, shall we say, conduct the administration without inconsistency upon high Protestant principles. And as to his manner of doing so, may we not derive a hint from a notable remark in 'Contarini Fleming,' put into the lips of the father of the hero? "Few ideas," says the paternal Fleming, "are correct ones, and what are correct, no one can ascertain; but with words we govern men."

We must not be tempted, however, into digression upon the inexhaustible theme of the connection between Mr. Disreali's literary and his political character. Viewed as a novel, 'Contarini Fleming' is clever and entertaining, and "has," says its author, "had the rare fortune of being cherished by great men," the allusion, we believe, being chiefly to Goethe. 'Coningsby,' 'Tancred,' and 'Sybil' are novels of an expressly political character. The first-named is decidedly the best of the three, and may be pronounced Mr. Disraeli's masterpiece. The fanfaronade and extravagance which reigned in 'Vivian Grey,' and which were not quite discarded in 'Contarini Fleming,' are replaced in this admirable novel by legitimate interest in well-conceived and vividly executed characters. Taper and Tadpole, types of the twinkling trivialist and the political toady, have a place among those characters which the genius of English novelists has made "familiar in our mouths as household words." Rigby, also, well-known to be Wilson Croker, is touched off with exquisite sharpness and piquancy. Sidonia has always been taken for Mr. Disraeli himself, although the character seems more strictly a compound of Mr. Disraeli and Baron Rothschild. Sidonia reminds us of the hero of 'Contarini Fleming.' He is possessed of an "absolute freedom from prejudice," and thus obtains compensation for being "a man without a country." He could love nothing but abstract principles or men in great masses; a "peculiarity" in his emotional nature made individuals a matter of total indifference to him. Any particular man was to him "a machine," any particular woman "a toy." "With an imagination as fiery as his native desert, and an intellect as luminous as his native sky, he wanted, like that land, those softening dews without which the soil is barren, and the sunbeam as often a messenger of pestilence as an angel of regenerative grace." Of course he was "a great philosopher," and his doctrine was that "the Mosaic Arabs," to wit, the Jews, are the "aristocracy of nature."

In 'Henrietta Temple' and in 'Venetia' Mr. Disraeli is the novelist pure and simple, devoting attention to the development of his story and the delineation of his characters, without reference to politics or to party. We must say that, if Mr. Disraeli is as defective on the side of the emotions as he represents Sidonia to be, he has a surprising dramatic power; for the love-affair in 'Henrietta Temple' is described with a truth to fact, a glowing ardour, a genial fire of imagination, which seem to give infallible pledge that the author has attained his skill through sympathy and experience. In point of fact Mr. Disraeli is, we believe, a man of strong personal feelings, and we fancy that there is as much of his true nature in Ferdinand, the lover of Henrietta in particular, as in Sidonia, the lover of humanity in general. "Whatever be the lot of man," says the author of 'Henrietta Temple,' "however unfortunate, however oppressed, if he only love and be loved, he must strike a balance in favour of existence; for love can illumine the dark roof of poverty, and can lighten the fetter of the slave." In 'Venetia' Mr. Disraeli attempts to portray the characters of Byron and Shelley, an ambitious and creditable attempt, and one in which even passable success was difficult. His success is not supreme; but the book abounds with interest, and will repay careful study. Of 'Lothair,' Mr. Disraeli's most recent work of fiction, we need say no more than that it is hardly so fresh and vivacious as his earlier novels, and has at once the advantages and the drawbacks of a picture composed of living celebrities. It is our opinion that it is in Mr. Disraeli's novels more than in his political career that his true character and genius are to be discerned; and we have still less hesitation in declaring that they entitle him to a high place among English authors. We say this with the greater satisfaction because literary men have, we think, done less than justice to Mr. Disraeli's power as a writer.

Were we treating exhaustively of our recent fictitious literature, it would now be incumbent upon us to name the works and discuss the merits of Warren, Marryat, Lever, and others, all men of talent, who enjoyed high popularity, and left novels which, in the proportion of perhaps one in a score of those they issued, may escape the oblivion which, with ever increasing rapidity, overtakes the productions of the novelist. Nor would it be inappropriate to glance across the Atlantic and record the triumphs, in widely differing fields, of Washington Irving, Cooper, Hawthorn, and Haliburton. We are forced to make a selection, and that within narrow limits. We pass, therefore, to the lady who, after Miss Austen and Miss Edgeworth, carried on the dynasty of female novelists in England, to wit, Charlotte Brontë.

The daughter of a Yorkshire clergyman, Charlotte Brontë had grown up amid the high winds and brown moors of the West Riding, with no influence to impel her to distinction but the natural aspiration of strong genius and the sympathy in literary ambition of her two gifted sisters, Emily and Anne. The little volume of poems by Ellis, Acton, and Currer Bell, to which reference has been made in the preceding pages, attracted little notice; but the whole reading world of Great Britain asked eagerly who was this Currer Bell that had written 'Jane Eyre.' Once more it proved true that personal characteristics and local experience were the sources of a true and telling orignality. In the new novel there was the rugged force of a downright, vehement, unsophisticated personality; there was the touch, in description of scenery, as well as of character, of a hand which drew freshness from an eye that had looked intensely and lovingly upon forms of landscape not yet hackneyed. We may say in passing that this remark applies equally to a novel which Emily Brontë published about the same time at which her sister issued 'Jane Eyre.' We refer to the crude and faulty yet marvellously able work of fiction called 'Wuthering Heights.' The human nature delineated in that book is as rough as the crags of the Yorkshire hills, but it was a powerful hand that traced its stern and angular outlines; and the darkness of the human portraits is relieved by the sunny freedom of the landscape descriptions. The Yorkshire wind seems to sing in this book, as well as in 'Jane Eyre,' and in Currer Bell's second Yorkshire story, 'Shirley.' These are the two novels by which Charlotte Brontë will continue to be known. 'Jane Eyre' exhibits the greatest strength of passion; 'Shirley' is the more bright, graceful, and exhilarating. There is nothing in 'Shirley'—there is very little in fictitious literature—equal in power to the interview between Jane and Rochester previously to the departure of the little governess from his house. But it is not possible to make out a complete vindication of the morality of 'Jane Eyre.' In the resistance of Jane to the imperious passion of Rochester there is moral heroism; but the perfect delicacy of feeling which the author intends us to impute to the governess is not consistent with the tolerance she extends to her lover in listening to his account of his *liaisons.* It is a serious defect in the construction of the story that its interest culminates in the second volume. The subsequent part—the entire episode of the St. John River's family—interesting as it may be in itself, gives us the impression of a tide not in flow but in ebb. The machinery of a quasi-supernatural voice, calling Jane back to Rochester, by which she is prompted to return to him, is clumsy. The question might be asked whether, considering the attempt he had made to marry her when he had another wife in his house, and the nature of the proposal with which he followed up the baffling of that attempt, a high-minded woman would have returned to him at all. The improbability of Rochester's attempt to marry Jane before his wife's death, when he was aware that there were persons in the neighbourhood who knew of his wife's existence, is too great even for a novel. But these defects are overlooked by the reader in the intensity of the interest felt in the principal incidents and in the leading characters. A singular charm is thrown by the skill of the novelist round the plain little governess. In 'Shirley' the plot, or rather the plan, of the story is much the same as in 'Jane Eyre,' but the sexes are transposed. In 'Jane Eyre' the landowner marries the governess; in 'Shirley' the heiress marries the tutor. In the second novel, the ugliness and smallness of the heroine are exchanged for physical as well as mental beauty. In Shirley we have a brilliant and captivating portrait, —idealised beyond question, but with a substantial truth in the main lines—of the English, specifically of the Yorkshire, girl. No small part of the charm of both novels is due to their admirable style. Charlotte Brontë had trained herself to write English with a terseness, a vigour, a vivid and glancing clearness, rising here and there into lovely prose-poetry, which have been surpassed by no English novelist Her style was modelled on the best French prose, and if it has any fault, it is a certain uniformity of cadence characteristic of French writers.

Five or six years after the death of Charlotte Brontë, in 1855, some sketches appeared in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' purporting to be by George Eliot, a writer new to the novel-reading public. The 'Scenes in Clerical Life' which George Eliot contributed to 'Blackwood' were followed by 'Adam Bede,' and ere the first half of the first volume of 'Adam Bede' had appeared, it was evident to all able to form an opinion on the point that a great original novelist had appeared. In occasional gleams of imaginative splendour, in intensity of sympathy with passion, the new writer was surpassed or equalled by Charlotte Brontë; but in reflective depth of thought, in subtle and comprehensive knowledge of human nature, in acquaintance with the aspects and the class distinctions of English society, and, above all, in philosophical insight and speculative range, the superiority was clearly on the side of George Eliot. The style of the latter, modelled on the best German rather than on the best French prose, had, in ease, quietness, and variety, the advantage over that of Charlotte Brontë, however far inferior it might be to the latter in certain imaginative and poetical qualities. In 'Adam Bede' George Eliot brought quite a new set of characters on the stage, and yet it was strange that they should be new, for they were types which might seem to have been staring novelists in the face for nearly a century in England. The Methodist female preacher, the pious and dreamy Methodist mechanic, the thoroughly efficient workman, upright, intelligent, industrious, proud, the sharp-tongued, sharp-witted farmer's wife and her burly, log-pated husband, the village clergyman, the young squire, the rustic beauty—Dinah Morris, Seth Bede, Adam Bede, Mrs. Poyser, Mr. Poyser, Mr. Irwin, Arthur Dormithorne, Hetty Sorrel—these, with the shrewd, worldly-wise Elspeth Bede, the sly old squire, and children and supernumaries to match, make up a group which might have been seen in half the counties of England, and which nevertheless, when touched with the magical pencil of George Eliot, burst upon the public as fresh and piquant as if Methodist parsons and village carpenters had never been heard of. Dinah Morris, as she appears in the first volume, is one of the noblest female portraits ever executed, lofty in character, elevated above common humanity by serene intensity of religious enthusiasm, and yet at all points a woman. It must be admitted that in the third volume Dinah stoops from her aërial poise, and we confess that we have never been able to reconcile ourselves to the assignment to her, as her chief end in life, of the suckling of fools and the chronicling of small beer. Dinah Morris preaching on the green is a creation of poetry; Mrs. Adam Bede is the same translated into prose. But the final disposal of Dinah is in accordance with George Eliot's deepest philosophy. Nature, in its material facts and physiological laws, is for her the stablest of realities; enthusiasms, religious beliefs, missionary inspirations, are comparatively fleeting and superficial. Adam Bede, the strong, manly, industrious fellow, whose religion is a vague feeling of reverence kept well in its place, and not interfering in the least with business, carries the stronghold of Dinah's heart against not only Adam's devout though dull brother, Seth, but the preaching mission of Dinah. To be the wife of a brave workman, the mother of his children, the solace of his toil, is, George Eliot seems to say, a better destiny for a woman than to become—what it lay in the Dinah of the first volume to become—a female Wesley. If this is George Eliot's meaning, we cannot assent to it. Scott's treatment of his Rebecca was ethically, poetically, and artistically far grander than George Eliot's of Dinah. Scott has been accused of lack of ethical elevation, but he expressly declared that it is degrading to the idea of heroic virtue to connect it with the rewards of ordinary and earthly ambition.

'Adam Bede' was followed by 'The Mill on the Floss,' 'Felix Holt,' 'Silas Marner,' 'Romola,' and 'Middlemarch.' The character of Maggie Tulliver, in the 'Mill on the Floss,' is perhaps the most profound, original, and subtly charming in all George Eliot's novels. The third volume of this work we consider to be the most powerful and imaginative piece of writing we possess from the pen of the author. 'Romola' is the most carefully elaborated of all her prose books, but for some reason which we should find it difficult to define, it fails in interest. The characters, Tito, a brilliant young Greek of the time of the revival of letters, Savonarola, the celebrated Italian reformer, Tessa, a pretty and artless Italian girl, Romola, a deep and loving young woman, beautiful in person, cultivated in mind, devoted to her father, and prepared to give herself with whole-hearted surrender to her lover, seem to constitute an attractive and promising group. The incidents also look picturesque enough and sufficiently exciting. The relations between Romola and Tessa, the right-hand wife and the left-hand wife of Tito, are well fitted to stimulate curiosity, and those between Tito and his father are tragically agitating. Yet the book is unmistakably one of those which it is an act of virtue to take up and read through, whereas the really good novels are those which it is an act of virtue to lay down, those which steal precious hours from business or from sleep, and cannot be abandoned until the last page of the last volume has been read to the last word. In perusing 'Romola' we have the impression of a translation, executed with skill and felicity, of a novel by Goethe; the thoughts are wise, the writing is wonderful, but the story drags. 'Silas Marner,' on the other hand, has all the racy interest of 'Adam Bede' and the 'Scenes from Clerical Life,' while the philosophy, though kindly, is deep. 'Felix Holt' is not eminently successful. Felix, the workman hero, is by no means so good a type either of workman or of man as Adam Bede. Rufus Lyon, however, the father of the heroine, is an original and admirable delineation of the modern Puritan pastor, as he was, we doubt not, to be seen so recently as half a century ago, in the villages and county towns of England. Of 'Middlemarch' we could not speak at length without treading on the heels of the newspaper critics who have scarcely done treating of it as the novel of the season; but we deem it one of George Eliot's best. On the whole, George Eliot must be pronounced the first female novelist of her country. Jane Austen was too quiet, Charlotte Bronté too narrow, to compete with her.

Of Mr. Charles Reade, Mr. Wilkie Collins, Miss Braddon, and several others whose works are known in all the circulating libraries and at all railway stations, our readers will not expect us to speak. Mr. Reade is a man of great genius and marvellous industry, and his 'Never Too Late to Mend' and 'Hard Cash' are powerfully written and dramatically conceived fictions. 'The Woman in White' by Mr. Collins is about as good as a ghost story can be, and there is a soft and rich glow of colour in the style which lift it high above the average of Minerva press fiction. 'Lady Audley's Secret' is the type sensation novel of the day, and its immense popularity shows that the sensational school has not yet fallen into the sear and yellow leaf. It violates probability with a frank audacity which precludes serious criticism, but it displays that indefinable skill of narrative which commands the attention of the reader, and never permits the interest to flag.

But the most popular novelist of the day is Mr. Anthony Trollope; and though he makes no pretension to the philosophy of George Eliot, and no parade of high purpose like Mr. Reade, we are not sure that he does not deserve, all things considered, the place of first living novelist. What living writer can equal him at telling a story—at producing that particular kind and degree of satisfaction which arise from the reading of a good novel? George Eliot makes you think more, Charles Reade sends deeper glances into the human heart, but the novel reader pure and simple, the man who wants neither wisdom nor instruction but simply a refined intellectual enjoyment, turns from both of them to Anthony Trollope. Once more genius has in his case done what might have been pronounced impossible. The popularity of 'Barchester Towers' and 'Framleigh Parsonage' has vied with the popularity of the best works of Scott and Thackeray; and this result is attained by delineation of contemporary life almost as quiet as Miss Austen's. When one might suppose the public to have undergone every form of excitement which novelists could bring to bear upon it, a writer becomes supremely popular who dismisses, as with a disdainful waive of his hand, the whole apparatus of sensational effect. No thrilling escapes, no heart-rending suicides, no ghosts, no robbers, no assassins, no grave-stones silvered with the pale moonbeam! Mr. Trollope's *dramatis personæ* are young men in evening-dress, young ladies whose most daring feat is riding to hounds, curates, doctors, parish clergymen, bishops, and their wives. He has lords and ladies, but they are the average specimens who swarm in London every season. He writes in the simplest, most unadorned style, very seldom using metaphor. Yet every figure he brings upon his stage becomes a personal acquaintance of the reader. He colours without paint. He produces sensation by a slap on the cheek (Eleanor's to Mr. Slope), or by a word (Mr. Crawley's "woman" to Mrs. Proudie), or by the accidental tearing of a dress in a drawing-room (by Bertie Stanhope at the bishop's party). He finds a pensive, musical, sweet-natured clergyman, and he makes him into Mr. Harding, one of the most lovable characters in literature. If George Eliot has done good service to English fiction by elevating its intellectual standard, Mr. Trollope has done service not less illustrious by exhibiting a supreme popularity won without aid from sensational fanfaronade, or extravagance, or affectation, or straining, or anything except description of the quietest scenes and simplest personages of English society.

To the second quarter of the century belongs peculiarly the reputation of two writers who, though the genius of each was strongly discriminated from that of the other, touched upon so many subjects in common, and rose to eminence with such close contemporaneity, that they are apt to become associated in the mind—Thomas Carlyle and Thomas Babbington Macaulay. Mr. Carlyle is, by a few years, the elder of the two, but Macaulay was the first to become famous. The essay on Milton, which made him known to the literary world, was published in the 'Edinburgh Review' in 1825; two or three years later, discerning eyes detected, in the essays of Mr. Carlyle, in the same periodical, the hand of a great original writer. In his essay upon Hallam's 'Constitutional History,' Macaulay presented an estimate of the character and genius of Cromwell which, in its high-pitched eulogy, agrees with that subsequently made by Mr. Carlyle, but which, greatly, we think, to its advantage, has none of the extravagance of hero-worship. Macaulay, in this essay, gives Cromwell a place with Cæsar and Napoleon among the most remarkable men who have ever lived. It is difficult to imagine any one reading his account of the Puritan leader, and yet believing that he had not emancipated himself from the absurd misconception of Cromwell formed by Hume and writers of the eighteenth century. Twelve years, however, after the appearance of Macaulay's essay on the 'Constitutional History of England,' Mr. Carlyle, in his lectures on Heroes and Hero-worship, spoke and published as follows:—"Few Puritans of note but find their apologists somewhere, and have a certain reverence paid them by earnest men. One Puritan, I think, and almost he alone, our poor Cromwell, seems to hang yet on the gibbet, and find no hearty apologist anywhere. Him neither saint nor sinner will acquit of great wickedness. A man of ability, infinite talent, courage, and so forth; but he betrayed the cause. Selfish ambition, dishonesty, duplicity—a fierce, coarse, hypocritical *Tartuffe*—turning all that noble struggle for constitutional liberty into a sorry farce, played for his own benefit: this and worse is the character they give of Cromwell." Even if Macaulay's essay had not appeared, this language would have been incorrect in 1840; but after that eloquent vindication of Cromwell had been published in one of the leading periodicals of Europe, it was strangely wide of the fact. Mr. Carlyle's great book, 'Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell,' did not impugn any of the leading conclusions of Macaulay respecting the Protector, and served only to illustrate the rightness of his verdict on Oliver's character and career. Carlyle of course enabled us to comprehend Cromwell's motives better than Macaulay had done, and his book on Cromwell is of transcendent value; but it is not true that he was the first to vindicate Oliver. It is singular that a parallel to all this may be traced in the respective treatment by Macaulay and Carlyle of the character of Frederick the Great. When Campbell issued, in 1842, his two volumes on 'Frederick and his Times,' Macaulay laid the book under contribution for materials to produce one of his terse, compact, vividly clear, and animated pictures of a life. He conducted Frederick to the close of the Seven Years' War, bringing out with enthusiastic elaboration his indomitable energy, boundless resource, fiery courage, brilliant, practical genius, and complete disregard of right and wrong. Many years subsequently, Mr. Carlyle published his voluminous work on Frederick, a work executed with his usual fidelity and power, and presenting, in the light which his practised skill suggested as most favourable, every consideration which could be urged in vindication of the Prussian king. Macaulay's essay had "set the tune" of opinion in England respecting the Prussian monarch, and to it Mr. Carlyle, we presume, refers when he sneeringly alludes to the image of Frederick set up in "Review articles, and disquisitions on the progress of the species." And yet, after long and careful reading of Mr. Carlyle's book, we are prepared to maintain that it does not in any one essential point invalidate Macaulay's essay. To the best of our knowledge, the judgment of educated Europe has been to the same effect. That the father of Frederick the Great was a man of coarseness indescribable, whose cruelty, when roused by opposition, shrank from no extreme, and that his son was a hard, ruthless, unprincipled man of genius, are the positions taken up in Macaulay's essay; and they can be established, with opulent evidence and illustration, from the pages of Mr. Carlyle. Our own deliberate declaration is that, after reading Mr. Carlyle's account of the judicial—no, the anti-judicial—murder of Katte by Frederick the father, and of the attack made upon Maria Theresa after her father's death by Frederick the son, we have been impressed with a deeper feeling of the badness of both men than we had received from Macaulay's essay. Harsh military judges sentenced Katte to two years' imprisonment; Frederick William over-ruled them and sent him to death. And as for the main incidents of Frederick's career, they are stated by Macaulay with so much precision and clearness that his essay, its opinions apart, might pass for an epitome of Mr. Carlyle's seven volumes, nay, for a model of such an epitome.

Macaulay's general characteristics as an author are trustworthiness, common sense, avoidance of extremes, and rejection of paradox and extravagance. In genius he stands far below Mr. Carlyle, but what he lacks in fervour, he makes up in discretion. Perhaps the best way of stating the matter is to say that his imaginative and intellectual range is less wide than Mr. Carlyle's, his nature altogether less intrepid and impassioned, but that, on ground which he has carefully traversed, he is a safer guide. His political sympathies were entirely in favour of representative and constitutional government of the English type, whereas Mr. Carlyle, having an invincible distrust of all forms, systems, institutions, confiding in individual great men and in them alone, impatiently rejects representative government.

Having honourably distinguished himself at Trinity College, Cambridge, of which, at the age of twenty-four, he was elected fellow, Macaulay commenced his literary career by contributing a variety of papers to Knight's 'Quarterly Magazine.' The very earliest of these, the 'Fragment of a Roman Tale,' gives promise of high literary excellence. In point of fact, there is a dramatic force and verisimilitude in this little piece tending to prove that, if the writer had eschewed reviewing and devoted himself to works of the imagination, he might have attained eminence as a dramatic artist or a novelist. The sketch of Julius Cæsar in this fragment is executed with extraordinary skill. There is true fun also in the 'Scenes from Athenian Revels,' and admirable, well-aimed satire in the short essay on the 'Royal Society of Literature.' The estimate of prize poems by one who had won a poetic prize is delightful. "A prize poem is like a prize sheep. In general, prize sheep are good for nothing but to make tallow candles, and prize poems are good for nothing but to light them." Of the 'Conversation between Cowley and Milton,' published in 1824, Macaulay was always proud; and he was justified in the high opinion he formed of the piece. We have spoken of his vindication of Cromwell as having preceded that of Mr. Carlyle. This piece shows us that, at the age of twenty-four, he had already learned to speak with reverence of the Puritan chief. In the dialogue, the opinions of young Macaulay are put into the mouth of Milton. The poet thus speaks of men of the stamp of Oliver Cromwell:—"The hearts of men are their books; events are their tutors; great actions are their eloquence; and such an one, in my judgment, was his late highness, who, if none were to treat his name scornfully now who shook at the sound of it while he lived, would, by very few, be mentioned otherwise than with reverence. His own deeds shall avouch him for a great statesman, a great soldier, a true lover of his country, a merciful and generous conqueror."

It was not however, until he became a contributor to the 'Edinburgh Review' that Macaulay succeeded in attracting the attention of the public. His essay on Milton at once established his reputation as a writer of extraordinary brilliancy, great information, and no small acuteness. The mature taste of the author condemned the florid ornamentation of this essay, and doubtless, were the same style continued through a volume, it would be fatiguing; but in a single essay upon one of the greatest men and poets England has produced, exuberance of ornament was pardonable, if not pleasing. Certain it is that Macaulay never surpassed the eloquence of at least one passage in this celebrated essay. His eulogy on the Puritans has perhaps more of imaginative grandeur than anything he ever wrote. It possesses an essential truth and rightness in its recognition of the elevation and sincerity of the Puritans, and is characteristic of the youthful Macaulay not merely in the nervous energy and animation of its language, but in the boldness of its thought and the fervency of its feeling.

The extraordinary popularity enjoyed by Macaulay's essays republished from the 'Edinburgh Review,' particularly of those in which he dealt with English history, led to his undertaking a formal 'History of England from the Accession of James II.' The work embraced a somewhat comprehensive sketch of the reigns of the first English Stewarts, and was brought down no farther than the death of William of Orange. The view it presents of the great constitutional and religious struggle of the seventeenth century is substantially that taken in the essays, the only difference of importance between the earlier and the later compositions being that the enthusiasm for the Puritans, which is so fervid in the essays, is perceptibly toned down in the history. Its popularity was unprecedented by that of any historical work in English literature. It is indeed admirable in the terseness and vividness of its narrative, in the manliness of its sentiment, in its forcible presentation of the leading events in the period delineated. Read along with Hallam's 'Constitutional History,' it may be regarded as a safe guide on the main issue of the seventeenth century conflict ; and all men who pretend to an acquaintance with the history of England ought now to declare on all fitting occasions that Hume has been refuted and superseded. After the publication of his history, Macaulay was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron.

Mr. Carlyle will assuredly be named by the historians of English literature as one of the most originally gifted writers of the present century. His characteristics are intense moral fervour, keen insight into character, unlimited command of metaphor, and bold and racy humour. The son of a Dumfriesshire farmer, he was educated for the ministry of the Established Church of Scotland, and served for some time as parish schoolmaster at Kirkaldy. But the impulses of an intrepid and original intellect urged him into German and other studies, and soon kicking over the ecclesiastical traces, he commenced the life of a literary man. A 'Life of Schiller,' contributed to the 'London Magazine,' was his first important venture. It was published in 1823, when the author was in his twenty-eighth year. It exhibits not only clearness, but beauty and melody of style, and has no sign of early or immature work. In a few years a series of essays from his pen began to appear in the 'Edinburgh Review.' These attracted much notice, but though the genius of the new writer was becoming known, the originality of 'Sartor Resartus' proved too much for "the trade," and the MS. was refused by several publishing houses. It appeared, however, in 'Fraser's Magazine,' and was republished in America. Hardly could it yet be said that he had cleared the literary horizon, though star-gazers now began to affirm not only that he had done so, but that he was a star of extraordinary magnitude. His 'Lectures on Heroes and Hero-worship' indicated the idea which had in 1840—he was now forty-five—taken possession of his mind; indeed his earlier essays, as well as his great book in three volumes on the French Revolution, published in 1837, prove that he already regarded the individual great man as the most important of all the forces that act in the development of civilisation. In 1845 he gave to the world the 'Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell.' The work is a consummately able biography of the Protector, elucidated and set off by a running commentary embracing by far the most vivid and impressive history of the Puritan revolution in the English language. 'Past and Present,' 'Chartism,' and 'Latter-day Pamphlets' are productions which illustrate the range of Mr. Carlyle's powers, but are, on the whole, not worthy of him. Misconceiving the position and aims of the great modern school of writers on political economy, he talks in an unreasonable manner about the "dismal science." Eloquent as his writings on social questions are, and worthy of study on account of their suggestiveness, they are of no value as compared with his biographical works. His 'John Sterling' is, in respect of composition, a model of biography when the subject is an unimportant person; and his 'Frederick the Great,' a work containing perhaps thrice as much matter as Scott's 'Napoleon,' may with some qualification be described as a model of biography when the subject is an important historical personage.

Among the historical writers of our time, an honourable place must be assigned to Sir Archibald Alison, author of 'The History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution to the Restoration of the Bourbons.' Published originally in ten and subsequently in twenty volumes, this work has passed through numerous editions, and continues to enjoy high popularity. This fact has the more significance from the circumstance that Sir Archibald, instead of being assisted by critics, was more severely attacked by them than almost any modern author. Even Mr. Disraeli, from whom, as a Tory, the Tory historian might have expected civility, if not indulgence, gave Sir Archibald the nickname of Mr. Wordy, adding the remark that he had written a book in twenty volumes to prove that Providence is always on the side of the Tories. How many hundreds, if not thousands, of times has this been quoted against Sir Archibald! And who can say how small might be the proportion of the quoters who have ever read a volume of Sir Archibald's! It is fair to impute a part of the popularity of the work to the stirring nature of the subject, but it is due also, in no inconsiderable degree, to the qualities of the book. Critics could point out errors of detail: but this was a necessity of the case, which no one who has ever looked into the sources of evidence in connection with any period of modern history will dispute. To state with mathematical accuracy the facts and events of any one month during the confusion and turmoil of the French Revolution would require the labour of a year, probably of years. Mr. Carlyle mentions an acquaintance of his who "undertook, by way of bet, to find four errors per hour" in the 'History of the Revolution' by M. Thiers, and "won amply on the first trial or two." The merit of Sir Archibald Alison is certainly not that of minute accuracy; neither is it that of profound philosophy: it is that of effective panoramic presentation of a series of important and impressive occurrences, with vivid sketches of the men who played a part in bringing them about. Mr. Disraeli's taunt, if it implies that Sir Archibald wrote as a mere partisan historian, is unjust. The historian was a man of great intellectual obstinacy, and some of his opinions, as those upon the currency, and those upon the danger of lending any encouragement to the democratic element in states, may deserve no better name than crotchets. But he was perfectly independent, entirely sincere. A conclusive proof of this is afforded by his advocating the eminently un-Tory opinion that, in the Waterloo campaign, Napoleon displayed more consummate generalship than Wellington or Blücher. High military authority can be quoted on Sir Archibald Alison's side in this matter. On the face of it, the opinion is plausible, for it is notorious that Napoleon, advancing with a force much inferior to the *combined* forces of Wellington and Blücher, inflicted loss on the British at Quatre-Bras and defeat on the Prussians at Ligny, and attacked, with superior numbers, the position of Wellington at Waterloo. No doubt the British and the Prussians were not separated so far but that their combination could be effected at the critical moment, and the battle of Waterloo be won. This, however, proves only that Wellington and Blücher committed no irretrievable error, not that Napoleon's generalship, with the means at his command, was not finer than theirs. It is, we think, certain that, had the troops under Wellington been of but average excellence, the battle of Waterloo would have been won by Napoleon early in the day; and it can hardly discredit the generalship of Napoleon that the British troops proved of so superlative quality as to repel the shock even of their more numerous assailants. The independence with which Sir Archibald Alison has estimated the respective merits of the commanders in the Waterloo campaign proves his history to have been no mere echo of Tory prejudice, and tends also to prove that he possessed capacity as a military critic. The continuation of the work from 1815 to 1852 was quite inferior to the preceding portion, and has no chance of a lasting place in our literature. He published a 'Life of Marlborough,' which reached a second edition in five years, and three volumes of 'Political, Historical, and Miscellaneous Essays.' Among the historical writers of the period honourable mention is due to Mr. John Hill Burton, whose careful research and animated style have secured high repute to his contributions to the history of Scotland.

In respect of eloquence no writer who has used the English language in modern times—and we are not sure that even this limitation is necessary—has surpassed Mr. Ruskin. We must, of course, be understood to bestow this high commendation upon Mr. Ruskin's writings only in respect of eloquence, for, though they have other admirable qualities, it is as masterpieces of literary composition that they can claim to be unsurpassed. In his boyhood and youth Mr. Ruskin wrote a considerable number of poems. Having been enabled to subject these to the fullest examination, we have confidence in saying that they are not only most interesting and beautiful when viewed as juvenile performances, but exhibit poetical merit of so high an order as to leave no reasonable doubt in the reader of the ability of their author to have won high distinction as a poet. Devoting himself to prose, he wrote with poetical richness of imagery and colouring, and the subjects of which he treated were of a nature to promote the luxuriance of his diction. He wrote upon art, and it is impossible to write justly or well of those productions of the human mind and hand in which the spirit of beauty is enshrined without writing eloquently. In the case of Mr. Ruskin, however, the eloquence of his style was favoured by yet another circumstance of great importance. He wrote not of the theory of art, but of the qualities and deservings of a particular artist, W. M. Turner; and the position which he undertook to prove respecting Turner was, in the first place at least, that he had been comprehensively and pre-eminently *true* in his delineation of the aspects of nature. Hence it became necessary for Mr. Ruskin to set forth at length the results of his own observation of nature. These were given to his readers in the form of descriptions of the scenery of hills and plains, woods and rocks, seas and clouds. The chapters in which the descriptions occurred needed only the form of verse to have been recognised by all the world as glowing poetry. But this does not prove that Mr. Ruskin's eloquence deserves to be compared with that of the greatest English prose writers. Mere luxuriance, however gorgeous, does not constitute prose eloquence, and it is possible that, if there is nothing but luxuriance, there shall be no eloquence and much bombast. The peculiarity of Mr. Ruskin's writing is this, that its richness is consistent with, or rather depends upon, unprecedented minuteness of specification and remarkable precision of diction. It is owing to their inability to perceive this fact that Mr. Ruskin's critics have sometimes foolishly accused him of prolixity or verbiage. "Would it not be a poor mistake," says one who defends Mr. Ruskin against such objectors, "to confound the richness and abundance of the picture's colour with the confused brilliancy produced by the many colours of the daub? Yet this is precisely the pitiful and painful mistake of those critics who, having discovered, by the exercise of their critical genius, that where there is verbiage there must be many words, exclaim, whenever they perceive many words, that there is verbiage. Ruskin's words are used to bring out the minutest facts of nature—the light and shade on a blade of grass—the blending of hue in the rainbow—the melting into each other of the cloud-shadows upon the mountain-side. To show the flickering dance of sunbeams on forest leaves, to set before us the very spring and prancing of the waves, to word-paint the wreathing of the mist and every caprice and humour of the sky, required rather an abundant supply of words: but the supply at Ruskin's command was a small matter to his power of laying them on, to the exquisite precision with which he applied every vocable." We have been reading Ruskin for twenty years, and deliberately affirm that these statements are just. His first great work, 'Modern Painters,' was completed in five volumes, three of them embellished with pictorial illustrations in which the genius of the author was displayed only less forcibly than in the letter-press. Three volumes of magnificent description and lofty yet masculine sentiment were dedicated by him to 'The Stones of Venice.' In one volume of extraordinary fervour and an almost oppressive splendour of diction, he defined and dilated on 'The Seven Lamps of Architecture.' All these works, while poetical in the loveliness and opulence of their imagery, are distinguished by a power of thought adequate to the occasion. But in an evil hour, beguiled perhaps by the example of Carlyle, Mr. Ruskin began a series of contributions to what Mr. Carlyle had taught him to consider the dismal science,—if indeed it is fair to describe as "contributions" to that science articles and treatises which were intended to remove political economy from the list of sciences altogether, and to bury it and its professors under a mountain of contempt. Of these writings, which began with 'Unto this Last,' and are carried on in the monthly letters styled 'Fors Clavigera,' we shall only say that they have not commanded the assent of that large and cultivated audience which hung with admiration upon every word of Mr. Ruskin's writings on art.

A desultory, capricious, often paradoxical, yet, all things considered, a great writer of English prose is Thomas De Quincey. When he attempted anything on the scale of a book, he failed. He lacked that energy of purpose, that clear apprehension of the object with which he wrote, which the businesslike English reader requires. In his book on 'The Logic of Political Economy' he wanders off into interminable digressions, always gyrating in new circles, never seeming to get nearer to the end. The most earnestly respectful and admiring reader cannot stand it. But in his brief dialogues on political economy, and in volume after volume of essays, he appears as a masterly critic and a rare and fascinating humorist. We ought to have exempted from the unfavourable verdict pronounced upon his more extended attempts his 'Confessions of an Opium-eater.' But these fill a very small volume, and all the applauses of critics, with whom it has been quite a pet book, have made it no more than moderately popular. His humour is perhaps at its finest in such light and sportive sketching as we have in the 'Spanish Nun' and the 'Dream-fugue'; but his most striking piece of humour is the Swiftian conception of 'Murder considered as one of the Fine Arts.' Though the conception, however, reminds us of the cruel grimness of Swift's humour, there is purely farcical grotesqueness, no real misanthropy, in De Quincey's description of the amateur murderers, with their grave expositions of the moral advantages of murder. The description of the Williams and Marr murders, which is annexed, as illustrative setting, to the humorous sketch, is one of the most vividly appalling narratives in the language. Some of De Quincey's writings, as, for example, his feeble and inadequate account of Goethe in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' are quite unworthy of him; and in speaking of him as great, we limit the application of the term to his skill as a literary artist.

It is among the miscellaneous prose writers, rather than among the poets, that we must class Professor Wilson, the famed Christopher North of 'Blackwood's Magazine.' While Jeffrey ruled in the 'Edinburgh Review,' Wilson threw all his force into his critical articles in the Tory monthly. As we do not elsewhere speak, save incidentally, of Jeffrey, it will be in place to say here that his critical judgments have all the clearness, rationality, and precision of the Whig school to which he belonged. They are perspicuously, and even expressively, written, though notably deficient in ease. They are distinguished by common sense, and they cannot be said to be ill-tempered. It was with no cynical satisfaction that Jeffrey meted out disapproval to Wordsworth, and readers of the present day who are convinced that he was unsympathetically narrow in his critique on the Lake Minstrel think that he was right in pronouncing the 'Excursion' intolerably long-winded. Wilson's prose forms a strong contrast to that of Jeffrey. It is flowing, exuberant, metaphorical, sometimes verging towards, though seldom, if ever, reaching, the grievous faults of turgidity and bombast. In declamation Wilson's best passages have never been excelled. His descriptions of scenery are true to nature, yet imbued with the brightest and most genial sentiment. The drawback is that Wilson was essentially a writer of fine passages; his inequality, his lapses from humour into mere stupid horse-play, his defect of continuity, prevented his achieving anything of high excellence on a large scale. One of the most candid, intelligent, sympathetic, and quietly eloquent of our critical writers is Dr. Robert Carruthers, of Inverness, whose careful and judicious 'Life of Pope' is a classic.

A writer in some respects disappointing, but whose prose will well repay study, is Savage Landor. He was a man of the strangest cross-grained temper, and a good deal of what he wrote conveys the impression of a lion snarling. His poetry is harsh and untunable, but the prose of his 'Imaginary Conversations' is clear, expressive, and animated. From his poetry we should expect his prose to consist of what he imputed to Brougham, namely, "those abrupt and splintery sentences which, like many coarse substances, sparkle only when they are broken, and are looked at only for their sharpnesses and inequalities;" but there is no irregularity, no abruptness, in his polished and well-turned prose. It seems plain that he devoted special attention to the cultivation of his prose style. He appears to have considered it a rarer accomplishment to write good prose than good verse. "Let those," he says in one of his pieces, "who look upon style as unworthy of much attention, ask themselves how many, in proportion to men of genius, have excelled in it. In all languages, ancient and modern, are there ten prose writers at once harmonious, correct, and energetic?" Admirably as Landor's 'Imaginary Conversations' are written, they exhibit no dramatic power. His personality was too sharp and angular to admit of his abandoning his own point of view and entering into the feelings and opinions of historical personages.

Small as is indeed the number of those who have attained consummate success in English prose, a place among them may be claimed for Hugh Miller. Born in the fishing village of Cromarty, he appreciated by the sure instinct of genius what was best in English literature, and trained himself to the command of a prose style which, for exquisite balance of cadence, and *callida junctura* of clause with clause, and nervous vigour touched with the ruddy hues of a genial imagination, has not been surpassed in the present century. Of science as well as of philosophy we have abstained from treating in these pages; but Hugh Miller's scientific writings, whatever their value when tried by a scientific standard—and we believe it to be high—are chiefly important as models of literary workmanship. The 'Old Red Sandstone,' the 'Testimony of the Rocks,' and the 'First Impressions of England and its People' are books which fascinate and arrest in virtue of their style, and will continue to be read so long as harmonious language, graceful imagery, and masculine thought are prized by English-speaking men.

Having now finished our survey of the poetical and prose literature of England from the commencement of the French Revolution to the present day—a survey in which, if we have not mapped the country, we have at least marked the principal mountain ranges and traced the lordliest rivers—we retain no impression so vividly as that of blended admiration, wonder, and pride. If it has not fallen to us to speak of a Shakespeare or a Milton, we have mentioned nearly a score of such names as shed lustre upon epochs and confer distinction upon nations. The excellence of our literature has been surpassed in but few bygone times—say, the age of Shakespeare, the age of Sophocles, the age of Homer, and one or two more; in diffusion of literary power, in prevalence of literary tastes, in opulent productiveness, our period has been unexampled. "Such a superiority," says David Hume, "do the pursuits of literature possess above every other occupation that even he who attains but a mediocrity in them merits the pre-eminence above those that excel the most in the common and vulgar professions." In the nineteenth century a larger number of persons have attained a mediocrity, and more than a mediocrity, in English literature than at any former period.

PART III.—SCIENCE AND ART.

Astronomy.

MODERN astronomy, said the astronomer royal (Sir George B. Airy) on a recent occasion, "is not much more than a hundred years old." It is, as he remarked with equal truth, "a science perpetually accumulating facts, the interpretation of which belong to a future age, so that even now, while preparing the material for the discoveries of posterity, we are but beginning to comprehend the vastness of the revelations made by Newton and his successors." But even Newton and Herschel could not foresee the astounding additions to our knowledge which the spectroscope has made for us. A train of little prisms of quartz has revealed to us the stupendous fact that the elements which compose our earth are present also in distant worlds. The same fairy-like instrument can even measure the advance or retreat of those flying orbs, whose light—so distant are they—takes years to travel hither. Concerning the services rendered to the community by practical astronomy, we cannot do better than quote the eloquent remarks of one of the London journals on the occasion of the entertainment given to the astronomer royal in the City:—

"Not a vessel sails from the crowded Pool (i.e. the port of London), or from the docks, but carries with her the little volume in blue paper cover which, under the title of the 'Nautical Almanac,' is the mariner's 'guide, philosopher, and friend.' Let but a star peep out on a dark night in the Pacific or Atlantic, and the navigator, if he knows his business, can get an observation out of the tables there compiled by the patient and unceasing calculations carried on at Greenwich among the learned watchers whose eyes have 'grown dim with gazing on the Polar star. Sir George Airy adduced many instances of the eminently serviceable work performed in the observatory for the national industries; notably, the identification of time for all the principal seaports, and the experiments for the correction of the compass on board iron ships, which have done much to take away that terror of the seamen, a false reading of his magnetic needle. The example which Sir George Airy cited of the application of severely scientific methods to the task of measuring a straight line, for the Ashburton Treaty, is at once a proof of the exquisite perfection to which instrumental surveying has been brought, and an illustration—if any were needed—of the utility of those researches which otherwise seem so abstract and ethereal."

As to the actual position of astronomy and its future bearings upon our comprehensive study of the universe, the same article says, with as much truth as elegance: "Nothing has so powerfully affected modern thought—nothing has so radically changed the ideas and beliefs of society—as the discoveries of astronomy. If mankind should ever seek a new era from which to compute the beginnings of real civilisation, they will assuredly fix upon the date of Galileo, for with his revelations, supplemented by the magnificent results of Sir Isaac Newton's research, commenced the age of larger conceptions and widened theologies. The mistrust of the Roman Church, which led it fiercely to discountenance the teachings of the Florentine astronomer, was as astute as it proved fruitless, for it is not too much to say that dogmatic religion of the old type received a mortal wound on the day when the philosopher muttered, as he rose from his enforced recantation, '*E pur se muove.*' All the ancient theologies were constructed upon the Ptolemæan notion that the earth was the centre of the universe, and that the stars, the sun, and the moon were hung in the void to lighten it, to furnish guides and portents, and to supply the data for horoscopes and signs of the seasons. Simple as now seems the announcement which reversed all this, and first demonstrated that our globe was but a poor little planetary speck moving along with others round the sun, which in its turn was only one of countless millions of other such luminaries, that demonstration nevertheless made the superstitions of early humanity appear at a stroke childish and inadequate, and the real uprise of larger views dates from the Copernican doctrine and from the cosmic laws declared by Newton. All theories of revelation and divine government have since had, more or less, to adapt themselves to the idea of an universe physically boundless, an universe of such infinite material glory and visible splendour and variety that the breath of theology has been taken away, as it were, by the new necessities of the human intellect; and while no man can know the ordered motions of the heavenly bodies without feeling faith in a Supreme Power, none can ever so briefly study them and turn back to the puerile definitions of mediæval belief with anything like the former acceptance. 'Two things astound me,' said Kant; 'one is the moral sense in man, and the other is the starry expanse above our heads.' The two together really furnish the foundations of a natural religion, to the vast and imperative limits of which the official teachers of dogma are very slowly advancing. But advance they must; for the ideas which suited the system of Berosus and Ptolemy will not, and cannot, suffice for the system of Newton, Herschel, and Airy. Never was a truer thing said by poet than in the line of Tennyson, 'The thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.' Seen as the star-suns now are, the centres of other planetary societies, so distant that their minor members remain invisible; known as time now is, a mere illusion of local motion; conceived as interplanetary space has come to be, an ocean of boundless ethereal matter, in which the mightiest orbs are but islets insignificant in dimension; while sound is understood to be the wash of waves of air, and light the ripple of wavelets of the ether, and heat and electricity but 'modes of motion'—the enormously expanded estimate, as regards the glory and wonder of existence, which all these new facts bring has, consciously or unconsciously, altered the daily thought and habitual motives of civilised man. Not until the professors of theology address themselves in earnest to the vastly larger demands which the minds of men now make for doctrines commensurate with scientific teaching, will religion and morality come up abreast of astronomical truth, and this may be received as one of the silent meanings of such an apparently simple ceremony as the entertainment of the astronomer royal in the City."

The refracting telescopes of Fraunhofer, Utzschneider, and Reichenbach, although not of so great magnifying power as the instrument of Herschel, define better and clearer, and have rendered important service in the closer observation of the double stars, and the separation of the nebulæ in the star-clusters, in determining the difference of colour of the fixed stars, and the peculiar motion of the fixed stars among themselves, and of the whole planetary system towards a certain point in space. This point, according to Mädler, is the star *Alcyone* in the constellation Pleiades, which seems to be the central sun of the whole universe.

In 1838 Lamont determined the mass of the planet Uranus, and an annular eclipse of the sun was observed in America; and in 1839 Le Verrier made his researches on the secular variations of the planets. In 1842 the National Observatory of Washington, U.S.A., was founded; Bailey determined the mean density of the earth, and a total eclipse of the sun occurred, which was visible in the southern parts of Europe. In 1843 Schwabe detected the periodicity of the recurrence of the solar spots, and the year was marked by the appearance of one of the most splendid comets of modern times. Hencke's discovery in 1845 of the planet *Astræa*, forming the fifth of the group of minor planets revolving between Mars and Jupiter, was followed by the discovery between the years 1845 and 1857 of no less than thirty-nine asteroids, revolving in the same interplanetary space. The year 1847 was marked by the discovery of the trans-Uranian planet Neptune by Galle in Berlin—the result of the independent theoretical researches of Adams in England and Le Verrier in France. In 1848 Lassell in England, and Bond in America, independently discovered the eighth satellite of Saturn (Hyperion). In 1849 a new asteroid was discovered, and Main proved that the figure of the planet Saturn is strictly elliptical. In 1850 three new asteroids were discovered, and a total eclipse of the sun was observed in the Pacific Ocean. In 1851 two new asteroids and a periodic comet were discovered Lassell discovered also two satellites of Uranus (Ariel and Umbriel). Foucault made his pendulum experiments for demonstrating the rotation of the earth: the innermost or dusky ring of Saturn was discovered, and a total eclipse of the sun visible in N. Europe occurred. The year 1852 was marked by the discovery of no less thnn eight new asteroids. A brilliant comet in the northern hemisphere and the discovery of four new asteroids distinguished 1853. In the year 1854 a total eclipse of the sun occurred, which was visible in Chili; and six new asteroids were discovered.

Professor Airy also made his pendulum experiments in the Harton coal-mine, for determining the mean density of the earth; and the difference of longitude between Paris and Greenwich was determined by electro-magnetic signals. In 1855 Main made his researches on the dimensions of Saturn's rings; and four new asteroids were discovered; and in 1856 he investigated the diameters of the planets; and five new asteroids were discovered. In 1857 De la Rue and Padre Secchi executed photographs of the moon, and Mr. Bond of the double stars: eight new asteroids were discovered. The year 1858 was marked by a total eclipse of the sun, visible in Brazil; and an annular eclipse of the sun was observed in England. It was further distinguished by the appearance of a comet (Donati's) of unusual splendour, which continued visible to the naked eye for several weeks; six new asteriods were discovered, and a stereographic photograph of the moon was taken by De la Rue. The first comet of the year was found by Dr. Bruhns to be periodic, and identical with a comet which appeared in 1790. Dr. Winnecke also discovered a comet, the time of whose revolution he proved to be somewhat more than five years.

In 1859 Professor Airy made his researches on the motion of the whole solar system in space. The same year the planet *Mnemosyne* was discovered by Luther; and in 1860 the planets *Concorida*, *Danæ*, and two others. In 1861 nine planets were discovered; in 1862 five, and in 1863 only two. In 1866 not less than six were discovered; in 1867 four, and in 1868 two.

We are now acquainted with nine primary planets viz. *Mercury*, *Venus*, the *Earth*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, *Saturn*, *Uranus*, *Neptune*, and *Vulcan;* the last having been discovered by M. Lescarbault, a physician (on the 26th of March 1859), occupying a position between Mercury and the sun.

The number of secondary or minor planets, situated between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter, amounts at present (1876) to one hundred and sixty-one. It is impossible, we are told, to assign any limit to the *number* of the asteroids; but the conclusion is that, as regards their aggregate, it does not amount to one-fourth of the earth's mass. The enormous amount of observations published every year affords the means of increased accuracy in every department. Most of these astronomical reports are to be found in the periodicals devoted exclusively to astronomical subjects, e.g. the 'Monthly Notices' of the Royal Astronomical Society; the 'Nautical Almanac,' &c.

Geology.

GEOLOGY is the science which treats of the structure and mineral constitution of our earth; the position of its strata, and the causes which have produced its physical features.

The time has long since gone by when it could be said that "geology is yet too young to venture upon a system." Such, however, was the language used in reference to it less than forty years ago. It was further objected by the same author (we believe, Dr. Croly) that "it wants vigour, consistency, and clearness, for the erection of any tolerable theory." The discoveries of geology since that period have dawned upon the world like a new revelation, and have compelled the assent of the reflecting portion of mankind. The facts upon which geology relies are patent to all who will take the trouble to investigate them; while scientific men throughout the world are all but unanimous in their interpretation of them. Mr. Poulett Scrope has geologised among the extinct volcanoes of Central France; others have investigated the geological structure of the Apennines. De Saussure has ranged over the Alpine districts; Humboldt has gathered geological specimens among the fissures of the Andes; Pallas has geologised among the pinnacles of the Siberian chain; Murchison has examined the Ural mountains; while Phillips, Mantell, Hugh Miller, Lyell, and a host of other worthies, have penetrated into the mysteries contained in the strata of our own islands or the continent of North America. When, therefore, we find geologists of the New World uniting with those of the Old in holding the same theories, and interpreting uniformly the same facts, we cannot but conclude that the science in question must have gained for itself a position among the exact sciences, and must repose upon something more substantial than vague theories.

Any one who has watched the process of sinking a deep pit or well, or may have examined the sides of a deep railway cutting will have remarked that the successive layers or strata of gravel, chalk, or sand, seem to be laid with the greatest exactness. As we go lower into the bowels of the earth, we find the same regularity of structure, with a still greater variety of materials. The lowest strata of all are, 1st, the Azoic, which, as the name implies, are entirely destitute of remains of animal life; these consist of the primary or non-fossiliferous, or metamorphic, rocks, as they are sometimes called.

2nd. Next above this is the Palæozoic, i.e. the various strata containing ancient animal remains.

3rd. Immediately above the Palæozoic rest the Mesozoic strata, and above these the highest or Cenozoic (properly *Kainozoic*, i.e. new life), containing remains of mammalia, including man.

Beginning again from the bottom, we remark that the Azoic or non-fossiliferous rocks are also more or less crystalline; they are called metamorphic, which implies that the original structure and texture had undergone some change.

The crystalline rocks (granite, mica, slate, &c.), once called *primitive*, and regarded as situated beneath all other rocks, are now known not to be *exclusively* of any particular age; e.g. those of Northern New York and Northern Canada being of the Azoic age; those of the larger part of New England are Palæozoic rocks, dating their crystallisation from the close of the Palæozoic era; other primitive or crystalline rocks, as those of the Alps, are of still more recent origin. The changes we observe are that the lines of their stratification are often obliterated or only faintly perceptible; and their whole aspect is very different from what is usually ascribed to rocks originally deposited in water. These changes, however, may have been brought about by the long-continued influences of heat and enormous pressure; or they may be the result of chemical action combined with pressure. However effected, it is evident that some change has taken place in the sedimentary character of the strata; and that matter which at first consisted of water-worn débris, as silt, clay, and sand, has now been converted into hard, shining, and crystalline rocks. From these and other changes, observed also in reference to sandstone (which we find sometimes converted into quartzite or quartz-rock, and limestones and soft chalks into sparkling, saccharoid marbles), we infer that, wherever heat, chemical action, and pressure are present, every species of rock will undergo a metamorphism or mineral change. In explanation of the term Azoic, which has been given to these rocks, we have to remark that, while the strata lying above it are all more or less fossiliferous, the metamorphic rocks are entirely *wanting* in all traces of animal existence. This distinction, however, only rests upon negative evidence, since fossils may hereafter be found in these strata.

The lowest, or earliest, of the Palæozoic or fossiliferous strata are the Laurentian and Cambrian systems. The Laurentian (from the River St. Lawrence in Canada) consists, in the Laurentide Mountains, of about thirty thousand feet of crystalline strata, like the gneiss, quartz-rocks, marbles, and serpentines of the Scottish Highlands; but there are no sandstones, shales, or limestones. All these have been converted by heat, pressure, and chemical action into sparkling crystalline rocks. The metamorphism which induced the crystalline character has been almost sufficient to obliterate all trace of organic existence; and yet, with the aid of the microscope, the presence of organic structure, in some serpentine limestones, has been recently detected. This organism, the *Eozoon Canadense*, or dawn-animalcule of Canada, occurs not only in the thick-bedded serpentines of the St. Lawrence, but has been recently detected in rocks of apparently the same age, both in Ireland and Bohemia. Above the Laurentian occur the slates, schists, grits, and crystalline limestones of the Cambrian system.

The Cambrian system, sometimes more slaty, and at others more schistose and crystalline, is of the thickness of about fifteen thousand to twenty thousand feet. This system, besides impressions of sea-weeds, has yielded undetermined zoophytes, mollusca, crustacea, trilobites, tracks and burrows of annelids, and other impressions. Strata containing similar fossils with those of Wales have been found in Bohemia, Scandinavia, Canada, and on the lower flanks of the Andes. In these earlier formations, whether called Metamorphic, Laurentian, Cambrian, or Silurian, the richest veins of metals occur.

4th. Immediately above the Cambrian we have the Silurian system; in which are found marine fossils of numerous species and genera, consisting of zoophytes, radiata, molluscs, annelids, and crustacea, with corals and star-fish. By far the most curious and abundant are the crustaceans termed *trilobites*, which seem to have swarmed in the Silurian waters, just as shrimps and prawns swarm in the shallow seas of our own day.

5th. Over the Silurian we meet with the Devonian or old red-sandstone; containing, above the flaggy beds which top the Silurian rocks, yellow sandstone, with remains of aquatic and terrestrial plants, few zoophytes, but numerous fishes. In the marine limestones we find abundant remains of corals, shells, and crustacea, but very few fishes.

6th. The Carboniferous or coal system, composed of frequent alternations of sandstones, shales, limestones, coals, and ironstones, contains remains of vegetable life. The shell limestones are entirely composed of mussel-like bivalves, remains of fishes, and skeletons of some small reptiles of the frog and lizard kinds. In this system we have evidence that, partly by the drift of gigantic rivers, partly by the successive submergences of forests, jungles and peat-swamps, the vegetable matter was accumulated, which, now carbonised, constitutes our valuable seams of coal.

7th. Permian, or lower new red-sandstone. Immediately above the coal-measures occurs a set of red-sandstones; yellowish magnesian limestones, and variegated shales and marls; inclosing irregular masses of rock-salt and gypsum. Among the organic remains of this stratum are found ferns, clubmosses, and pines of the *araucarian* family, with corals, fishes, and land-inhabiting creatures of the frog and lizard families, whose bones, teeth, and footprints frequently occur in this system. Building-stone, limestone, gypsum, copper, and occasionally valuable seams of coal are supplied by the Permian system.

8th. The Triassic, or upper new red-sandstone, comprises the saliferous marls and variegated sandstones of Cheshire, the magnesian limestones of York and Durham, and those reddish sandstones and grits which immediately overlie the coal-measures in the north of England. Among the fossils of these strata we find ferns, and other vegetable species allied to palms and true pines. We have few corals; but star-fish and chambered shells like those of the ammonite, with beetle-like insects and lizard-like fishes. Of reptiles, we have some, allied to the lizards and monitors of our own day; as the labyrinthodon, and several others. Besides the teeth and bones of these early reptiles, we have their footprints, impressed and preserved on the slabs of sandstone, almost as distinctly as if they had traversed the muddy beach of yesterday; not only the joints of the toes, but the very texture of the skin is apparent.

9th. The Oolitic system comprises the lias, the oolite, and the wealden group; the organic remains of which belong, not like the others to the Palæozoic, but to the *Mesozoic* or middle-life period. This system derives its name from the concretionary grains which compose many of its limestones—grains resembling the roe of a fish; when the grains are large, it is called pea-stone. This stratum is strictly a marine deposit, which contains impressions of sea-weeds and other aquatic plants. The animal remains consist of sponges, star-corals, brain-corals, sea-urchins, shell-fish like oysters and clams; the ammonite, nautilus and belemnite, gigantic cuttle-fishes, &c. Among reptiles we have several forms of tortoise, others like the crocodiles and lizards. One of the most common is the *ichthyosaurus*, or fish-lizard, somewhat resembling the crocodile, but furnished with paddles or flippers instead of feet. Hundreds of them have been found in these strata, varying in length from four to forty feet. But, besides these, we have also the plesiosaurus, the pterodactyle, and many other saurians or lizards—some carnivorous, and others herbivorous—as the cetiosaurus, megalosaurus and the iguanodon; for the description of which enormous reptiles we must refer to our remarks under the head of *Palæontology*. Of mammals, we have the jaw-bones, teeth, &c. of animals of the marsupial species, allied to the opossum and kangaroo.

10th. The Cretaceous or chalk system, comprising a set of well-defined marine sands, dark marl-clays, and thick beds of chalk. The organic remains are, with few exceptions, quite of a marine character, and comprise fucoids, sponges, fishes, and reptiles, with saurian or lizard-like reptiles, as in the former system.

11th. The Tertiary system embraces the eocene, miocene, pliocene, and pleistocene groups. The arrangement now adopted treats as *Tertiary* all the strata occurring above the chalk to the close of the drift, and Post-tertiary every accumulation which appears to have been formed since that period. The organic types are all Kainozoic (*καινη ξῳη*, new life), that is, more or less allied to many *existing* genera.

At the close of the Mesozoic period the ichthyosaurus, plesiosaurus, pterodactyle, and ammonites disappear, and we find now, among vegetables, true exogenous timber-trees, like the oak, beech, and elm; the corals and shells are mostly identical with those of our existing seas; the reptiles are tortoises, turtles, crocodiles, &c.; birds of existing families are by no means rare; and examples of mammalia of all orders up to the highest, *except man*, have been discovered. We have, for example, the marsupialia (pouched animals), like the kangaroo; the cetacea (or whales); the edentata or toothless animals, represented by gigantic animals of the sloth, armadillo, and ant-eater type, such as the megatherium, megalonyx, &c.; the ruminantia, represented by several species of elk, stag, antelope, buffalo, ox, &c.; the pachydermata (thick-skinned animals), by numerous forms, as the deinotherium, mastodon, elephant, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, hog, tapir, &c.; and the carnivora by the bear, hyæna, fox, dog, seal; and among the species *quadrumana* (four-handed), monkeys related to those of Asia and Africa. Thus, every order of mammal except man has its representative in the strata of the Tertiary epoch, bearing, on the whole, such a resemblance to existing species that one feels he is approaching the confines of existing nature.

12th. The Post-tertiary system comprises all *alluvial* or river deposits, peat-mosses, coral-reefs, raised beaches, and other recent accumulations, consisting of clays, silts, sands, gravels, and peat-mosses, which are scattered indiscriminately over the surface of the earth. Under this head will be ranged fluvial (or river) accumulations. The natural tendency of rivers being to deepen their channels, and to spread the eroded materials over the river valleys, these valleys will become in course of time dry plains. At the mouths of rivers there have been accumulations going on for ages; and, in course of time, these deposits have become large expanses of alluvial land, known as "*deltas*." The most famous of these are the deltas of the Rhine, the Po, the Niger, the Ganges, and the Nile. The alluvium of the delta of the Nile is in many places sixty feet thick. Since, according to excavations and estimates made by Mr. Leonard Horner and Hekekyan Bey, under the auspices of the Royal Society, the deposit does not exceed five inches in 100 years, we must allow something like 14,400 years for the deposition of the delta of the Nile. This is the result obtained from the most careful observations and measurements of monuments, and therefore may be relied on as approximately true. Sir Charles Lyell's estimate of the time required for the deposition of the delta of the Mississippi, which is more than 600 feet thick, is 33,500 years. Hence we see that man is but of yesterday; and, although the most perfect and highly gifted, he is but the *youngest*, member of the great terrestrial family.

It will have been gathered from the foregoing facts that the land no more than the sea is stationary. As regards some parts of it, it was, at one time far beneath the waves; while on the other hand, it can be proved that continents once occupied the area now covered by the ocean. And these movements cannot always be referred to volcanic action; for recent observations have convinced us that large areas at the present time are slowly and almost imperceptibly rising from the sea, while others are being as slowly engulfed beneath the waves. So slow, however, is this motion that it exceeds in very few cases three or four feet in a century. Still, the fact remains; and when these three or four feet are multiplied by fifteen or twenty centuries, we are surprised at the results. Norway and Sweden are known to be undergoing a slow process of upheaval north of the district of Scania; while south of that limit the ground is subsiding. In the intricate channels of the Baltic, rocks, once so far beneath the surface as to offer no obstruction to navigation, are now elevated so near the surface as to be dangerous. Greenland is undergoing a slow depression. This is proved by the fact, that staples driven into the rocks by early settlers to fasten their boats to are now some distance below low-water mark. Even the ignorant Greenlander is geologist enough to recognise the fact (though, like ourselves, he is ignorant of the cause), and hence takes care never to build his house near the sea. From observations made in South America, it would appear that on the Pacific coast the land is gradually rising. The consequences of these changes in the relative elevation of land and sea are curious to witness. Thus, we see that the ancient city of Adria, which was once a famous sea-port, is now seventeen miles distant from the sea to which it gave its name; and Ravenna, once the head-quarters of the Adriatic fleet, is now nearly five miles distant from the Adriatic. In England, from the subsidence of the land, and the encroachments of the sea, the ancient Roman city of Regulbium, near Herne Bay, on the east coast, has been swallowed up by the waves; while the twin towers of its ancient church (now used as a sea-beacon, called the Reculvers), standing on the edge of the cliffs, warn the passing sailor off the treacherous coast.

As palæontology is the handmaid of geology, we refer for information to the separate article on that subject. For our remarks upon geology we acknowledge ourselves indebted to the very able work, Page's 'Text-book of Geology;' and for what we may say upon palæontology, to the well-known work of Professor Owen.

Palæontology,

From *palaios* = old, and *logos* = a discourse, deals with the evidences of the earth's antiquity, and the successive changes it has undergone. It is the science which treats of the evidences (embedded in the earth's strata) of organic beings, which consist chiefly of petrified or fossil remains of plants and animals, belonging, for the most part, to species that are now extinct.

The Fossil Room at the British Museum contains the fossilised human skeleton brought from Guadaloupe, in the West Indies, by Sir A. Cochrane, and presented to the museum by the lords of the Admiralty.

Human skeletons are found in that island in a solid and very hard limestone rock, which occurs on the sea-shore at the base of the cliffs, and is more or less covered by the sea at high water. Accompanying the skeletons are found arrow-heads, fragments of pottery, and other articles of human workmanship. In the same room will be found masses of stalagmite, containing imbedded bones and skulls, the remains of aborigines, from the ossiferous cavern of Bruniquel, in the south of France. On the lower shelves of the adjoining case are placed other human remains, together with worked implements of stone and bone; and numerous horns, teeth, and bones of the reindeer, gigantic ox, ibex, chamois, wild horse, birds' bones, &c., the remains of the animals which served as food for the men of the Flint period in that part of Europe. These are also from the Bruniquel cavern. The Christy Museum, Victoria Street, Westminster, contains a very valuable collection of prehistoric antiquities, bequeathed to the British nation by the late Mr. Henry Christy, F.G.S. &c., who died in France, May 4, 1865, whither he had gone to prosecute a fresh series of researches. Mr. Christy had devoted what leisure he could command to inquiries concerning the history of human civilisation, and especially those earlier stages of it called the Stone period. For this purpose he travelled extensively in America, the north of Europe, and the East, and made numerous collections. Here one may see prehistoric remains collected in all parts of England, stone implements and remains from Dordogne, Le Moustier, Gorge d'Enfer, Les Eyzies, La Madeleine, Langerie Haute, Badegoule near Condat, from Persigny-le-Grand in Poitou, together with objects of the same character found in Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Ireland, Spain, Italy, &c.

The study of geology has taught us that our planet has undergone many successive physical revolutions, the crust of it being made up of layer upon layer, after the manner of the successive peels of an onion. Each of these successive depositions constitutes, as we have seen, the tomb of animal forms that have lived and passed away. Now it is a fresh-water or a marine shell that the palæontologist discovers; now the skeleton, or parts of a skeleton, from the evidence of which a comparative anatomist, like Professor Owen, can reproduce by model or picture the exact forms. Occasionally science has to build up the form and presence of animals that were from the scanty evidence of their mere footmarks. As the poacher is guided to the timid hare, crouching in her seat, by the vestiges of her footprints on the snow, so the palæontologist can, in many cases, arrive at tolerably certain conclusions relative to the size and aspect of an extinct animal by the evidence of footsteps on what is *now* solid rock.

If it be demanded how it happens that solid rocks can bear the traces of such soft impressions, the reply is simple. There was a time when these rocks, now so hard and solid, were mere agglomerations of plastic matter, comparable for consistence to ordinary clay. Like the smooth sand left by the retiring sea on our coasts, it readily received every impression. The impression once made, thousands of years, and vast chemical changes under enormous pressure, have rendered those impressions permanent.

ICHNOLOGY is that part of palæontology which treats of marks, or impressions, left by organised beings upon the stratified rocks. Among such impressions we have those of shells, of tortoises, frogs and toads (or rather huge animals of that shape and appearance), and of birds, and enormous lizards. These impressions were made while the sedimentary deposit was soft and clayey; and as this deposit hardened into rock, it retained, permanently and indelibly stamped upon it, the impressed forms. There seems to have been a time when life was not; there may, therefore, be a period when it will cease to be.

By applying the laws of comparative anatomy to the relics of extinct animals contained in the earth's strata, and corresponding with as many epochs in the earth's history, we are able to demonstrate that the same pervading, active, and beneficent Intelligence which manifests His power in our times has also manifested His power in times long anterior to the records of our existence, and thus the highest generalisations in the science of organic bodies lead to the unequivocal conviction of a Great First Cause, which is certainly not mechanical.

Geography.

"THE earth," says M. Élisée Reclus, "is a mere point in space, an astral molecule; but for the men who inhabit it this molecule is still without limits, as in the time of our barbarous ancestors. It is relatively infinite, since it has not yet been entirely explored, and it is impossible to predict when it will be definitely known to us." No discoverer has yet explored the extremities of the earth; no one can yet tell us whether seas or continents extend beyond the great barriers of ice, the entrance of which has not yet been forced. Bold navigators have, it is true, gradually restricted this unknown region to a comparatively small area; and, at the present time, the mysterious space which remains to be discovered around the North Pole does not exceed the hundredth part of the surface of the entire terrestrial globe. "But, at the South Pole," says the author just quoted, "the explorations of navigators still leave an enormous void, so large an area that the moon might fall upon it without touching those parts of our planet already visited." The Antarctic Ocean is far less known to us than any of the others, the cold being more intense, the winds and seas more boisterous, and the ice extending ten degrees nearer the equator than in the Arctic Ocean. The Messrs. Enderby, to whom we are indebted for most of the information relative to the regions surrounding the South Pole hitherto possessed, equipped three other expeditions, subsequently to those already mentioned, in the last of which Captain Balleny, who was in command, discovered the Balleny Islands (67° south lat. 165° east long.) in February 1839. In March of the same year, Balleny discovered Sabrina Land, in lat. 65° 10′ south, and long. 118° 30′ east. In 1840 there were two voyages of discovery to the Antarctic Ocean: a French expedition, under the command of Admiral d'Urville, who discovered a tract of land which he called Adelie, in 60° 30′ south lat.; and an American one under

Commodore Wilkes, both of which expeditions added considerably to our knowledge of the southern continent.

Further information respecting this region was obtained by the expedition which sailed from England in 1839, under the command of Captain Sir James Ross, who in 1841 penetrated within 840 miles of the South Pole; the highest latitude hitherto attained in this ocean. In this latitude (78° 4′ south), and immediately south of New Zealand, his further progress was arrested by an ice-bound shore, on which he landed; and, in honour of his sovereign, he named it Victoria Land. Ross supposed this to be a continent, and explored its coast from 70° to 79° south latitude. At its northern extremity, Ross saw a very lofty mountain chain, stretching away in the direction of the South Pole, containing several volcanic peaks; one of which, Mount Erebus, an active volcano 12,400 feet high, is situated in long. 168° 12′ east. Another lofty peak, which he named Mount Terror, rises to the height of 10,900 feet above the level of the sea.

From the observations made by the several Antarctic explorers, it appears probable that the area embraced by the Antarctic Circle is occupied by a continent, which is nearly circular in form, and considerably larger than the continent of Europe, and that it is covered by eternal snows, is wholly destitute of vegetation, that its shores are guarded by gigantic volcanoes, or by impenetrable barriers of ice, and that its interior has never been trodden by the foot of man. The cold in that region must be of the most intense character, the temperature of the hottest month in the year being considerably below the freezing-point, ranging, it would seem, from 11° to 32° at the level of the sea.

Explorations in the northern or Arctic regions have been attended with much more success than those in the Antarctic; and many attempts have been made to discover a north-west passage, that is, a passage from Europe through the Arctic Ocean into the Pacific. With this object in view, Sir John Franklin, with Captains Crozier and Fitz-James, sailed in the ships *Erebus* and *Terror* for the Arctic regions in May 1845, with a crew amounting in all to 138 men. This expedition resulted unfortunately in the destruction of the whole party, victims to starvation and the rigour of the climate. The last despatches were dated from the Whalefish Islands in July 1845, and the prolonged absence of the explorers caused intense anxiety throughout Europe. In 1848 Captain Moore, in command of H.M.S. *Plover*, sailed from Sheerness for Behring Straits, and in March of the same year a land-expedition under the charge of Sir John Richardson, and Dr. Rae, of the Hudson's Bay Company, was despatched in search of the missing ships. Sir James Ross, having sailed in 1848 to Barrow Straits with the *Enterprise* and *Investigator*, returned, after a fruitless search, in November 1849. The *Enterprise*, commanded by Captain Collinson, and the *Investigator*, under Captain McClure, sailed in 1850 for Behring Straits; and this expedition was followed by many others, equally unsuccessful, some of which were fitted out by Lady Franklin at her own expense and that of numerous private persons. The British government, by offering a reward in March 1850 of 20,000*l.* to any party, of any country, that should render efficient assistance to the crews of the missing ships, excited the zeal and enthusiasm of many enterprising commanders to continue the search. In one of these expeditions the existence of a N.E.—N.W. passage was discovered by Captain McClure, on the 26th of October 1850, while on an excursion over the ice; and thus the great problem, for the solution of which Franklin and his crew had imperilled their lives, was at length solved. In October 1854, Dr. Rae returned to England with Sir John Franklin's watch, his silver-spoons and forks, bearing his crest, which he had purchased from the Eskimos. He deposited the melancholy relics at Greenwich Hospital, near London. For this discovery, and for the information obtained from the Eskimos, Dr. Rae and his companions received from the government a reward of 10,000*l.*

In May 1859 Lieutenant Hobson found at Point Victory, near Cape Victoria, besides a cairn, a tin case containing a paper signed, 25th of April 1848, by Captain Fitz-James, which certified that the ships *Erebus* and *Terror*, on the 12th of September 1846, were frozen in (lat. 70° 65′ N. and long. 98° 23′ W.); that Sir John Franklin died on the 11th of June 1847, and that the ships were deserted on the 22nd of April 1848. Captain (now Sir Leopold) McClintock, R.N., continued the search, and discovered skeletons and other relics of the missing crews. He published the journal of his expedition in December 1859; and on the 28th of May 1860 gold medals were presented to him and Lady Franklin by the Royal Geographical Society. The discovery of the N.W. passage through Barrow Straits having been accomplished by Captain (now Sir Robert) McClure, and the melancholy fate of the Franklin expedition having been ascertained, a statue of Sir John Franklin, by Noble, was set up in Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, London, which was inaugurated on the 15th of November 1866. The strait connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans received the name of the Prince of Wales, and the *Investigator* was the first ship which traversed the Polar Sea from Behring Straits to Behring Island. In 1855 Sir Robert McClure received a reward of 5000*l.*, and a like sum was distributed among the officers and crew for the successful enterprise, while the Admiralty notified that the Arctic medal would be presented to all persons engaged in these expeditions from 1818 to 1855. Little had been done in the way of Arctic exploration since the discovery of the Franklin relics in 1859, till 1869, when a German expedition, consisting of two ships, the *Germania* and *Hansa*, sailed in June, and reached Pendulum Bay, Greenland, in July, where the vessels parted. The *Hansa* was frozen in, and sank in October 1869, but the crew escaped with provisions, and reached Copenhagen on the 1st of September 1870, and the *Germania* arrived at Bremen ten days later. The Austrian expedition, in the following year, was more successful. It returned in 1874, having discovered Franz-Joseph Land, so named after the Austrian emperor, to the north of Spitzbergen.

African Exploration and Discovery.—Of all quarters of the world, the continent of Africa is the one of which least is known, and yet it lies at our very doors. During the last fifty years, more, however, has been done to make us acquainted with the geography of Africa than during the whole of the seventeen centuries since Ptolemy taken together. Regions supposed hitherto to be barren deserts have been found to be well-watered countries, capable of producing cotton and rice, and abounding in lakes and animal life. In 1841 the British government despatched the great Niger expedition, under the charge of Captain Trotter, which proved a failure, and resulted in a melancholy loss of life. Mr. Duncan, one of the survivors of the expedition, made some additions to our geographical knowledge by his journey subsequently to Adafoodia, in 1845–1846; but he met an untimely death in a second attempt to reach Timbuctoo.

Hitherto the zeal for African exploration had expended itself chiefly on the northern and western portions of the continent, though many eminent travellers had explored the regions drained by the Nile. Among them, besides our own Bruce, may be mentioned Burckhardt, Cailliaud, Rüppel, Russegger, D'Abbadie, Beke, D'Arnaud, and Werne. A station of the Church Missionary Society having been established near Mombas, in East Africa, Mr. Rebmann, one of the missionaries, discovered in 1849 the great snow-clad mountain of Kilima-njaro; and his companion, Dr. Krapf, of the same mission, came in sight of a second huge mountain, named Kenia, also snow-clad, though lying directly under the equator. Frequent reports also reached the missionaries of vast lakes in the interior, beyond the mountains; the information concerning which excited great interest in England. About the same time Dr. Richardson, accompanied by Drs. Barth and Overweg, was sent on an embassy to the chiefs in North Africa, as far as Lake Tchad, with a view to the extension of legitimate trade, and the abolition of slavery. This expedition left England in 1849, and had almost reached the scene of its labours when death overtook Richardson, who was soon followed to the grave by his companion, Dr. Overweg, leaving Dr. Barth to carry on the expedition alone. Barth returned to England in 1856, having traversed, since the loss of his companions, almost the whole of northern Soudan in many directions, thus completing a series of journeys most important in connection with North Africa, and upon which we are dependent for the greater part of our knowledge of the central negro states.

In 1849 Dr. Livingstone, a missionary of the London Missionary Society, began those remarkable journeys in the interior of Southern Africa which have given him the first place among African discoverers. The finding of Lake Ngami, the central point of the continental drainage of South Africa, was the great discovery of the first year.

In 1846 Graça, a Portuguese trader, penetrated from Angola to the country of the sovereign named Muata Yanvo; he was followed by Ladislaus Magyar, a Hungarian, who explored Central Africa in various directions between the years 1847 and 1851. Between 1851 and 1853, Livingstone made two journeys northward, and was the first European to embark upon the upper course of the river Zambeze. He now led a party of natives from the Makololo country, in the central part of the river-basin, westward to the watershed of the continent, at the small lake called Dilolo, and thence to the western slope; reaching Loanda, a Portuguese settlement on the west coast, in 1854. In 1851 Galton explored a part of the country inhabited by the Damaras and Ovampo, determining accurately a number of positions in this region; while Gassiot, starting from Port Natal, made an interesting journey north-westward through the mountains to the River Limpopo. These explorations were followed by two most important journeys across the whole continent; the one undertaken by a Portuguese, named Silva Porto, the other by Livingstone. Silva Porto, starting from Benguela in 1853, took an eastward route, northward of the Zambeze, over perfectly unknown country; then, having rounded the southern end of Lake Nyassa, he made his way across the east coastland to the mouth of the Rovuma river, while Livingstone, in 1855–56, by a more northerly route than that travelled in going to Loando, descended the Zambeze to its mouth at Quilimane, and discovered the wonderful Victoria Falls. In 1856 Mr. Moffat, a son of the veteran missionary of that name, made a survey of the greater part of the Orange River. In 1857 Damara Land, in the south-west, was traversed by Messrs. Hahn and Rath, as far as the southern limit of the Portuguese territory at the Cunene River; Dr. Bastian explored the interior of Congo and Angola, and Mr. Du Chaillu, an American gentleman, began his first journey among the Fan tribes in the forest-country of the equatorial west coast. Captains Burton and Speke, who had already distinguished themselves by their perilous journey to Harar (a trading centre in the Somali and Galla country of East Africa), set out from Zanzibar, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, to seek for the great lakes reported to exist in the interior. In 1857–59 they discovered Lake Tanganyika, in a deep basin, and also the southern portion of another lake perhaps still larger, which Captain Speke, its discoverer, supposed to be the head source of the Nile. In 1859 Livingstone, accompanied by Dr. Kirk, traced the Shire river, a northern tributary of the Zambeze, to its outflow from Lake Nyassa. In 1860 Speke, accompanied by Captain Grant, reached a point on the north-western shore of the great lake which he had previously made known, and which he now named the Victoria Nyanza. He then completed a great link in the chain of African discoveries by tracing the outflowing river from the great lake to the White Nile at Gondokoro, thus joining the country explored from the east coast with that explored from the side of Egypt. Meanwhile, Dr. Livingstone was endeavouring to find a way from the river Rovuma (which falls into the Indian Ocean near Cape Delgado) to Lake Nyassa, but not succeeding, he returned in 1861 to the Shire river, and, carrying a boat past its rapids, launched out to explore this great inland sea.

A series of important discoveries were also being made in other directions: Petherick was adding to the knowledge of the Upper White Nile from the

Egyptian side; the French scientific traveller Duveyrier, and our own traveller Tristram, explored the Algerian Sahara; while Gerhard Rohlfs had commenced in 1861 his important journeys in Morocco and the Moroccan Sahara. On the equatorial east-coast region, Baron von der Decken added to Rebmann's information respecting the country surrounding Kilima-njaro; while Baines, in the south, had crossed the Kalahari Desert from Damara Land to the falls of the Zambeze. Petherick also, in 1862, made an important journey of exploration in the Nile region west of Gondokoro.

In 1864 the Albert Nyanza, a second great reservoir of the Nile, was discovered by Baker, pushing southward from Gondokoro; and, in the same year, Gerhard Rohlfs extended his journey from Morocco to the oasis of Tuat, whence he proceeded to Ghadames and Tripoli. The French, on the Gaboon, explored the delta of the great Ogowai river; and Du Chaillu, in a second journey (1864–65), entered the gorilla-country of Ashango, south of the Ogowai. The same year, Baron von der Decken, attempting the navigation of the river Juba, on the east coast, fell a martyr to the jealousy of the Galla and Somali tribes.

After a short stay at Tripoli, Rohlfs turned southward, and, in a journey which lasted from 1865 to 1867, crossed the whole northern continent, reaching Lake Tchad by almost the same route as that formerly taken by Barth, and then, striking south-westward, gained the bight of Benin.

In 1866 Walker navigated the river Ogowai for 200 miles from its mouth; Hahn and Rath extended their exploration of Damara Land; while the missionaries Wakefield and New (the successors at Mombas of Krapf and Rebmann) made numerous journeys in the Galla country. In 1866–67 the discoveries of gold by Mauch, in the mountains between the Zambeze and Limpopo rivers, gave great impetus to exploration in this part of the African continent; while the Abyssinian expedition of 1867–68 made us well acquainted with the line of march across the highland from Massowah, on the Red Sea, to Magdala, the stronghold of the tyrant Theodore. In 1869 the researches of Dr. Schweinfurth, the eminent botanist, revealed to us the region of the complicated net-work of tributaries received by the White Nile, west of Gondokoro, where he came upon a new area of drainage, possibly belonging to the water-system of Lake Tchad. Meanwhile, Livingstone pursued his discoveries in East Africa (until his lamented death in 1873), during which period he crossed the head-waters of the Aruangoa tributary of the Zambeze, and came to the river Chambeze, belonging to a different basin; and continuing his journey in a north-westerly direction, he discovered Lake Liemba, a southern extension of Lake Tanganyika. Then, proceeding from Cazembe's town, he made known to us the two great lakes Moero (in September 1867) and Bangweolo or Bemba (in July 1868), which form part of a new system, connected by the river Chambeze (also called the river Lualaba or Luapula), in a basin south and west of Lake Tanganyika. In 1869 he reached Ujiji, on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, crossed the lake, and penetrated the dense forests and swamps of the Manyuema country, in the heart of the southern portion of the continent. In 1870–71 he traced the great river Lualaba, (flowing out of Lake Moero) in its northern and westerly course to a second and then to a third great expansion—Lake Kamalondo being the one, the other a lake not yet explored. He also learned from the natives that the Lualaba (which is in all probability the upper course of the mighty Congo river) received a great tributary from the south-westward. This south-western arm also expands into a vast lake, which, in anticipation of its exploration, he has named Lake Lincoln.

No news of the great traveller having reached us for two years, great anxiety for his fate was felt among all classes, both in Europe and America. This led to a special mission at the cost of the proprietor of an American journal, the *New York Herald*. Stanley, an enterprising and intelligent young American, made a bold march, setting out from Zanzibar to Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika, where he was fortunate in meeting Livingstone, just returning from Manyuema, broken down by fatigue and ill-health, and in want of everything. A boat-voyage made by Stanley and Livingstone round the northern end of Lake Tanganyika proved that the lake has no apparent outlet in a northerly direction. Supplied with stores and followers by Stanley, Livingstone left Unyanyembe (a point midway on the route from Zanzibar to Ujiji, where Stanley left him in the autumn of 1872), to continue his exploration of the course of the Lualaba river.

Dr. Livingstone, the intrepid discoverer, who deservedly holds the first place among African explorers, died of dysentery near Lake Bangweolo, on the 4th of May 1873. His native attendants, after roughly embalming their master's remains, with rare devotion, transported them to the coast during an eight months' march. His body was conveyed in a ship of the royal navy to England, and buried with distinguished honours on the 18th of April ollowing, at the national expense, in Westminster Abbey. An inscription carved on the pavement marks the spot where rests all that was mortal of the great traveller. The last journals of David Livingstone, including his latest discoveries in East Africa, were edited by the Rev. Horace Waller, in 1874. To his family the British government granted, in recognition of his distinguished services to geographical discovery, a pension of 300*l.* per annum.

Our space will not permit of entering into particulars with reference to the military expeditions and discoveries of Sir Samuel Baker in the districts of the Upper Nile, of Winwood Reade's exploration of the country between Sierra Leone and the head of the Niger, of our consul Munzinger's discoveries in Northern Abyssinia, nor of Dr. Nachtigal's mission to the Sultan of Bornu on Lake Tchad. We can only mention the important discovery by Mauch, in 1871, of the ruins of an ancient city, or fortress, named Zimbaoe (which is certainly not of African construction), situated about 200 miles due west from Sofala, through which it has been sought to identify this country with the gold-producing Ophir of the

Scriptures. Thus the exploration of this great continent is slowly advancing year by year, with earnest and unceasing progress, while the discovery in 1869 of rich diamond-fields in the upper valley of the Orange river, and in that of its tributary, the Vaal, caused a rush of emigration to these districts, and tended still further to develop this portion of Africa.

Lieutenant Cameron, R.N., has just walked across the continent, and reports that by a canal of about thirty miles in length the two great rivers Congo and Zambeze may be united, and we may thus go by steamer across the whole continent of Africa.

Medicine.

For the following remarks on medicine and its professors we are indebted to Dr. John Beddoe, F.R.S. The last forty years have been marked in medicine chiefly by the great advance of pathological and microscopical anatomy (or histology). In the early part of the period chemical therapeutics were much improved; in the latter part the treatment of diseases of the nervous system, which have gradually become better understood.

In practical therapeutics the period under review has been marked by the decline of the practice of bleeding, and of the use of mercury and what are called "lowering measures"; and by an increase in the employment of stimulants, such as alcohol, which increase, due greatly to the teaching of the late Dr. Todd, of King's College Hospital, London, seems of late to be changed to a decline. The external use of cold water has come into vogue (hydropathic treatment as it is called), and is gradually attaining scientific method and precision.

The advance of chemistry has yielded for the use of medicine many new and valuable drugs, including anæsthetics and the vegetable alkaloids.

The *anæsthetic* agents are ether, chloroform (a terchloride of formyle), nitrous oxide or laughing-gas, amylene, and hydrate of chloral. All these medicines have the power of rendering a patient insensible to pain during an operation.

The last named is a singular substance procured by the action of chlorine gas upon alcohol. Chloroform was first introduced by Dr. Simpson, of Edinburgh, as a means of alleviating the pain attendant upon childbirth. In some of the more difficult cases it becomes an important aid to the accoucheur, and in all cases it diminishes the suffering, without in any way interfering with the natural actions attendant upon this condition. It appears, moreover that, of the fatal cases, a certain number have occurred in persons suffering from disease of the heart; hence the greatest caution is required in its employment, and it should never be administered by the surgeon without the aid of a competent assistant.

The following have been the leading scientific men in the medical profession: in London, Drs. Prout and Bence Jones; as chemical pathologists, Bright and Addison, discoverers of the diseases which are known respectively by their names; Sir Benjamin Brodie and Sir James Paget, surgical pathologists; and Sir W. Jenner, investigator of continued fevers. In Edinburgh: Abercrombie and Alison, distinguished physicians; Syme, the great surgeon; Sir James Y. Simpson, obstetrician and introducer of chloroform; and Sir R. Christison, distinguished in therapeutics. In Dublin, Drs. Graves and Stocks have been the leading physicians; and in Bristol, Dr. Wm. Budd has been remarkable for his researches into the subject of infectious diseases. Dr. John Beddoe, F.R.S., and Dr. Barnard Davis, F.R.S., both of Bristol, are distinguished as scientific medical men, but more especially as anthropologists.

Physics.

Physics, from the Greek word *physis* (φυσις), *nature*, is the term lately introduced to embrace a variety of different, yet more or less closely allied, subjects. In Atkinson's translation of Ganot's 'Elementary Treatise on Physics,' we are informed, 1st, that "the object of physics is the study of the phenomena presented to us by bodies. It should, however, be added, that changes in the nature of the body itself, such as the decomposition of one body into others, are phenomena whose study forms the more immediate object of *chemistry*. 2nd. That which possesses the properties whose existence is revealed to us by our senses, we call *matter* or *substance*. All substances at present known to us may be considered as chemical combinations of sixty-five elementary or *simple* substances. This number, however, may hereafter be diminished or increased by a more powerful chemical analysis." Having thus given, in the words of a standard authority, a definition of the general notions, or leading objects, of physical science, we proceed to set before our readers, 1st, a list of the subjects included in the term *physics*; and, 2ndly, to show some of the more practical results which have been obtained from the cultivation of physical science. Taking Ganot's classification, we find the following subjects embraced under the term physics, viz.: gravitation and attraction; hydrostatics, pneumatics or the properties of the atmosphere and various simple gases; acoustics, or the production, propagation, and reflection of sound, the vibration of stringed instruments, and columns of air, and the physical theory of music, which is based on those vibrations. Under the head of *heat* are considered the expansion of solids, as in melting ice, or snow; the expansion of liquids into steam or vapour; of mercury and alcohol in the tube of a barometer or thermometer; moisture in the air; on the sources of heat and cold; and on the application of heat to the propulsion of steam-engines; of friction and hammering on an anvil considered as the mechanical equivalent of heat; it having been proved that the transformation of heat into mechanical energy, or of mechanical energy into heat, always takes place in a definite numerical ratio.

Light and heat belong to the so-called imponderables. Under the head of *light* are embraced its transmission, velocity, intensity, reflection by means of mirrors, and refraction by lenses. Optical instruments, as telescopes, prisms, microscopes, magnifying-glasses, and reflectors, are described, and their objects and construction explained; while the human eye itself is regarded as an optical instrument. The very interesting subject of the *polarisation of light* is included under this heading, of which our space will only permit us to give a brief account. When light is reflected from a polished surface at a particular angle, it becomes *polarised,* and acquires new properties. A ray of *ordinary* light is supposed to be caused by the vibrations of a highly attenuated medium, called the luminiferous ether, an extremely subtle, elastic medium, with which, according to the undulatory theory of optics, all bodies, as well as the celestial spaces, are filled. The luminosity of a body is due to an infinitely rapid, vibratory motion of its molecules or particles, which, when communicated to the luminiferous ether, is propagated in all directions in the form of spherical waves, and thus vibratory motion, being transmitted to the retina, calls forth the sensation of vision. The vibrations of the ether take place, not in the direction of the wave, but in a plane at right angles to it. In an ordinary ray of light the vibrations of the ether are in *all directions,* or in a plane at right angles to the light-wave, but a ray of polarised light is caused by these vibrations occurring in *one plane* only. Certain crystals, as Iceland spar, possess the property of double refraction, that is to say, a ray of common light passing through them is divided, broken up (*refractus*) into two polarised rays, which take slightly different directions, the plane of polarisation (or vibration) of one ray being at right angles to that of the plane of polarisation of the other ray. One ray suffers refraction, according to the ordinary law for transparent bodies, and this is called the *ordinary ray;* whilst the other, called the *extraordinary ray,* is refracted according to a new law. The Nicol prism enables us to see the remarkable effects produced by the polarisation of light, the phenomena of coloured polarisation being the most gorgeous in the whole domain of optics. The beautiful rainbow colours observed in a soap-bubble, or on the surface of water into which a small quantity of tar-oil has been poured are ordinary illustrations of the phenomena produced by polarisation of light. Crystals which cleave easily, and can be obtained in very thin plates, such as mica and selenite, also exhibit the same phenomena.

SPECTRUM ANALYSIS is a valuable discovery of the present century. The phenomenon of refraction of light is by no means so simple as generally supposed. When white light, or that which reaches us from the sun, passes from one medium into another, it is *decomposed* into several kinds of light, a phenomenon which is called *dispersion.* To show that sunlight is decomposed by refraction, let a pencil of solar light pass through a small hole in the window-shutter of a dark chamber. This pencil of light, transmitted through a flint-glass prism, placed horizontally within the chamber, is refracted towards its base, and produces, on a distant screen opposite the hole, a vertical band, coloured with all the tints of the rainbow: this is called the *solar spectrum,* and the seven colours into which the ray of light is decomposed are the seven *primary colours,* viz. violet, indigo, blue, green, yellow, orange, and red. It appears, moreover, from the researches of Fraunhofer and Herschel, that the light in the yellow part of the spectrum has the greatest intensity, and that in the violet least. But the colours of the solar spectrum are not *continuous;* there are *dark lines* in the spectrum, the existence of which was first observed by Wollaston in 1802; but Fraunhofer, a celebrated optician of Munich, first studied and gave a detailed description of them. He mapped the lines, and indicated them by letters, whence they are generally known as *Fraunhofer's lines.* In 1822 Sir J. Herschel remarked that, by volatilising substances in a flame, a very delicate means is afforded of detecting certain ingredients by the colours they impart to some of the dark lines of the spectrum; and Mr. Fox Talbot, in 1834, suggested optical analysis as probably the most delicate means of detecting minute portions of a given substance. To Kirchoff and Bunsen, however, is really due the merit of basing on the observation of the lines of the spectrum a method of analysis. They made the important discovery that the salts of the same metal, when introduced into a flame, always produce lines identical in colour and position, but different in colour, position, or number for different metals; and finally, that an exceedingly small quantity of a metal suffices to disclose its existence. Hence has arisen a new method of analysis, known by the name of *spectral* or *spectrum analysis;* and an apparatus employed by Kirchoff and Bunsen for the study of the spectrum has been called a *spectroscope.* From observations made by the spectroscope we may draw important conclusions with respect to the constitution of the sun. Since, for instance, the solar spectrum has dark lines where sodium, iron, &c. give bright ones, it is probable that around the solid or perhaps liquid body of the sun, which throws out the light, there exists a vaporous envelope, which, like the sodium-flame, absorbs certain rays, and hence we are led to the conclusion that in this solar vapour there exist the metals sodium, iron, &c. Huggins and Miller have applied spectrum analysis to the investigation of the heavenly bodies. One of the most interesting triumphs of spectrum analysis was the discovery of the true nature of the *protuberances,* which appear, during a solar eclipse, as mountains, or cloud-shaped luminous objects, varying in size and surrounding the moon's disc. During the eclipse of 1868 it was ascertained by Jannsen that these protuberances emitted certain bright lines, coinciding with those of burning hydrogen. Lockyer's researches leave no doubt that they are ignited masses of gas, consisting principally of hydrogen. They are found to enclose the sun usually to a depth of 5000 miles, but sometimes in enormous local accumulations, which reach the height of 70,000 miles. It has also been shown that some of these protuberances are the result of sudden outbursts or storms, which move with the enormous velocity of 120 miles in a second. For further information on this interesting subject, we refer the reader to Roscoe's 'Lectures on Spectrum Analysis,' or Schellen's 'Spectrum Analysis,' translated by Lassell.

THE IMPONDERABLE AGENTS.—Mr. Grove, in his treatise on the 'Correlation of Physical Forces,' has demonstrated that magnetism, electricity, and galvanism are all natural forces convertible the one into the other.

Magnetism.—A particular species of iron, called loadstone, or magnetic iron-ore, has long been remarkable for its property of attracting small pieces of iron, and causing them to adhere to its surface. This attractive force is greatest at certain particular points of its surface, while elsewhere it is much diminished or altogether absent. These attractive points are denominated *poles*, and the loadstone itself is said to be endued with magnetic *polarity*. When the north pole of a magnetised needle is presented to a south pole, or *vice versâ*, attraction ensues between them; but when on the other hand a north pole is brought near a second north pole, or a south pole near another south pole, mutual repulsion is observed, and the ends of the bars recede from each other as far as possible. Hence the axiom in magnetic science, *Poles of an opposite name attract, and those of a similar name repel, each other.*

The Mariner's Compass is a familiar example of the polarity of the magnet, and by it alone could the mariner find his way across the trackless bounds of the wide ocean. Following this unerring guide, he knows by consulting his chart, and keeping an accurate reckoning of the course run by the ship, making due allowance for winds and currents, the direction in which to steer to find his desired haven; the small bar, or needle, of steel possessing the remarkable property, when properly magnetised and equally balanced, of pointing constantly due north and south.

Hence, the day when the mariner's compass was invented may with great truth be designated the birthday of navigation. The mariner's compass is, in fact, nothing more than a suspended magnetised needle attached to a circular card marked with the cardinal points.

But the loadstone is not the only substance possessing this remarkable property of pointing, when freely balanced, to the north and south; other substances possess it, though in a less degree. The earth itself is a great magnet capable of transmitting polarity to other bodies. Thus, if a bar of very soft iron be suspended for a considerable time in a vertical position, the lower end, nearest the earth, will be found to have acquired north polarity, and the upper end the contrary. In fact, all masses of iron standing long in a vertical position acquire a state of magnetic polarity by the influence of the earth, as may be easily proved by bringing a suspended needle near to them. Even the fire-irons standing on the hearth will be found to have become magnetised, and those made of steel permanently so. Every substance in the world probably contributes something to the magnetic action of the earth; for Professor Faraday has shown that magnetism is not peculiar to iron, nickel, cobalt, &c., but is the property, in a greater or less degree, of all matter. Very powerful horse-shoe magnets, however, are required to show this. Hence, Faraday divides all bodies into two classes—paramagnetic and diamagnetic.

Paramagnetic (from παρα = alongside of, parallel to) bodies are those which lie between the north and south poles of the magnet, extending from one to the other; these are, besides iron, nickel, manganese, chromium, platinum, aluminium, oxygen, paper, sealing-wax, porcelain, asbestos, sulphate of zinc, graphite, and charcoal, with a few others.

Diamagnetic (from δια = through, or across) bodies have their long diameters placed equatorially, that is across, or at right angles to the magnetic axis. They behave, when brought near a magnet, as if at the end opposite to each pole of the magnet the same kind of polarity existed. The diamagnetic bodies are mercury, bismuth, antimony, tin, zinc, lead, silver, copper, gold, arsenic, uranium, phosphorus, iodine, sulphur, and the gases chlorine and hydrogen. Caoutchouc, sugar, starch, gum, wood, resin, wax, oil of turpentine, water, alcohol, ether, nitric acid, and many other fluids, as also glass free from iron, are all diamagnetic. Under certain circumstances substances which are really paramagnetic behave as if they were diamagnetic: e.g. a glass tube filled with a solution of sulphate of iron, and allowed to swing in a concentrated solution of sulphate of iron, instead of in the air, assumes not a polar, but an equatorial position. The air itself, in consequence of the oxygen contained in it, is also paramagnetic. Fluids are tested by inclosing them in very thin glass tubes, which are suspended horizontally between the poles of a powerful magnet. Under the magnetic influence they begin to swing; and, according as the fluid contents are paramagnetic or diamagnetic, they assume an axial or equatorial position. But such bodies as possess only feeble diamagnetic properties can only show them when hung in a vacuum. In investigating the properties of gases, one way is to blow bubbles with the gas to be experimented on. Now a bubble of soap and water alone is feebly diamagnetic; but a bubble filled with oxygen gas is strongly paramagnetic. All other gases in the air are diamagnetic, that is, they are repelled.

Electricity (from the Greek word *elektron* = amber) is that property which certain bodies possess of attracting other bodies towards them after being rubbed. Thus amber, glass, and sealing-wax, rubbed with a dry cloth, acquire the power of attracting light bodies as feathers, dust, or bits of paper. This is the result of a new and peculiar condition of the body rubbed, which condition is called electrical excitation.

It has been proved by a variety of experiments that the effects of electricity are perfectly parallel with those of magnetism; the electrical excitement having a twofold nature, like the opposite polarities of the magnet; a body to which one kind of excitement has been communicated being attracted by another body in the opposite state, and repelled by a body in the same state of electric excitement. Hence the excited glass and resin are to each other as the north and south poles of a pair of magnetised bars; and it is customary to call the electricity manifested by glass rubbed with silk *positive* electricity, and that developed by rubbing sealing-wax or shellac with flannel *negative* or *resinous* electricity. Just as the north poles of two magnets repel each other, so two bodies in the same electrical state manifest the same repugnance the one to the other. Instruments, called electroscopes or electrometers, show the kind and amount of electricity contained in an electrified body brought near them. Positive electricity can no more be developed without negative than we could imagine a magnet without a south pole. The rubber and the body rubbed always assume opposite states; and the positive electricity on the surface of a mass of matter is invariably accompanied by a negative state in all surrounding bodies. In the power of transmitting electricity to other bodies, it resembles magnetism; but, in electricity, in addition to the phenomena of attraction and repulsion, we have the effects of *discharge* (to which there is nothing analogous in magnetism), which takes place in an *instant* when any electrified body is put in communication with the earth by means of any *conductor* of electricity. It then instantly ceases. The magnetic polarity of a piece of steel can awaken polarity by means of *induction* in another piece brought into contact with it; and, in so doing, the magnet loses nothing whatever of its power. This is an effect entirely different from the transfer of electricity, the discharge of which in the air, and in liquids, often gives rise to the appearance of a bright spark of fire. *Conductors* of electricity which permit the transmission of electricity through their mass are contrasted with another class of substances called *non-conductors*, or *insulators*. But this difference is not one of kind, but only of degree. The metals are the best conductors, while glass, silk, shellac, and dry gas, or vapour of any sort, are the worst, and, in contrast with the metals, are called non-conductors. Electrical discharges take place silently and without disturbance in good conductors of sufficient size. But, if the charge be very intense, and the conductor very small, or imperfect (i.e. be of a non-conducting nature), the conductor is often destroyed with violence.

When the lightning, which is only electricity under another name, strikes a tree, it rends it because it is a bad conductor; if it strike a man and pass through him, it kills him, or not, according to the electrical condition in which he may happen to be at the time, and the amount of the fluid to be discharged; but if it strike a house, the electric fluid runs along the bell-wires—a good conductor, but insufficient for the amount of the fluid to pass with the required velocity—and owing to this insufficiency they become fused or melted by the passage of the lightning.

When a break is made in a conductor employed in effecting the discharge of a highly excited body, disruptive or spark discharge (as in lightning) takes place across the intervening air, provided the ends of the conductor be not too distant. The time required for the passage of an electric current through a chain of good conducting bodies of great length is so brief as to be scarcely appreciable. Professor Wheatstone has shown by some very ingenious experiments that the passage of electricity along a copper wire exceeds even the velocity of light, which is that of 200,000 miles in a second. In fact, according to the double fluid theory, its velocity amounts to 288,000 miles, or, on the single fluid theory, to 576,000 miles in a second. As early as 1752 Benjamin Franklin had announced his theory of a single fluid, terming the vitreous electricity *positive* electricity and the resinous negative. He also demonstrated the identity of the electric spark and lightning, by drawing down electricity from a cloud by means of a kite with a wire for the kite-string. It is reported also that in 1748, at a picnic, he killed a turkey by the electric spark, and roasted it by an electric jack, before a fire kindled by the electric bottle or Leyden jar. Professor Reichmann, however, while repeating Franklin's experiments with the kite, was unfortunately killed by an electric discharge from a cloud, at St. Petersburg, in August 1753.

GALVANISM, so called from Galvani, of Bologna, is a mode of producing electrical currents from two metals immersed in a liquid which acts upon them unequally, and disturbs the electric equilibrium, whereby the one acquires a positive condition, the other a negative. It was after Madame Galvani's observation in 1789 of the convulsion induced in the muscles of frogs when brought into contact with two metals that M. Galvani, after studying the phenomena, invented the galvanic battery. A few years afterwards Volta announced his discovery of the "Voltaic pile," composed of discs of silver and zinc, and pieces of card moistened with acidulated water. In 1800, Nicholson and Carlisle decomposed water by galvanism, and Dr. Henry also decomposed ammonia, nitric acid, &c. Sir Humphrey Davy, by means of the large voltaic battery of the Royal Institution in London, succeeded in 1807 in decomposing the alkaline salt potash, and producing the metal potassium; and in 1809 Children, by means of a more powerful battery, fused the metal platinum.

A galvanic battery consists of pieces of zinc and platinum put into dilute sulphuric acid; the zinc, being the metal attacked by the dilute acid, becomes negative; and the platinum, remaining unaltered, assumes the positive condition, and on making a metallic communication in any way between the two plates, an electric discharge takes place, in the same manner as when the outer and inner surface of a Leyden jar are brought into connection. No sooner, however, has this discharge occurred than the electric equilibrium is again disturbed, and, as these successive charges and discharges take place through the fluid and metals with inconceivable rapidity, the result is an apparently continuous action, to which the term *electrical current* is given. The intensity of the electric current from a single pair of metals moistened with acid is too feeble to affect the most delicate electroscope; but by arranging a number of such alternating metal plates in a connected series, in such a manner that the direction of the current shall be the same in each, the intensity of the electric discharge may be very much increased. Certain fishes, as the *torpedo* or *electric ray*, and the *electric eel* of South America, are furnished by the Creator with a special apparatus for developing an electric current of a similar kind to that produced from a galvanic battery. This, it seems, is employed in self-defence, or in the capture of their prey.

ELECTRO-MAGNETISM.—From the effects of lightning upon the needle of the mariner's compass, and upon small articles, as knives and forks, which have become suddenly magnetised by the electric fluid, it had long been known that electricity is capable, under certain circumstances, both of destroying and inducing magnetism.

It was not, however, until 1819 that the laws of these phenomena were discovered by Professor Oersted, of Copenhagen; they were subsequently further developed by M. Ampère.

The foundation of electro-magnetism by Oersted's discovery of the action of the electric current on the magnetic needle became the starting-point of electric telegraphy. In 1837 Sturgeon made a bar of soft iron magnetic by surrounding it with coils of wire, and sending an electric current through the wire; and in 1842 magneto-electricity (the opposite of electro-magnetism) was applied by Woolwich to electro-plating.

The Electric Telegraph, that wonderful discovery of the present century by which time and space are alike annihilated, and the most distant parts of the earth brought into intimate connection, was first introduced by Professor (now Sir Charles) Wheatstone in 1836, by whom the magnetic-needle telegraph was patented, in conjunction with Mr. W. F. Cooke, in 1837. Mr. Cooke set up the telegraph line on the Great Western Railway from Paddington to West Drayton in 1838–39, on the Blackwall line in 1840, and in Glasgow in 1841. In the same year Wheatstone took out a patent for his alphabetical printing telegraph; and in 1844 the first line of telegraph in America, namely that between Washington and Baltimore, was opened.

The electric telegraph, then, is an apparatus by which signals can be transmitted to considerable distances by means of voltaic currents propagated in metallic wires. Towards the end of the last century Soemering invented a telegraph, in which he used the decomposition of water for giving signals. In 1820, at a time when the electro-magnet was unknown, Ampère proposed to correspond by means of magnetic needles, above which a current was sent, as many wires and needles being used as letters were required. In 1834 Gauss and Weber constructed an electro-magnetic telegraph, in which a voltaic current transmitted by a wire acted on a magnetised bar, the oscillations of which were observed by a telescope. They succeeded in sending signals from the observatory to the physical cabinet at Göttingen, a distance of a mile and a quarter, and therefore with truth it can be said that to Messrs. Gauss and Weber belongs the honour of having first demonstrated experimentally the possibility of electrical communication at a considerable distance. Further improvements followed. In 1837, Steinheil in Munich, and Wheatstone in London, constructed telegraphs in which several wires each acted on a single needle; the current in the first case being produced by an electro-magnetic machine, and in the second by a constant battery. Every electric telegraph consists of three parts: 1st, a circuit consisting of a metallic connection between two places and an electromotor for producing the current; 2nd, a *communicator* for sending the signals from the one station; and 3rd, an *indicator* for receiving them at the other station. The electromotor generally used in England is a modification of Wollaston's battery.

The telegraphs on the South-Eastern Railway are worked by the platinised graphite battery invented by Mr. C. V. Walker. In France, Daniell's battery is the one most in use for telegraphic purposes. Our space will prevent our doing more than mention the various systems of telegraphy now in use; to describe them in detail would require a volume.

These are the single-needle telegraph of Wheatstone and Cooke, and the double-needle instrument of the same patentees; Siemens' step-by-step motion telegraph; House's printing telegraph; Hughes' Roman type printing telegraph; Hughes' telegraph instrument; Bregnet's electro-magnetic dial instrument; Kramer's pointer telegraph; the magneto-electric pointer of Siemens and Halske; the simple Morse circuit; Thomas John's telegraph; the direct-working ink-recorder of Messrs. Beaudoin and Digney; direct-working ink-writers of Siemens and Halske; the automatic printing telegraph of Professor Wheatstone; Siemens and Halske's magneto-electric type telegraph; Stoehrer's double-style apparatus; Bain's chemical telegraph; Bakewell's copying telegraph; and, lastly, Bonelli's chemical telegraph.

Microscopics, or Microscopy.

The rapid increase which has of late years taken place in the use of the microscope, both as an instrument of scientific research and as a means of gratifying a laudable curiosity, renders it desirable for us to say a few words regarding the revelations which by its means have been made to us. The *simple* microscope or magnifying-glass was known at a very remote period, but the *compound* microscope —the powers of which, like those of the telescope, depend upon the combination of two or more lenses —was not invented until about the end of the sixteenth century. The attention of scientific men was early attracted to the microscope, for it opened to them a field of research altogether new, and promised to increase their information concerning the structure of every kind of organised body. The names of Grew and Malpighi appear as early investigators in this field of research—the former having directed his researches chiefly to the minute structure of plants, while those of the latter were devoted to that of animals.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, M. Trembley, of Geneva, first gave to the world his 'Researches on the Fresh-water Polype or Hydra,' which presented to the naturalist the first known example of a class of animals whose claim to that designation had been previously doubted or even denied; for the terms "sea-mosses," "sea-ferns," &c. having been applied to them as best indicating their form and aspect, implied their *vegetable* nature. Here we have one of the great discoveries of the science; an animal—hitherto supposed to be a vegetable—which could propagate itself by buds like a plant, could produce afresh any part that had been cut away, could form any number of new heads by the completion of the halves into which the previous heads had been slit —could even regenerate the whole from a minute portion, so that when the body of one individual was positively minced into fragments, each of these should grow into a new and complete polype, could endure being turned inside out, could be grafted together—two individuals head to head, or tail to tail—not only without any apparent injury, but with every indication in the vigour of its life, of being entirely free from suffering or damage. By the aid of the microscope we are now made acquainted with the constituents of human blood, the form of the blood globules in human blood being, when freshly drawn, that of circular disks, with slightly concave surfaces. Ehrenberg's interesting researches into the nature and form of the minute animalculæ contained in a drop of water, called *Infusoriæ*, have taught us the nature of many mysterious diseases. The disease termed *Muscardine*, by which large numbers of the silk-worms were annually destroyed in the South of France, consists, we are told, in the growth of a fungous vegetation in the interior of their bodies; while subsequent researches show that the bodies of almost all animals, not even excepting man himself, are occasionally infested by vegetable as well as by animal parasites, many of them remarkable for their beauty of configuration, and others for the variety of the forms they assume. The potatoe disease, the vine disease, the blights of corn, and of fruit-trees, are all proved by the microscopist to be parasites of vegetable origin, and much valuable information has been collected in regard to them. Even the yeast, with which our bread is fermented, has been shown to be composed of vegetable cells, which grow and multiply during the process of fermentation. The green slime which spreads itself over damp stones, walls, &c., is found, when placed under the microscope, to be one of those humble kinds of vegetation which presents life in its most simple form; while the feathers on the wing of a butterfly, the antennæ of a beetle, the proboscis and foot of a fly, the microscopic shells of our fresh-water lakes—these, while affording an interesting study to the microscopist, exhibit the wonder-working power of the Creator in the minutest of His works. Microscopy has rendered a great service to society of late years in the discovery of the *Trichina spiralis*, a worm as fine as a hair, contained in pork and bacon. American and Canadian pork literally swarms with this dreadful creature, which, when introduced into the human stomach, by eating the diseased meat, finds its way into the muscles, and infects the human system with *trichinosis*, a disgusting and painful disease, which sooner or later proves fatal. This troublesome insect was first discovered in 1832, by Dr. Hilton, of London, whose researches were subsequently continued by Paget and Professor Owen. It is now proved to be the source of disease and death to an alarming extent, but more especially in Germany, where, under the name of *Schinken*, it is the custom to eat thin slices of uncooked ham or bacon. Nothing short of cooking for some time in boiling water, or a heat of 212°, will destroy this hateful parasite, which, if once introduced into the human stomach, propagates itself with frightful rapidity, until the whole system succumbs to the disease. It is more dangerous to adults than to children. Dr. Zenker, of Germany, reports a case where a young lady, at Christmas 1859, partook of a small quantity of the *Schinken* (uncooked ham), and died of trichinosis on the 29th of January 1860, her whole body literally honeycombed with worms (trichina). The Diatomaceæ, minute plants (but according to some of animal nature), so called from the readiness with which they may be *cut or broken through*, have been also designated by the vernacular term "brittle-worts." So minute are they that four hundred specimens, belonging to no less than three hundred and seventy distinct species, are arranged in a square only the eighth of an inch in diameter. This has been actually done, and is on sale under the name of the diatomtype slide for the microscope, by Möller, of Wedel, in Holstein. See Hardwick's 'Science Gossip' for the 1st of August 1868.

Further information on microscopy must be sought in Quekett, 'On the Microscope;' Dr. William Carpenter's 'The Microscope and its Revelations,' 1856; Dr. Lionel Beale's works, and in the 'Micrographic Dictionary' of Griffith and Henfrey.

The Microscopical Society of London was established in 1839.

Submarine Telegraphy.

THE first submarine telegraph wire was laid on the 13th of November 1851; and the opening and closing prices of the funds in Paris were known on the London Stock Exchange within business hours. Guns also were fired at Dover by electric communication from Paris. In 1853 a submarine telegraph was laid between Dover and Ostend, and also between Portpatrick and Donaghadee; in 1854 between Paris and Corsica; in 1858 between London and Constantinople; in 1859 between Aden and Suez; in 1861 between Malta and Alexandria; in 1865 between England and Bombay. In 1858 telegraphic communication having been effected between England and America, messages of mutual congratulation were exchanged on the 5th of August, between the queen of Great Britain and the president of the United States, which caused great rejoicing on both sides of the Atlantic. So rapidly has telegraphy spread itself in all parts of the world that we may, without exaggeration, estimate the extent of telegraph wire already in operation throughout the world at about 200,000 miles.

We have only space to mention a few other applications of electricity and magnetism to the arts and conveniences of life.

ELECTRIC CLOCK.—In 1840 Sir Charles Wheatstone invented an electric clock, and in 1852 an electric clock with four dials was set up in front of the offices of the Electric Telegraph Company in the Strand, London. In 1860 Mr. C. V. Walker connected the clock of the Greenwich Observatory with that of the South-Eastern Railway Station, London.

ELECTRIC LIGHT.—The magneto-electric light, the most brilliant artificial light ever produced, was successfully tried at the South Foreland light-house near Dover in 1858 and 1859; and in 1861 the French government ordered eight light-houses on their coast to be illuminated by the magneto-electric light. M. Jules Duboscq exhibited at the Paris exhibition of 1855 an electric lamp. It was employed at the Royal Institution, London, in 1856, by Professor Tyndall for illustrating his lectures on 'Light and Colours.' M. Serrin exhibited his improved electric lamp in 1862.

Electric Loom.—In 1854 M. Bonelli of Turin devised a plan of employing magnets and electro-magnets in weaving. His loom was set up in London in 1859, and lectured upon at the Royal Institution by Professor Faraday on the 8th of June 1860.

Electrophone.—In 1864 Dr. Strethill Wright exhibited before the Royal Scottish Society of Arts an instrument for producing sound by means of electric currents of high tension. This was called an *electrophone.*

Electro-engraving. — In 1841 Mr. Palmer of London patented inventions by means of which engravings may not only be copied from other engraved plates, but the engraving itself actually produced by electric agency. One process was called *glyphography.*

Electro-plating and Gilding.—Mr. Spencer in England, and Professor Jacobi in Russia, made the first successful experiments in this art in 1837 and 1838. Since that time Mr. A. Smee and others have improved upon the processes. In 1840 Mr. Robert Murray applied graphite (black-lead) to non-metallic bodies in order to give them a metallic or conducting surface. In 1840 M. Ruolz of Paris, and Messrs. Elkington of Birmingham, applied the electric battery to the process of gilding and plating. Since 1850 printing-types and wood-engravings, and casts from them, have been electrotyped with copper.

In 1862 the Electro-clock Company was established, by means of which engravings can be transferred to a lithographic stone, and multiplied to any extent.

The last application we shall mention is Abel's Fuse, by which gunpowder, gun-cotton, or torpedoes may be exploded at a distance, or even under water, by means of the electric spark.

Mechanics.

The application of steam as a motive power has changed the surface of the globe, and revolutionised everything. It has armed the feeble hand of man to overcome the difficulties of nature, and completed the dominion of mind over the most refractory qualities of matter, so as to set weight and hardness at defiance. Alike remarkable for its force and flexibility, it can engrave a seal, print a newspaper, or crush masses of the hardest minerals. It can draw out a thread as fine as a hair, or lift a ship out of water; embroider muslin and forge anchors; cut steel into ribbons, or impel gigantic vessels against the fury of winds and waves. It enables us to pass rapidly from one portion of the earth's surface to another, and has increased indefinitely the mass of human comforts and enjoyments, rendering both cheap and accessible, all over the world, the materials of wealth and happiness.

One of the most important mechanical contrivances of modern times is the *screw-propeller.* This is an instrument for the propulsion of steam-ships, consisting of two or more twisted blades, like the vanes of a windmill, set on an axis running parallel with the keel of the ship, and revolving under water at the stern. By its revolution in the water it carries the vessel forward, in the same manner as a cork-screw is drawn forward when penetrating a cork, or a bolt when turned round in a stationary nut. The water in which the vessel floats forms the nut of the screw-propeller; and therefore, when the propeller is turned round, the vessel is screwed forward.

In China, screw-propellers are said to have been employed from a very early date as an arrangement for sculling vessels; and a screw is a continuous sculling machine, in which the necessity of a reciprocating motion is superseded by giving a complete revolution to the propelling blade. Captain Basil Hall, in the account of his voyage to Loo-Choo, states that the Coreans *scull* their ships, instead of rowing them. Passing by the several inventions of Hooke, Du Quet, Bernouilli, Bushnel, Bramah, William Lyttleton, and Edward Shorter, we reach the beginning of the present century. From this time various arrangements of screw-propellers have been proposed by Dallery, Stevens, O'Reilly, James, Trevithick, Boswell, Tredgold, and others. Up to the year 1836 there was no steam-vessel in existence propelled by a screw. In that year, however, patents for propelling vessels by a screw were taken out by F. P. Smith, and Captain John Ericsson; and to these two gentlemen the successful introduction of the screw as a propeller must be attributed. Various kinds of screw are in use, some preferring Smith's of two or three threads, and others Ericsson's of four or six threads.

From experiments made with vessels of the same tonnage and horse-power, it has been shown that the screw-steamer seems to have the advantage when the ship is deep-laden, and the paddle when the vessel is at a light or medium immersion; but the screw-steamer has the disadvantage that, in going head to wind, it requires nearly twice the quantity of fuel that the paddle-steamer demands to perform the same amount of work. These disadvantages however are continually disappearing before the rapid improvements which every day are effected; and we believe that the advantages of screw-steamers and paddles will very soon be pretty equally balanced. One drawback the screw has which we find almost insuperable, namely, that it gives the vessel a tendency to roll; on the other hand, the paddles, in a head-wind with heavy sea, retard the progress of the ship, which is liable, moreover, to become disabled from the carrying away of her paddle-boxes. The *Great Eastern* steam-ship, designed by Mr. I. K. Brunel, and built by Messrs. Scott Russell and Co., of Millwall, London, was launched January 31st, 1858. Her length is 692 feet, and breadth 83 feet. She is furnished with paddles of 1000 horse-power, and screws of 1600. The *Far East*, a vessel with two screw-propellers, was launched at Millwall in October 1863; and screw-steamers, both for the royal navy and our mercantile marine, are being built continually.

The Steam Ram, invented by Mr. James Nasmyth, was communicated to the Admiralty in 1845. It is a powerful screw-steamer built of iron and armed with a sharp steel point under water, wherewith to pierce the enemy's ships. The Steam Hammer was invented by Mr. J. Nasmyth in 1838. Parts of the most gigantic marine steam-engines, anchors, and

Armstrong guns, as well as the most minute details of machinery, are now executed by the steam-hammer. We have also *steam-ploughs, steam-threshing machines, mills*, and *steam-rollers* for high-roads. *Steam-printing* is now in general use, by the aid of which 60,000 copies of a London morning newspaper can be distributed through the country in two or three hours after the first sheet has been rolled.

SEWING MACHINES.—These useful inventions of the nineteenth century are divided into four classes, determined by the kind of stitch they produce. Under the first division we may place those which make a stitch in imitation of hand-work, the needle passing completely through the stuff. The first machine of this kind (which, however, proved abortive) was patented in France by Thomas Stone and James Henderson, in 1804. This machine, however, proved slower in working than the hand, and has always proved unsuccessful as an embroidery machine. In 1834 M. Heilmann exhibited at Paris a machine which worked about one hundred and fifty needles at the same time. It was not accepted in France, but was well received in Manchester, where, we believe, it is still in use. For various improvements made in this machine Mr. Houldsworth obtained a first-class medal at the exhibition of 1855.

Under the second division are comprehended those machines which form a stitch known as the chain-stitch, or crochet. The first machine of this kind was invented by M. Thimonnier, and patented in France on the 17th of July 1830, and again much improved in 1848, in association with M. Magnin. This patent, which produces three hundred stitches per minute, was introduced into England in 1848, and into America in 1849. Morey and Johnson's machine (patented on the 6th of February 1849) can be worked at the rate of five hundred stitches per minute.

The third division consists of those machines by which the stitch is produced by *two threads.* It is called in America the *mail-bag* or *shuttle-stitch.* One of the threads is carried by a small shuttle *under* the cloth; and the other thread by a vertical needle, which has its eye very near the point which pierces the cloth, and forms a loop of the thread through which the shuttle passes: the needle rises, but the loop is retained by the shuttle-thread. The first machine of this kind was invented by Walter Hurst of New York, in 1834, and a very much improved machine on the same principle was patented by Elias Howe, on the 10th of September 1846.

The fourth class embraces the machines patented by Grover and Baker in America in 1851, and by Avery in 1852. These machines produce a stitch of *two* threads, which mutually interlace each other in chain stitches, so as to avoid the unravelling to which the simple chain-stitch is subject, and there is no need to stop frequently to supply fresh bobbins as in the shuttle-stitch machines. Howe's machine, known under an improved form as *Thomas's shuttle machine*, was introduced into England in 1846. All the most important American patents have been repatented in England and France, and the use of them appears to be slowly and gradually extending itself.

Each machine possesses some peculiar feature to recommend it. Thus one has its tension arrangement on the *outside*, where it is particularly easy of adjustment, and its construction is such that it will work for years without getting out of order. Instead of having to be threaded in and out of a number of holes, or passed between plates inside the shuttle, where they are difficult of access, the cotton has, after going over the usual bar, simply to be passed through *a single hole* and then pulled under the end of a flat spring on the outside. The curved bar is no longer a piece of wire rivetted or soldered on, but a strong piece of sheet steel fixed on with screws. The quantity of cotton held by the bobbin is considerably larger than that contained in the shuttles usually employed, which advantage is appreciated especially by those who have had to work with small shuttles of the ordinary construction.

Naval Architecture.

GREAT improvements have been effected in ship-building during the past forty years, consisting principally in the employment of iron for the hulls of ships instead of wood, and the use of wire rigging instead of rope. Ships are constructed with water-tight compartments, and water is used for ballast instead of sand or chalk. Iron-plated ships are also now in general use for war, and the iron-clad steam navy of England is considered superior in strength to those of all Europe put together.

In 1839 England was in reality no longer able to meet a sudden emergency, and a pressing necessity had arisen, which led the government to arm and man a few ships, until they grew into a Channel Squadron, and Spithead once more showed to a new generation some results of naval preparation, and new requirements of science resulted in immense changes in the form, mode of arming, and propulsion of ships of war. During the last quarter of a century the question of naval strength has been growing into huge dimensions, consequent upon the immense changes which various causes have produced. Thus, the lines of construction, the proportions of the extremities, the description of armament, as consisting of solid or hollow shot, &c., throw upon the naval architect a demand for changes in the forms of vessels, and a mass of considerations, of which his predecessors had little or no experience. Seppings, Hayes, Symonds, Sir B. W. Walker, Reed, and the unfortunate Captain Cowper Coles, have, each in his own method, promoted with national advantage the subject of ship-building for warlike purposes, and raised the royal navy to its present state of efficiency. In 1845 no less than twenty-three screw-steamers were added to the British fleet and formed the nucleus of the enormous change now to be mentioned. A paddle steamer was found totally unsuited for offensive or defensive operations, owing to the exposed position of its moving power, the paddle wheels. These disabled, the ship was at once placed *hors de combat*, and either became a mere target for the enemy or, from its inability to escape, became an easy prey. The screw, from its very position, submerged under the stern of the ship, offers all the advantages of a paddle-steamer without presenting so vulnerable a point to the enemy; in addition to which, the position of the screw allows the machinery to be placed in a safe situation *under water*, instead of being exposed, as in the paddle-steamer, to the enemies' broadside. The experience gained with the *Rattler*, a screw-steamer, in 1845, demonstrated, moreover, that while the dominant superiority of the screw-propeller restored space for the broadside armament, it renewed that necessity for experience and activity in seamanship which has been so universally acknowledged as the peculiar attribute of the British sailor. England is now defended by a powerful armour-plated steam navy, and the British patriot may again breathe freely when he contemplates the apparently full-rigged line-of-battle ship, fitted with screw-propeller, and differing little in appearance from the old "wooden walls" on which his youthful gaze was wont to dwell with confidence and pride.

The screw-propeller was introduced into the royal navy in 1840; and as early as 1854 the screw-steamers amounted to ninety-seven. The *Warrior*, our first iron-plated steam-frigate, 380 feet long, 58 feet broad, and 6170 tons burthen, plated with iron 4½ inches thick, was launched on the 29th of December 1860. She cost about 400,000*l.*

In October 1863 the steam-ram *Valiant* was launched, and the *Moniteur*, an iron steamer, in the following December. In 1865 no less than twenty-nine iron-clad vessels were built, and between 1859 and 1867 not less than one hundred and fifty wooden ships of all classes were sold, to be replaced by degrees with iron ones. Captain Cowper Coles' mode of constructing iron-plated vessels, with a cupola or turret for firing from, was proposed in 1855, and recommended to the Admiralty in 1861. The turret ship *Sovereign* and the unfortunate *Captain* (which foundered in the Bay of Biscay on the 7th of September 1870, and went down with Captain Coles and four hundred and sixty-nine men) were built on this principle. Several other ships have been built of late years on the turret principle, the most formidable of which, the *Inflexible*, with two turrets, is of more than 10,000 tons displacement.

Gunnery.

GUNNERY is that branch of military science which comprehends the theory of projectiles and the manner of employing ordnance. Under this head we shall describe the improvements in cannon and rifled muskets which have been introduced of late years.

The ancient fire-arms were of very rude construction. At first they were discharged by means of a lighted match, afterwards by a wheel-lock, then by the flint. Early in the present century the Rev. H. Forsythe patented the percussion principle of igniting gunpowder by means of fulminate of mercury contained in gun-caps, which came generally into use between 1820 and 1830. The percussion musket was adopted in the British army in 1842, and the old musket, Brown Bess, was entirely superseded in 1857. Then we have the Enfield musket, followed by Mr. Snider's breech-loader in 1866. The needle-gun, in which the ignition of the charge of powder is produced by a fine steel rod or needle, which presses through the cartridge, was adopted in the Prussian army about 1846, and unquestionably led to the successive victories of the Prussians over the Austrians during the campaign of 1866. The rifle called, after its inventor, the Chassepôt, is a breech-loader, and was adopted by the French government in 1866. It did terrible execution at the battle of Mentana, on the 3rd November 1867.

The Martini-Henry and the Minié rifle are also considered very effective weapons. The most terrible engine for the destruction of human life which has been introduced into modern warfare is unquestionably the mitrailleuse, or mitrailleur, a machine-gun in which thirty-seven or even double that number of large-bored rifles are combined with breech action, by means of which a continual shower of bullets may be poured upon an advancing enemy by one man. The principle of this satanic invention is not *new*, for in Grose's 'Military Antiquities' we read that a patent was granted, in 1625, to one William Drummond, for a machine composed of a number of muskets joined together, by the help of which two soldiers can oppose a hundred. It was called a "fire-carriage," or "thunder-carriage." The mitrailleuse was invented in Belgium, adopted by the emperor of the French soon after the Austro-Prussian war in 1866, and was extensively employed during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. It is now admitted into the British army, the Fosbery mitrailleuse being tried and approved at Shoeburyness in August 1870. Rifled cannon are also in use which propel a shot four or five miles, and also rifled muskets, while torpedoes and Shrapnel shells may be added to the terrible catalogue of instruments of destruction which the past forty years have introduced into warfare.

Chemistry.

THE progress of gas-illumination, the great improvements in metallurgic operations, in photography, in the arts of dyeing and calico-printing, in the manufacture of cements, in the preservation of timber from dry-rot, in gilding and silvering metals —these are but a few of the benefits conferred by chemistry upon the community. The brewer and distiller, together with the sugar-refiner and the dyer, are reaping the benefit of chemical science. The conversion of beet-root, as well as starch and wood, into sugar is the practical consequence of theoretical inferences; from the destructive distillation of wood we already obtain our chief supply of vinegar, while from the same source we procure a liquid (methyl, or wood-spirit, or wood-naphtha) which, as a combustible and a solvent of resins, has to a great extent superseded the use of alcohol; while the saw-dust of certain woods has been shown capable of conversion into nutriment, and bone has been proved, when properly prepared, to equal its weight of flesh as an article of food. The greater number of the arts of every-day life are more or less dependent upon chemical principles, while others, though apparently mechanical, involve some acquaintance with chemistry; we may hence perceive the growing importance of chemical science as a branch of general education, bearing upon political economy, and upon the prosperity of the arts and sciences in this country. The applications of the discoveries of this science to the arts, and to the relief of human suffering in disease, are both numerous and important, and would seem to encourage the hope of still greater benefits arising, in proportion as our knowledge of chemistry is extended and perfected.

In a former article we took occasion to speak of the manufacture of coal-gas, of the various preparations of soda and their uses in the arts, and of the introduction of lucifer matches. In the present we shall confine our remarks chiefly to dyes, and more especially to the aniline, or coal-tar, dyes. The art of dyeing is founded upon an affinity or attraction existing between the colouring matter of the dye and the fibre of the material to be dyed. In woollen and silk fabrics this affinity is usually very considerable, and to such tissues a permanent stain or dye is very easily communicated. With cotton and flax this affinity is much weaker. In this case, recourse is had to a third substance, which does possess in a high degree such affinity, and with this the material to be dyed is first impregnated.

Let us examine the process more closely.

When an infusion of some dye-wood, as madder, or logwood, is mixed with alum, and a little alkali, a precipitate falls, called a *lake.* It is by the formation of this insoluble substance *within the fibre* that a permanent dyeing of the cloth is effected. Such preparations are called *mordants;* and it is easy to see that, by applying the mordant *partially* to the cloth, by means of a wood-block, or otherwise, a pattern may be produced, as the colour will be removed by washing from the other portions. Sesquioxide of iron usually gives rise to dull, heavy colours; alumina and oxide of tin (especially the latter), to brilliant ones.

Most of the dye-stuffs are of vegetable origin; one is of animal origin, cochineal.

Indigo is the most important member of the group of blue colouring matters. Anilic, picric (carbazotic), chrysanilic, and anthranilic acid are all produced from indigo, although some of them may be produced also from salicylic acid. Litmus is used by the dyer to furnish a red colouring matter. From it are obtained, by chemical manipulation, the erythric, alpha-orsellic, orsellinic, beta-orsellic, evernic, and parellic acids, together with orcin and orcein. Madder furnishes *alizarin, purpurin,* and garancin. The beautiful Turkey-red of cotton cloth is a madder colour.

SAFFLOWER contains both a yellow and a red colouring matter; the latter is called *carthamin.*

BRAZIL-WOOD and LOGWOOD give red and purple infusions, which are largely used in dyeing. The colouring principle of logwood is termed *hæmatoxylin,* and has been obtained in crystals. Acids brighten these colours, and alkalies render them purple, or blue.

The yellow dyes are TURMERIC, QUERCITRON-BARK, FUSTIC-WOOD, and SAFFRON.

ALOES.—Certain of the products of the action of nitric acid upon *aloes* resemble very much some of the derivatives of indigo, without, however, being identical with them; *chrysammic acid,* which crystallises in golden yellow scales; and chryscolepic acid, which is identical with picric acid.

ASSAFŒTIDA yields *styphnic acid* by the action upon it of nitric acid. It likewise yields chloropicrin. The salts of this substance mostly crystallise in orange-yellow needles, and, when heated, explode with great violence. Styphnic acid is almost identical with picric acid; the latter having two equivalents more of oxygen.

COCHINEAL.—This is obtained from the dried body of an insect from South America, the *Coccus cacti,* which yields carmine and carminic acid.

ANILINE DYES.—The most brilliant dyes in all colours are now obtained from *coal-tar.*

There are three principal varieties of *tar:* 1st, *wood-tar,* used for making pyroligneous acid, which purified, forms *vinegar;* 2nd, *Stockholm tar,* obtained by a rude kind of distillation from the roots and useless parts of resinous pine and fir timber; 3rd, *coal* or *mineral tar,* which is a by-product obtained from the dry distillation of coal in the manufacture of coal-gas: this is viscid, black, and ammoniacal.

When pit-coal is subjected to destructive distillation, a variety of products show themselves—permanent gases, steam, and volatile oils, besides a not inconsiderable quantity of ammonia, from the nitrogen always present in the coal. The gas is purified in large iron vessels, partly filled with a mixture of hydrate of lime and water.

The products separated by the purifiers and by condensation are, tar and volatile oils, sulphate, chloride, and sulphide of ammonia; sulphuretted hydrogen, carbonic acid, cyanide of ammonium, and sulphocyanide of ammonium, with chloride of ammonium. It is estimated that 100 lbs. weight of coal yield 10¾ lbs. of tar, which produce 2¼ oz. of aniline; this yields ¼ oz. of mauve.

According to the statement of Mr. Perkin '(Cantor Lectures),' it was accident, rather than design, that led him to a discovery which has resulted in the establishment of a large and important branch of manufacture from a substance which only a few years before was almost valueless, and regarded as a nuisance. Mr. Perkins was trying to produce a colourless liquid, instead of which he obtained a reddish sediment. Pursuing his researches into these products of coal-tar, he was led to the discovery of *mauve;* and, ultimately, he became a manufacturer of a new class of beautiful colouring substances. Although he did not himself discover *aniline,* he ascertained the dyeing properties of certain combinations of that substance, and that discovery was gradually worked out by many experimentalists. In 1834, Mitscherlich succeeded in isolating nitro-benzole; then followed Runge's method of obtaining aniline by distilling coal, while Zinin obtained the same product from nitro-benzole, by the action of alcohol, ammonia, and sulphuric acid. Then followed Hofmann's demonstration, that Unverdorben's *crystalline* (which he obtained in 1826 from the distillation of indigo) is identical in composition with *aniline,* which is a product of coal-tar. Aniline, therefore, may be indifferently obtained, either from coal-tar or from indigo.

Mauve was discovered in 1856, *magenta* in 1859, and *Hofmann's violet* in 1863.

More than fifty chemical substances are now obtained from gas-tar, each one of which yields products of importance in the arts and manufactures of the country. Aniline is best procured by subjecting the coal-tar to distillation, in order to obtain benzine or benzole; this, by the addition of nitric acid, furnishes nitro-benzole, and from that aniline is procured. Mauve is produced by the action of sulphuric acid and bichromate of potash on aniline, which produces a black precipitate; and lastly, a kind of brown resin is produced, which yields *mauve* as a beautiful bronze-coloured mass, producing a purple dye of a permanent character, having a great affinity for silk and wool. Magenta is a very different product from *mauve.* It requires two of the residual products of coal-tar for its preparation, viz. benzole and toluole.

Hofmann has proved it to be a salt of an organic base, which he called *rosaniline.* In the distillation of *cannel-coal* for gas lighting, we obtain, besides coke and liquor ammoniæ, from five to ten per cent of heavy oil of tar, which contains no paraffin nor petroleum; but instead of them benzine, toluene, phenic acid, naphthaline, and anthracine. The light oils yield by repeated rectifications, and subsequent treatment with sulphuric acid and caustic soda, benzine (containing more or less of toluene and xyline), phenic acid, and naphthaline. The heavy oils contain phenic acid and creosote.

The principal use of benzine is for its conversion, first into nitro-benzole, and afterwards into aniline. It also contains more or less of toluidine and xylidine. Since the important discovery of the synthesis of artificial *alizarine* by means of anthracine, the extracting of this body from tar has become an important branch of industry. Phenic acid, or phenol, also, is now prepared in large quantities, and its valuable antiseptic properties have secured for it an important position in medicine and pharmacy. Picric acid, aurine, coralline, and other colouring matters, are also derived from phenic acid. In order to obtain certain colours of good shades it is necessary to employ almost pure aniline. Others require almost pure toluidine. For *fuchsine* certain proportions of aniline and toluidine are required. Xylidine, cumidine, and mesidine resemble rosaniline. Eosine is a beautiful red colouring matter recently introduced. It is the phtaleine of double bromised *resorcine*, and when heated it gives out volumes of bromhydric acid, leaving no residuum but carbon mixed with bromide of potassium. It may be obtained by adding an acid to the aqueous solution of the salt of potash which constitutes this colouring matter. It occurs as a reddish-brown powder, presenting here and there surfaces of a metallic green lustre.

We have already mentioned *fuchsine;* we now return to the subject, as it furnishes one of the most valuable and important of the coal-tar dyes. Fuchsine is the name given to a colouring matter discovered in 1858 by Hofmann, and so named either from the flower called *fuchsia*, the bright red colour of which it resembles, or from Fuchs, the German translation of *Renard*, the French gentleman who first made any practical use of it.

M. Hofmann, the discoverer, by subjecting aniline to the action of chloruret of carbon, obtained, in addition to the substance he was seeking, a soluble compound of a magnificent crimson. After trying in vain to purify it, he gave it up. Soon afterwards it entered into the fertile brain of M. Verguin to employ chloride of tin, instead of the carbon, and he obtained *fuchsine.* This substance has become, in the hands of Messrs. Simpson, Maule, and Nicholson in this country, and of M. Renard in France, one of the most important of this class of dyes, and as such an object of great commercial value. Under the different names of *Lyons red*, *solferino*, *magenta*, &c., commerce has utilised *fuchsine*, and has employed it with much success in the dyeing of silk, woollen cloths, cotton fabrics, &c. It is also employed to dye ribbons, velvet, and feathers. Fuchsine gives a most brilliant colour, which may be modified so as to obtain from it the greatest variety of shades, ranging from the brightest red to the palest violet and the most tender mauve. It is also used for Mudie's brilliant inks.

We shall now mention a few of the recently discovered explosives. These are, *gun-cotton*, *nitro-glycerine*, *picrate of potash*, &c., used for blasting rocks, charging torpedoes, quarrying stone, boring railway tunnels, &c.

The principal use of gun-cotton is for blasting purposes and for torpedoes. Gun-cotton, it was hoped at one time, might be utilised in the military service of the country; but experiments made in Austria, France, and Prussia do not seem to warrant its use. It would probably do more damage to those who use it than to the enemy. Since the discovery of gun-cotton many other chemical explosives have been invented. The best known of these are nitro-glycerine, a compound of nitric acid and glycerine; picrate of potash, composed of picric acid and potash; and dynamite, a mixture of nitro-glycerine with powdered flint, an inert matter which absorbs it like a sponge. Mixed in this manner, this dangerous explosive may be conveyed from place to place without any danger, as it never explodes except when confined by some resisting envelope, or placed between two hard bodies. In addition to these substances we may mention halozyline, composed of cellulose and oxygenised salt; Schultz's powder, a compound of wood-shavings or sawdust and concentrated azotic acid; and, lastly, the chloride of nitrogen and the lithofracteur of Krebs may be added to the list.

We may form some idea of the terrible force of these explosives by considering the quantity of gas set free by a small quantity of nitro-glycerine. The force of gunpowder, gun-cotton, and all other explosives is in proportion to the amount of gas set free at the moment of explosion. The gas thus suddenly developed, and compressed in a very limited space, seeks to escape, and drives before it the object which presents the minimum of resistance. This is the theory of explosive force.

Now one ounce of nitro-glycerine placed in a tube, and the gases developed being confined, gives out 469 ounces of carbonic acid gas, 554 volumes of steam, 236 ounces of nitrogen, and 39 ounces of oxygen; total 1298 ounces or volumes of different gases.

Except for mining purposes, tunnelling through hard rocky mountains, and blasting of stone in quarries, these terrible explosives are not in use. There is, however, one very important use to which they might and ought to be applied, and that is blasting the dangerous rocks which beset our coast so perilous to navigation.

Gas has of late years come into use for light-houses. At present five of the light-houses on the Irish coast are lighted by gas. A self-acting apparatus cuts off, at regular intervals, the main supply, leaving just sufficient to keep the flame alive, and thus, moments of comparative darkness alternate with brilliant flashes.

Colza-oil is still chiefly used in light-houses. Paraffin oil, distilled in Scotland from coal, is now, however, cheaper than colza, and Captain Doty, Mr. Douglass, and Messrs. Wilkins have all invented new lamps for burning paraffin oil in light-houses.

The electric light has also been applied to light-houses; Holmes' system at South Foreland in 1858, and the following year. Enlarged and improved, it was transferred to Dungeness light-house in 1862, where it has continued in action ever since. It has also been set up at Souter Point, 1871, and South Foreland in 1872, when both light-houses were furnished with electric-light apparatus on a very complete scale, and also with Chance's dioptric refractors.

The discovery of paraffin and other oily substances in coal, shale, and gas-tar has introduced new materials for candle-making. Paraffin is a white crystalline body, obtained by distillation from cannel coal. Ozokerite, or fossil-wax, is also one of the mineral fats now made into candles. It is a brownish substance, with a somewhat pearly appearance, found in a particular stratum in Moldavia. It may be distilled and purified, and is soluble in turpentine. Nefte-degil is a substance resembling ozokerite, found in large quantities near the Caspian Sea. Another substance of the same kind, called *kir*, is found at Baku, near the Caspian. Under the several names of *kerosene*, *paraffin*, and *petroleum* are comprehended various mineral oils, compounds of carbon and hydrogen, called *hydro-carbons*.

A petroleum spring exists at Coalbrookdale in Shropshire, and fine samples of the same inflammable liquid are supplied to us from Amiano, near Parma, and even from Rangoon in Burmah; but the oil-wells of the United States of America are sufficient to supply the requirements of the whole world. "It would be esteemed one of the greatest discoveries of the age," says Baron Liebig, "if any one could succeed in condensing coal-gas into a substance portable, and that could be placed upon a candlestick, or burned in a lamp." This great discovery was made by Mr. James Young of Bathgate, in Scotland, and his products were shown to the public in the Great Exhibition of 1851. Mr. Young obtains from the above-mentioned mineral oils, from the distillation of shale, or from coal, two distinct products, a solid white substance called *paraffin*, finer than the purest wax, which is sold to be made into candles; and an oil, called *paraffin oil*, used for burning in lamps; and, mixed with other oils, for lubricating machinery. Millions of gallons of Young's paraffin oil (a rectified petroleum) have been sold, so that thousands of families have had a cheerful, pleasant light, cheap as gas, and no explosion has ever taken place; although such is its inflammable nature that it gives off a vapour, when not rectified, at considerably below 100°, which readily takes fire.

INDIA-RUBBER. VULCANITE.—A few years ago india-rubber was used only to erase lead-pencil marks; now, it is hard to say to what use it is not applied, from dressing-combs to door-mats, from ladies' bracelets and chains to steam-engine bands. Caoutchouc, or india-rubber, is the solidified milky juice of trees belonging to the genera *ficus*, *siphonia*, and *urceola*, growing in Java, Singapore, and Brazil. Mr. Charles Macintosh introduced naphtha as a solvent, and therewith prepared water-proof cloth for mackintosh-coats, damp-proof sheets, aprons, air-cushions, &c., by uniting two pieces of the cloth, or other material, by means of the india-rubber solution.

In 1842 the great india-rubber revolution commenced, by the discovery of *vulcanisation* by Messrs. Hancock and Goodyear, almost simultaneously in Europe and America. The great drawbacks to the use of india-rubber had been up to this date its liability to become hardened by cold, and sticky by heat; but, by this chemical process, which consists in combining sulphur with it, it was rendered capable of resisting all changes of temperature, and became perfectly elastic. The last discovery was that by continuing the process of vulcanisation for a longer time, at an increased heat, a hard, black substance is obtained, called *vulcanite* or *ebonite*, which can be turned in a lathe, like ebony.

GUTTA-PERCHA, which closely resembles india-rubber in its chemical composition and physical characteristics, is the hardened juice of the *Isonandra gutta*, a tree growing only in the Malayan Archipelago. Its perfect plasticity when warm, and its capability of receiving the most delicate impressions, render it invaluable in many cases where india-rubber would be useless. One of the most important uses of *gutta-percha*, besides that of forming damp-proof soles for boots, which always keep the feet dry and warm, is for enclosing the metallic wires for submarine telegraphs. Its indestructibility by water, its plasticity, and elasticity, combined with its high insulating power, have rendered it invaluable for this latter purpose. Its indestructibility by acids, and other corrosive chemicals, has caused it to be used most extensively for carboys, photographic-baths, and galvanic-battery cells. It has also been introduced, with great success, into decorative art, as in picture-frames, cornices, &c. It can also be drawn out into tubes, bands, or sheets as required for manufacturing and chemical purposes.

PARKESINE is an extraordinary substance, made by combining oil, chloride of sulphur, and collodion in certain proportions. It is hard and indestructible, besides being perfectly transparent in thin plates. It can also be used as a varnish, perfectly hard and impervious to moisture. It possesses a hardness almost equal to iron, and is employed in the manufacture of buttons, combs, knife-handles, and all other articles for which horn or ivory are generally employed. Its insulating properties are very powerful, and it seems to be quite indestructible by damp.

AMORPHOUS PHOSPHORUS.—This extraordinary substance is phosphorus in an altered molecular condition. By melting ordinary phosphorus in an atmosphere devoid of oxygen or moisture, and regulating the heat steadily between 450° and 460° for thirty or forty hours, the whole of it will become converted into amorphous phosphorus. It is much harder, and less inflammable than ordinary phosphorus, and may be obtained black and solid, or of a brilliant red, which rivals vermilion itself in brightness of colour. When the ordinary phosphorus is used in the lucifer-match manufactories, a terrible disease afflicts the workmen. The cartilaginous and bony parts of the body become diseased and softened in a melancholy and dreadful manner. The introduction of amorphous phosphorus into the manufacture, as employed by Bryant and May, in their *safety matches*, would prevent this terrible affliction, and ought therefore to be made compulsory on all lucifer-match manufacturers.

ULTRAMARINE.—This beautiful blue pigment, which is one of the most durable used by artists, is prepared by calcining the *lapis-lazuli*, a precious stone occurring native in Siberia, Persia, China, and California. The price of the native ultramarine was formerly as high as five guineas the ounce. An artificial ultramarine is now manufactured by calcining together certain proportions of China clay, sulphate of soda, sulphur, and charcoal. By varying the proportion of sulphur, tints of different gradations are obtained, from a pure cold blue to a rosy violet. The artificial product is in all respects equal to the natural, and it can be produced at a trifle more than two shillings per pound, or even less. *Prussian-blue* is made by mixing solutions of prussiate of potash and sulphate of iron; *chrome-yellow*, from bichromate of potash and a soluble salt of lead; *zinc-white* is an oxide of zinc; and *constant white* is the calcined sulphate of baryta.

Chemistry has of late years given us the *anæsthetics*: ether, chloroform, amylene, nitrous oxide, &c., and has added to our knowledge of the metals, which, with the metalloids, are now above fifty in number. Kirchoff and Bunsen, by means of the spectrum analysis, have added four others to the known metals; these are *cæsium*, *rubidium*, *thallium*, and *indium*. Starting on its course with only four elements, chemistry has now proved the existence of at least sixty-five.

Photography.

THIS valuable chemical process, which has of late years received so extensive an application to the various requirements of civilised life, was very much advanced by Mr. H. Fox Talbot, of Laycock Abbey, who discovered in 1839 a method of multiplying photographic pictures by means of a negative. In this negative all the lights and shades are reversed, like the engraving on a seal; but, on taking photographs from the negative, all the positive copies have the lights and shades again reversed, and so brought back to their natural condition; and any number of such positives may be produced from the same negative. In 1841 the same gentleman patented his calotype or Talbotype process, which consists in rendering ordinary glazed writing-paper sensitive to the actinic rays of light. This is effected by means of washing the paper with a solution of iodide of potassium, and, when dry, with a solution of nitrate of silver. On exposure to light in the camera, a picture is produced on the prepared paper, which, on removal to a darkened room, is washed with a solution of gallo-nitrate of silver. The picture then slowly developes itself, or "comes out." The yellow colour of the iodide of silver is then removed by washing it with a hot solution of hyposulphite of soda, and the process is complete. We have now a negative, in which all the lights and shadows are reversed; but from this negative a positive may be produced, in which the object is represented with all the delicate gradations of light and shadow brought out with the greatest accuracy. This process is also applicable to glass plates, which, after being washed with albumen, or white of egg, in which a small amount of iodide of potassium is dissolved, are subsequently treated with the gallo-nitrate of silver. The glass plate so prepared is placed in the camera, and duly receives the impression of the object; the remainder of the process being the same as on paper. In 1851 Mr. F. Archer introduced collodion—a solution of gun-cotton in ether—instead of the albumen. This proved of great advantage; the collodionised paper being far more sensitive than paper prepared by any other, except the *instantaneous* process subsequently discovered by Mr. Fox Talbot. In the instantaneous process, a solution of nitrate of silver, containing alcohol, is poured upon the albumenised paper; then a preparation of the proto-iodide of iron, mixed with acetic acid and alcohol; after which a stronger solution of nitrate of silver is applied. This process has also been called amphitype. Sir J. Herschel subsequently introduced the cyanotype and chrysotype processes; and Dr. Woods, of Parsonstown, introduced the use of iodide of iron in his *catalissotype;* and Mr. Robert Hunt, the use of sulphate of iron in his ferrotype process; both of them offering great advantages in point of sensibility. M. Niepce de St. Victor has succeeded in obtaining, by means of voltaic agency upon the silvered plate, photographs *naturally coloured;* but, hitherto, no process, unfortunately, has been discovered by which the colours could be rendered permanent.

Photographs on paper or glass are of two kinds positive or negative. The plate, having been collodionised, is immersed for about one minute in a bath of nitrate of silver, containing thirty grains of the salt in an ounce of water. This operation must be performed in a dark room. Afterwards, on pouring upon the plate a solution of protosulphate of iron and pyrogallic acid, the image gradually appears. When the picture is sufficiently "brought out," water is poured over the plate, in order to prevent the further action of the developer. When once the negative is obtained, it may be used for printing an indefinite number of positive pictures. For this purpose, paper is impregnated with chloride of silver, by immersing it first in a solution of nitrate of silver, and then in one of chloride of sodium (common table-salt); chloride of silver is thus formed on the paper by double decomposition. The negative is then exposed to the action of light for a certain time, when the chloride of silver is acted upon, the light parts being most influenced, and the dark parts least. A copy of the negative is thus obtained on which the lights are replaced by shades, and inversely. In order to fix the picture, it is washed in a solution of hyposulphite of soda, which dissolves the unaltered chloride of silver. Finally, the picture is immersed in a bath of chloride of gold, which gives it tone.

In the case of glass, very beautiful positives are produced by pouring over the picture a solution of protosulphate of iron, which produces a negative image; and afterwards by the employment of a solution of cyanide of potassium the negative plate is rapidly converted into a positive. It is then washed and dried, and a coat of varnish poured over the picture. For landscapes, views of buildings, &c., paper impregnated with a solution of albumen containing iodide of potassium is used, instead of collodion. It has the advantage that it can be prepared for some time before it is used, and that it produces certain effects in the middle tints; but the disadvantage it has of being not nearly so sensitive, and consequently requiring longer exposure in the camera, unfits it for portraits.

Aëronautics.

INTEREST in this branch of science still continues to be taken, although, notwithstanding our great progress in other directions, aëronautics appear to have gained but little ground. The problem of *guiding* the course of the balloon in the air appears to defy all our efforts.

One of the longest balloon-voyages on record is that of Mr. Wise of America, who ascended with three companions from St. Louis, on June 23rd, 1859, in which voyage a distance of 1120 miles was travelled. They arrived in Jefferson county, in the state of New York, nearly dead with cold and exhaustion. In 1863 Nadar, a photographer of Paris, brought out his enormous balloon called *Le Géant*, the largest gas-balloon ever constructed. He made his first ascent, with thirteen persons, at Paris, on Sunday, the 4th of October 1863; and descended in safety at Meaux, after a voyage of four hours. A fortnight later he made a second ascent, October 18th, with nine persons in the car, including Madame Nadar.

The balloon descended at Niessburg in Hanover, a distance of about four hundred miles, after a voyage of seventeen hours. The descent was unfortunate; for not one of the whole party escaped uninjured, though some were merely bruised. This misfortune is attributed to the circumstance that, at the time, a strong wind was blowing, by which the balloon was dragged over some seven or eight miles of rough ground before the passengers could alight with safety. The balloon, having been brought over to England, was exhibited at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, near London, at the end of 1863 and beginning of 1864, where the reports of the two ascents already made in France excited a great amount of interest, due, however, rather to the enormous size of the balloon than to any other circumstance. After Nadar's ascents, the public appetite, ever craving after novelty, was satisfied for a time by M. Eugene Godard, who brought out the largest Montgolfier balloon ever yet seen, of nearly half a million cubic feet capacity. The air was heated by an 18-foot stove, weighing, with the chimney, 980 lbs. The furnace was fed by straw. Two ascents were made from Cremorne Gardens, Chelsea, on the 20th and 28th July 1864. The first voyage terminated in safety at Greenwich; the second at Walthamstow, in Essex, where it was injured by being blown against a tree. In October 1873, Mr. Donaldson, and two others, ascended in a balloon from New York, and after a perilous voyage reached Connecticut. Mr. Charles Green is undoubtedly the greatest of aëronauts. He made his first ascent in July 1821, and died in 1870 at the very advanced age of eighty-four. He is believed to have made 526 ascents, that is, more than any other aëronaut has ever effected, for which reason he is supposed to have acquired a great amount of skill in the manipulation of his unsteady vehicle, and has always shown great practical knowledge of the subject.

It was not till the memorable siege of Paris in 1870–71 that balloons were applied, on an extensive scale, to any really practical purpose. Sufficient evidence, if needed, was then furnished that the art of aëronautics is but in its infancy, where, indeed, it must continue to remain, unless some method be devised by which the course of a balloon may be in some measure controlled and regulated. Shut up from the 18th of September 1870 to the end of January 1871 from all communication with the outer world, Paris would have given any money for a balloon that could have been navigated *into* Paris; but no aëronaut was found equal to the occasion. Balloons were, however, both extensively and successfully employed during the siege; and it is remarkable that out of sixty-four ascents from Paris only two balloons were lost; though one was carried to Norway, one to Belgium, and another to England. Balloons got out of Paris, carrying bags of letters and a few passengers. The first balloon left Paris on the 23rd of September, carrying a bag of despatches from M. Jules Favre, and more than thirty such balloons were despatched in the course of the next few weeks. Each balloon carried on an average two passengers, five hundredweight of official documents, and private letters sent *open*, besides two carrier pigeons. Even post-office orders, up to 300 francs in value, were transmitted in a similar manner. The balloons of M. Nadar—*ballons montés*—were made of calico, coated with a varnish of linseed-oil and oxide of lead; they cost on an average about 200*l.* each. M. Tissandier, the famous aëronaut, left Paris in the *Céleste* balloon, about the end of September, with the mails, containing some 20,000 letters, and arrived in safety in Normandy, escaping several volleys of shot fired up at him by the Prussians. But the most memorable ascent of the siege—one, indeed, of historical importance, since without doubt it tended to prolong the war—was the celebrated aërial voyage of the dictator Gambetta, who, after waiting a week for a favourable wind, escaped with his secretary in the balloon *Armand Barbès*. He arrived safely at Rouen, bringing with him a great number of letters and a few carrier-pigeons.

Aëronautic societies have been founded in various countries, some of which have had but an ephemeral existence. The Aëronautical Society of Great Britain was founded in 1865; president, the Duke of Argyle; treasurer, Mr. J. Glaisher.

Architecture.

THE Palace of Westminster, or the new Houses of Parliament, a magnificent pile of architecture, was commenced in 1836, by throwing up an embankment 30 feet wide and 900 feet in length, extending from Westminster Bridge to Millbank. The first stone of the building was laid in 1840. The structure, which covers nine acres of ground, presents towards the river a magnificent façade of highly ornamented Gothic. It is three stories high, and divided into a centre and wings; the centre being elevated by a loftier and more enriched battlement above the other parts of the building, and terminated by octagonal embattled towers, with oriel windows in the centre. Two solid square towers terminate each wing. Towards Abingdon Street the building is terminated by a stupendous square tower—called the Victoria Tower—at the south-west extremity, which occupies an area of 100 feet square, and is 346 feet in height. This is the royal entrance, and the upper part of the tower consists of fire-proof apartments, designed to receive the national records.

The House of Commons stands in a central part of the building, on the principal floor, between Westminster Hall and the river-front.

The House of Lords, which occupies a corresponding situation on the other side, is a splendid specimen of Gothic architecture.

Some of the finest buildings in the metropolis are unquestionably the halls of the various livery companies of the City of London. Among these may be mentioned Fishmongers' Hall, an imposing edifice of granite, built after the design of Mr. Henry Roberts, occupying the south-west angle of the north approach to London Bridge. It is in the Grecian Ionic style of architecture, and has an elevation of more than 160 feet in length. Its principal entrance is by a noble hall, communicating with an extensive corridor, divided from the grand staircase by a columnar screen of polished Aberdeen granite. At the head of the central flight of stairs is a statue of Sir William Walworth, a distinguished member of the Fishmongers' Company. He is represented as in the act of giving the quietus to the rebel, Wat Tyler, with his dagger. The upper part of the staircase is adorned with Sienna *scagliola* columns and pilasters, and is illuminated by windows of stained glass.

The almshouses belonging to this company, called St. Peter's Hospital (for St. Peter, as a fisherman, is the patron-saint of the company), are situated at East Hill, Wandsworth. They were erected in 1851, in the Tudor style, by the company's architect, Mr. R. Suter. They are of white Suffolk brick, dressed with Caen stone.

Goldsmiths' Hall, in Foster Lane, Cheapside, almost hidden by the General Post Office, is a handsome square edifice of noble proportions and massive execution, erected after the designs of Hardwicke. The centre, composed of six Corinthian columns, sustains an entablature surmounted by a rich cornice. Over the five centre windows, which have balconies, are sculptured the arms of the Goldsmiths' Company.

The Merchant Taylors' Hall, in Threadneedle Street, near the Bank of England, is considered to be the largest, as the company to which it belongs is the richest, in the City of London. It is a noble structure of brick and stone, supported by stone pillars of the Tuscan order. The dining-hall contains portraits of illustrious members of the company, and a painting representing the granting of the charter to the company by Henry VII.

Salters' Hall, St. Swithin's Lane, at the back of St. Swithin's Church, has a portico formed of four Ionic columns, sustaining an entablature, surmounted by the armorial bearings of the Salters' Company. Connected with the Salters' (more correctly drysalters or druggists) Company is a curious annual custom, still, we believe, kept up. It is founded upon a singular clause in the will of Sir John Salter, a great benefactor to the company, who died in 1605. He requires that the beadle and servants of the company should attend divine service at the church of St. Magnus, London Bridge, in the first week in the month of October; and that, after the service, they shall, before retiring, knock or strike upon his gravestone with sticks, or staves, three times each person, and say, "How do you do, brother Salter? I hope you are well!"

CLUB-HOUSES.—One of the peculiar features which distinguishes London from all other cities of the world is, we believe, its clubs. Every class in London society has its club-house. The liberal party has its *Reform* club-house, the Tory party has its *Conservative* and its *Carlton*; scholars and literary men their *Athenæum*; actors the *Garrick*; the army and navy the *United Service* club; merchants the *Gresham*, and travellers the *Travellers'* club, eligible only for those who have travelled at least 500 miles from England. This is but a fragment of an extensive list, for their name is legion. Externally these club-houses present, in general, very fine specimens of architectural taste; some of them ranking among the first of our public edifices. The interior yields in no respect to the exterior; for they minister to the comfort and convenience of their members, furnishing for a moderate entrance-fee, and a yearly subscription, a sumptuous table, elegant suites of apartments, an excellent library and reading room, supplied with all the newspapers and periodicals, and a whole bevy of servants, with refreshments at any hour of the day or night, at the most moderate charge. Pall Mall is the home of the club-houses; the greater part of its south side being occupied with these noble piles of architecture.

First we have the *Reform* club-house, erected after the plans of Mr. Charles Barry, the architect of the Westminster Palace. Mr. Barry adopted as his model the famous Farnese Palace at Rome, which was built after the designs of the celebrated Michael Angelo Buonarotti, in 1545. The pediments surmounting the windows, on the first floor, facing Pall Mall, are sustained by Corinthian columns, and at the back, which overlooks Carlton Gardens, by Ionic pilasters. The coffee-room, on the ground-floor, which looks into the garden, is supported by Ionic columns. The drawing-room floor and library, consisting of 140 apartments, are both supported by Corinthian columns.

Adjoining the *Reform* is the *Travellers' Club*, and near to that the *Athenæum*, at the corner of Pall Mall and Waterloo Place. The latter was erected after the designs of Decimus Burton, to afford a suitable place of reunion for gentlemen distinguished for science and letters, professors of the fine arts, and noblemen and gentlemen in general of intellectual tastes and pursuits. The eastern elevation has a rustic basement, with a portico, the ends filled up, and perforated by windows, with the angles finished by a square pilaster, and fluted columns of the Doric order. The frieze is ornamented with triglyphs, and the cornice surrounded by a balustrade. The chief story or floor contains seven lofty windows, giving access to the balcony. Over this, and running through the whole building, is a beautiful frieze, charged with figures in bas-relief, copied from the Elgin frieze in the British Museum. The *United Service Club* stands opposite to the *Athenæum*, on the south-east side of Waterloo Place. The Pall Mall front has a portico the whole height of the structure, and is in two divisions; that of the ground-floor being composed of eight fluted Doric columns, in pairs, having an entablature with triglyphs. This is surmounted by a balustrade, over which are eight Corinthian columns crowned by an entablature and pediment.

The *Conservative Club-house* is in St. James Street, on the site of the Old Thatched House Tavern. It was erected after the designs of Sidney Smirke and George Bassevi. The façade is singularly elaborate, and presents to the street a bold and handsome front. It contains numerous and elegant apartments. The evening room is the most magnificent in the whole building. It is 100 feet long, 26 feet broad, and 25 feet high, and is supported by eighteen superb *scagliola* Corinthian columns.

The Crystal Palace at Sydenham, near London, grew out of the international exhibition of 1851. The materials of the exhibition building, removed from Hyde Park, served to a great extent for the Crystal Palace. It was commenced in August 1852, and opened in June 1854. The building, which is entirely of glass, with iron girders, has three transepts, the centre one being 120 feet in width, and 194 feet in height. The terraces and fountains, with the wings and the water-towers, together with the extensive grounds, containing numerous objects of interest, and the various highly decorated Egyptian, Pompeian, and Assyrian courts, altogether combine to render the Crystal Palace a very instructive and attractive place of resort.

The success of the Crystal Palace has led to the erection of a similar structure on the north side of London. This is the Alexandra Palace, at Muswell Hill, between Highgate and Hornsey. This was constructed, in great part, out of the materials of the building for the international exhibition of 1862, by Messrs. Meeson and Johnson. It has a dome and four towers of a semi-pyramidal character.

One of the finest buildings in the metropolis, erected during the present reign, is the new St. Thomas's Hospital, built on the southern Thames Embankment, on land reclaimed from the river. It stands on the Surrey side of the Thames, immediately facing the Westminster Palace. It consists of several pavilions, or buildings, 125 feet apart, connected merely by a corridor of communication.

Among the ecclesiastical buildings of the period now under review may be mentioned All Saints' Church, Margaret Street, St. George's Roman Catholic Cathedral, St. Alban's, Holborn, the Apostolic or Irvingite Church in Gordon Square, Bloomsbury Chapel, Regent's Park Chapel, and Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle, Newington Causeway. Most of the London churches erected of late years have been in the Gothic style, although many of them exemplify the change that has taken place in the models studied by architects. Generally, we may observe an infusion of the continental Gothic in their general forms and details.

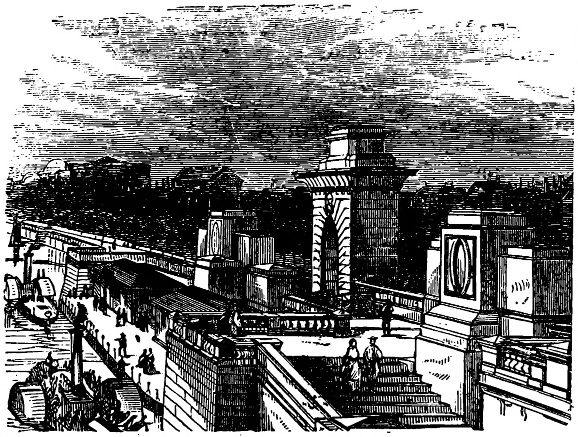
The new parish church of St. Mary Abbott's, at Kensington, near London, recently erected by Sir Gilbert Scott, consisting of a nave, chancel, side-aisles, and transepts, is in the Gothic style.

The church of All Saints, Margaret Street, al though in great part built of red brick, is considered one of the most costly specimens of ecclesiastical architecture. It was commenced in 1850 by Mr. Butterfield, and cost above 60,000*l.* The Baroness Burdett Coutts' church in Rochester Row, Westminister, is more English in character, but is also remarkable for its internal decorations. Two other churches built in a decorative and costly manner are St. James the Less, in Garden Street, Westminster, by Mr. Street, and St. Alban's, Holborn, by Mr. Butterfield. The Catholic Apostolic or Irvingite Church, in Gordon Square, can only be compared, for its plan, dimensions, character, and decoration, with an Early English Gothic cathedral. It is built after the designs of Mr. Raphael Brandon. St. Stephen's Church, Hampstead, is also a very fine specimen in stone of architecture, and an ornament to that delightful suburb of the metropolis.

Though Gothic be the prevailing style of architecture at present in vogue, the chapels erected by the Baptist denomination seem to form an exception. Thus, Bloomsbury Chapel, London, erected by Mr. Gibson, has two towers and spires, and is in the Rhenish or Lombardo-Romanesque style. Regent's Park Chapel, constructed in the building formerly occupied by the Diorama, in Regent's Park, is Byzantine; while Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle, Newington, capable of containing 5000 hearers, or more, has a classical portico.

The Thames Embankment. — This magnificent thoroughfare owes its existence to the necessity which arose in 1861 for immediate decision as to the course to be taken by one particular line of the sewage of London. The northern embankment extends from Westminster Bridge to Blackfriars

Bridge. It consists of ground reclaimed from the river, forming a roadway of 100 feet in width, with a granite retaining wall, surmounted by a moulded parapet broken by pedestals for lamps, to which are attached lions' heads in bronze, holding mooring-rings for the boats, barges, &c. Within the Embankment is an underground railway communicating with the Metropolitan Railway. The inbend of the river opposite the Adelphi is cut off, and the large unsightly area of mud is thus got rid of. Adjoining the Embankment are the several landing places for the steamboats plying on the Thames. Thus, out of the most unsightly part of London has been formed a magnificent drive and a pleasant promenade; gardens and fountains now enliven what but a few years ago was a miserable mud-flat, reeking with the most pestilential odours, and presenting to the eye the most unwelcome sights. The work, of which a good part is already completed above Westminster Bridge, will, when finished, afford a noble thoroughfare, extending from Chelsea to London Bridge. The same is to be effected on the south or Surrey side of the river; a part of it, indeed, is already open to traffic.

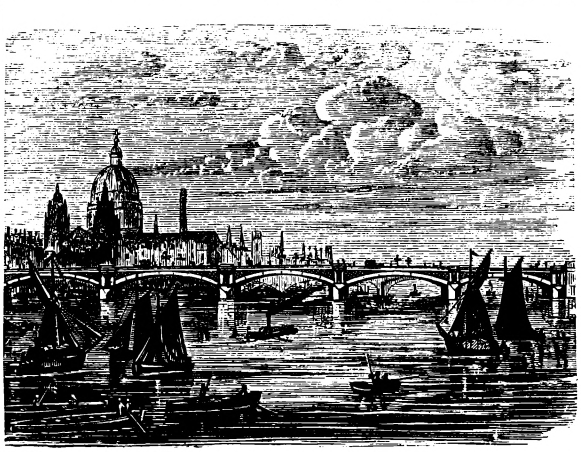


THE THAMES EMBANKMENT.

One of the most important improvements in the city is the Holborn Valley Viaduct, which extends from St. Sepulchre's Church, Newgate Street, to the end of Hatton Garden. This magnificent viaduct crosses the low-lying Farringdon Street (which follows the course of the old Fleet river), supporting a broad road, 1400 feet long, and 80 feet wide, with a circus at the west end, from which six lines of thoroughfare diverge. The roadway rests on three Gothic arches, supported on twelve hexagonal columns of polished red granite.

Bridges.—Of these, a great number have been erected of late years. Besides the railway bridges, or viaducts, over the Thames, at Cannon Street, Charing Cross, and Pimlico, built of iron, of massive construction, and of considerable width, there is Chelsea Suspension Bridge, resting on two piers in the river, and having a centre span of 347 feet. Westminster Bridge, erected by Mr. Page, with stone or granite for the piers above low-water level, has seven elliptical arches of wrought and cast iron; the centre arch having a span of 120 feet. It is 915 feet long, and 85 feet wide; the footways being each 15 feet in breadth. The decorative details are of Gothic character. Lambeth Bridge, at the Horse-ferry, is a combination of the suspension and trussed-girder principles, and was really the first attempt to apply the girder or beam, in combination with suspending chains, for not only the stiffening of the chains, but for the actual support of the roadway. The "chains" are formed of twisted strands of iron wire. It is 32 feet wide, and was opened in 1862 at a cost of about £50,000. Mr. W. H. Barlow was the architect.

The new Blackfriars Bridge, of which the first stone was laid on 20th July 1865, has five segmental arches of iron, springing from granite piers. The centre arch is 185 feet in span, and the breadth between the parapets is 75 feet. The details are of Gothic character; and on the face of each pier is a column, having a shaft of polished red granite. The foundations are laid in iron caissons, from which the water was pumped out in a manner similar to that used in reference to Westminster Bridge, and the several railway bridges which cross the Thames. The architects were Messrs. Joseph Cubitt and Henry Carr.



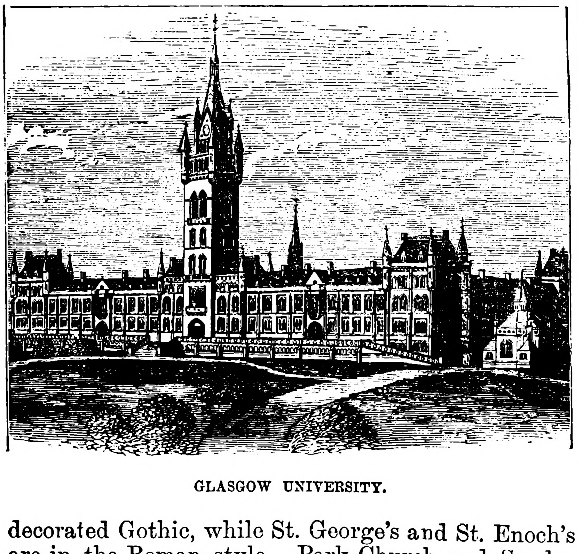
THE NEW BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE.

An extensive pile of government offices in Downing Street, erected for the India Board and the Foreign Office, by Sir Gilbert Scott, in the Italian style, exhibits a large amount of decorative detail; part of it is of red and other marbles and granites. Mr. D. Wyatt is the architect of the court, and of the interior of the part devoted to the India Board.

Architecture in the Provinces.

The architecture of some of the chief cities in Scotland, as Edinburgh and Glasgow, is also well deserving of attention. Thus, the High School of Edinburgh is a splendid Doric edifice, situated on a rocky ledge of the Carlton Hill. It is about 270 feet in length. Besides the Tron church, and St. Giles's, Edinburgh possesses twenty-three churches in connection with the Established Church of Scotland, of which St. George's, St. Stephen's, St. Mary's, and St. Andrew's, may be regarded as elegant buildings. Of the thirty-six Free churches, some are very fine buildings. There are also ten Episcopal churches, among which St. John's, in Princes Street, and St. Paul's, in York Place, are in a very ornate Gothic style. But the most elegant of the public monuments of the Northern Athens is the Scott Monument, erected to the memory of Scotland's great writer, Sir Walter Scott, the immortal author of the charming 'Waverley Novels.' This stands on the south side of Princes Street. It is in the form of an elaborate Gothic cross, two hundred feet in height, being a composition from Melrose Abbey; designed by George M. Kemp, a self-taught genius. A sitting figure in marble, designed by Steel, represents the great poet and novelist. This occupies the platform of the monument, and the groined arches form a canopy over it. Edinburgh has also fine monuments to Burns, Hume, Allan Ramsay, James Watt, and Lord Melville. Donaldson's Hospital, for the accommodation of two hundred poor boys and girls, is situated in the west part of the city. It is a fine building, in the Tudor style of architecture. On the esplanade in front of the castle is a bronze statue of the late duke of York, and also a stone cross erected by their surviving comrades to the memory of the officers and soldiers of the 78th regiment of Highlanders, who fell in India during the mutiny of 1857-58.

Glasgow possesses about two hundred churches. Of those belonging to the Established Church, St. Andrew's, in the composite style of architecture, is both the oldest and the finest. St David's is in the decorated Gothic, while St. George's and St. Enoch's are in the Roman style. Park Church and Sandyford Church, both belonging to the establishment, are of more recent erection. The Free Church possesses St. John's, St. Matthew's, St. Peter's, and St. Stephen's, all in the Gothic style of architecture, with elegant and lofty spires. Glasgow University is the most magnificent specimen of architecture which the city can boast of. It was removed from the High Street in 1870 to a commanding site on Gilmore Hill, an eminence rising from the right bank of the Kelvin, opposite the West End Park. The new building, which was erected by Sir Gilbert Scott, is in the collegiate Gothic style of the early part of the fourteenth century, forming a large oblong rectangular pile, nearly 600 feet long, by 300 feet broad, divided by a building in the middle, which separates the two quadrangles, each of them about 180 feet square. The south front consists of a centre and wings. The great tower, 300 feet in height, rises from the centre. The north side contains the museum, the library and reading-room. Glasgow has also several fine monuments: an Egyptian obelisk 140 feet in height, to Nelson; a monument to Sir John Moore, by Flaxman; one to Lord Clyde (Sir Colin Campbell), by Foley, and a fluted Doric column, with a figure in freestone to Sir W. Scott. There are also equestrian statues of the queen and the late Prince Albert, and an equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington, by Marochetti. This is in front of the Royal Exchange.



GLASGOW UNIVERSITY.

One of the most magnificent buildings to be met with in our provincial cities is the Manchester Police Court, erected by Mr. Thomas Worthington, in the pointed Gothic style, surmounted by an elegant bell-tower.

Sculpture.

The principal sculptors who have adorned the Victorian period are, Francis Chantrey, who died in 1841; Albert Thorwaldsen, in 1844; Sir Richard Westmacott, in 1856; Rauch, in 1857; Thomas, in 1862; Behnes, in 1864; John Gibson, in 1866; and C. Kiss, in 1865.

Statuary was in a very low condition in this country up to nearly the accession of her majesty Queen Victoria. The metropolis was adorned with but few public monuments until the reign of William IV., when a statue of William Pitt was erected in Hanover Square, a monument to the duke of York, in Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, and a statue of George III. in Cockspur Street—all in London. The first public monument erected in the reign of her majesty Queen Victoria was the statue of Lord Nelson, in Trafalgar Square, opposite the National Gallery of Paintings, which was set up in 1843; the lions at the base of the column were designed by Sir Edward Landseer, executed by Baron Marochetti, and uncovered on the 31st of January 1867. The next monument in order of time was the equestrian statue in bronze, by Chantry, of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, which occupies the angle in front of the grand west entrance of the Royal Exchange, near the Bank of England, erected in 1844. The statue of his majesty William IV., in King William Street, immediately facing London Bridge, was erected in 1845; that of the Duke of Wellington, at Hyde Park Corner, an equestrian statue, placed on the top of the arch by which the Green Park is entered, in 1846. The magnificent equestrian statue, of a highly imaginative kind, by Marochetti, of Richard Cœur de Lion, which now occupies a place in Old Palace

Yard, opposite to Westminster Abbey, near the peers' entrance to the House of Lords, was exhibited at the great exhibition of 1851 in Hyde Park, and was purchased and set up to commemorate that event. General Sir Charles Napier's statue in Trafalgar Square was erected in 1856; that of Sir Robert Peel, M.P., at the west end of Cheapside, in 1855, and another of the same eminent statesman near Westminster Abbey, in 1868; that of General Sir Henry Havelock in Trafalgar Square, in 1861; of Lord Clyde in Waterloo Place, in 1868; of Lord Herbert, in 1867; of Mr. George Peabody, the successful merchant, in acknowledgment of his munificent benefactions to the poor of London, in Threadneedle Street, at the back of the Royal Exchange, erected in 1869. The Crimean Pillar, a column in the mediæval style, 62 feet in height, erected in memory of those brave officers who fell in the Crimean War, in 1855, stands in front of Dean's Yard, Westminster, and the magnificent monument to the Guards stands at the end of Waterloo Place at its junction with Pall Mall. In 1866 a statue by Noble, of Sir John Franklin, the Arctic navigator, was set up in Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, where it was inaugurated on the 15th of November. The Albert Memorial, in Hyde Park, on the site occupied by the exhibition of 1851, consists of a magnificent Eleanor Cross.

Painting.

THE following are a few of the painters whose works have embellished the period now under consideration.

Sir William Allan, R.A., who in early life had visited Tartary and Turkey, painted several admirable sketches of scenes of Oriental life. In 1843 he completed a work he had long contemplated, 'The Battle of Waterloo from the French side,' which was purchased by the Duke of Wellington. He also executed 'Peter the Great teaching his Subjects the art of Shipbuilding.' He died, 1850, while engaged on a large canvas, 'The Battle of Bannockburn.'

Charles Barber exhibited at the Royal Academy, 'A View of Dovedale,' and in 1849 he sent 'Evening, after Rain: a Luggage Train preparing to start,' 'Dawn of Day,' and 'A Foraging Party returning.'

William Collins, R.A., who died in 1847, having visited Italy in 1836, sent to the Academy in 1839 several Italian pictures, which were greatly admired. The most important productions of his pencil are 'Our Saviour with the Doctors in the Temple,' and 'The Two Disciples at Emmaus,' after the execution of which he confined his talent to the production of rustic pieces, sea-beaches, children at their games, &c.

James Bateman was distinguished as an animal-painter. His subjects were the humorous treatment of animals, and the titles he gave to them were very cleverly chosen. He died in 1848.

Sir William Beechy and his son George were both eminent portrait-painters; the latter was settled in Lucknow, where he was court-painter to the king of Oude.

Charles Bentley, as a water-colour painter, found his subjects not only on the coasts of the United Kingdom, but in France, Holland, Venice, &c. He painted effects of sunset, evening, storm, and calm, with great effect.

William Bewick, portrait and history painter, who died in 1866, is known by his 'Una in the Forest,' 'Jacob meeting Rachel,' and 'The Triumph of David.'

Landseer, Sir Edward, R.A., was eminent as an animal-painter. He painted 'The Cat's Paw,' a monkey seizing the cat's paw to take the roasting chestnuts from the fire. 'Bolton Abbey in the Olden Time,' 'The Sleeping Bloodhound,' 'The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner' (his faithful dog), 'The Maid and the Magpie,' and 'Flood in the Highlands.'

James E. Lauder painted 'A Scene from the Two Gentlemen of Verona,' 'Cherries,' 'Parable of Forgiveness,' &c.

Charles Robert Leslie, R.A., who died in 1859, painted the 'Witch of Endor,' 'Sancho Panza in the Apartment of the Duchess,' 'The Coronation of the Queen,' 'The Christening of the Princess Royal.'

Charles Lucy, an historical painter, who died in 1873, executed a large number of very fine studies. Among others we may mention 'The Good Samaritan,' 'Burns and his Mary,' 'Agrippina interceding for the Family of Caractacus,' 'The Departure of the Pilgrim Fathers,' 'The Parting of Charles I. and his Children,' 'Nelson in the Cabin of the Victory,' &c.

Besides Etty and Stansfield, both of them eminent artists, may be mentioned David Roberts, R.A., so well known for his magnificent drawings of Oriental scenery. His beautiful sketches of the most striking historical sites in the Holy Land, Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, are indeed both as well known as appreciated.

Other productions of John Martin, an eminent landscape painter, who died in 1854, are 'Sadak in search of the Waters of Oblivion,' 'Adam's First Sight of Eve,' 'The Deluge,' 'Eve of the Deluge,' 'Pandemonium,' 'The Fall of Babylon,' 'Belshazzar's Feast,' &c.

William Mulready, R.A., who died in 1863, an eminent subject painter, produced 'The Butterfly's Ball,' 'The Lions' Masquerade,' 'The Peacock at Home,' 'The Wedding Gown,' 'All the World's a Stage,' &c.

John Phillip, R.A., died 1867. His works have secured him a place among the best painters of the English school. Among the productions of his pencil may be noticed 'Homeward Bound,' and many others.

George Cattermole, who died in 1868, was at first celebrated as a water-colour painter. At the early age of sixteen, he furnished the drawings for Britton's 'Cathedrals of England.' In his later years he painted in oil.

Abraham Cooper, another eminent artist, who died in 1868, is best known by his 'Battle of Ligny.'

Thomas Creswick, R.A., who died in 1869, was a very prolific painter, and his pictures were always general favourites, besides being in most cases also pleasing in subject. It was his habit to paint direct from nature, and in the open air.

Daniel Maclise, R.A., who died in 1870, was one of our greatest historical and subject painters. Besides the fine frescoes executed by him in the Palace of Westminster, we have his 'Malvolio affecting the Count,' 'Choice of Hercules,' 'Caxton showing his Printing Press to Edward IV.,' 'The Marriage of Strongbow and Eva,' 'The Play-Scene in Hamlet,' 'Merrie Christmas in the Baron's Hall,' 'Scenes from Gil Blas,' &c., which are sufficient evidence of his remarkable talents.

Among living painters may be mentioned Mr. Alma Tadema, historical and subject painter; Miss Rosa Bonheur, whose delineation of horses and cattle are so faithful to nature; and Miss Thomson, whose 'Roll Call,' 'Quatre Bras,' and 'Balaclava,' have gained for her a very elevated place in art. Then we have J. E. Millais, R.A., who has given us 'The Crown of Love,' 'No!' 'The Rose of the Wilderness,' with many portraits; Mr. E. Armitage, R.A., who painted 'Julian the Apostate presiding at the Meeting of Sectarians;' W. P. Frith, R.A., who painted 'Polly Peachum,' 'Flowers,' 'The New Ear-rings,' and 'Sophia Western at the Inn Fire;' and Mr. C. W. Cope, R.A., who has delineated 'Ann Page and Slender,' 'Home Attraction,' 'Sketches on the Thames,' and 'A Pair of Captives.' M. Gustave Doré's 'Dream of Pilate's Wife,' &c., are greatly admired.

Mr. Holman Hunt, who has attracted much attention by his 'Scape-Goat,' 'Christ found in the Temple in the midst of the Doctors,' 'Shadow of Death,' and his 'Light of the World,' is noted for the surpassing brilliance of his colouring, and the exquisite finish of detail in all his compositions. He may be regarded as the representative of what is called the pre-Raphaelite school of painting, whose principal characteristic is a careful and even rigid adherence to natural forms and effects, in contradistinction to the style or rendering of any particular school of art.

Fresco-Painting.

Fresco-painting, of which some of the continental cities furnish such noble examples (the Cathedral of Spires in particular), owes its birth to Orcagna, who, about A.D. 1390, painted frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa. Fresco-painting has been but little employed in this country, but, about thirty years ago, an exhibition of cartoons, suitable for execution in fresco, took place in Westminster Hall. One result of this exhibition was that nine of our principle artists received commissions to execute works in that manner in the Palace of Westminster. With proper materials, and favourable atmospheric conditions, a real fresco—that is, a water-colour painting executed on a freshly plastered wall—will last as long as the wall itself. Unfortunately these highly interesting historical paintings are rapidly fading from view, owing to the chemical action of the silicate of potash (or water-glass) upon the plaster made of lime, by which a silicate of lime is formed, and a certain amount of alkali set free, which, combining with the carbonic acid of the atmosphere, produces a carbonate of potash, effloresces on the wall, causing a sort of bloom or frost upon the surface, and materially impairs the beauty of the paintings.

Mr. D. Maclise, R.A., painted the magnificent cartoon of the 'Meeting of the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher,' and also the grand historical picture of 'The Death of Nelson.'

Two of the frescoes in the archway at the back of the Strangers' Gallery are also by Maclise, viz. 'The Spirit of Justice,' and 'The Spirit of Chivalry.'

In the peers' robing-room the frescoes were entrusted to Mr. J. R. Herbert, R.A. These are, 'Moses bringing down the Tables of the Law from the Mount,' 'The Fall of Man,' 'The Judgment of Solomon,' 'The Visit of the Queen of Sheba,' 'Daniel in the Den of Lions,' &c.

The frescoes in the corridors leading from the central hall to the Houses of Lords and Commons are as follows:—'Charles I. erecting his Standard at Nottingham,' 'Burial of Charles I.,' 'The Landing of Charles II.,' 'The Expulsion of the Fellows of a College at Oxford for refusing to sign the Covenant,' 'Charles II. assisted in his Escape by Jane Lane,' 'The Executioner tying Wishart's Book round the Neck of Montrose,' 'Basing House defended by the Cavaliers againt the Parliamentary Army,' 'Alice Lisle concealing the Fugitives after the Battle of Sedgmoor,' 'The Last Sleep of Argyll,' 'The Acquittal of the Seven Bishops,' 'The Lords and Commons presenting the Crown to William and Mary in the Banqueting Hall,' 'The Setting-out of the Trainbands from London to raise the Siege of Gloucester,' 'The Embarkation of a Puritan Family for New England,' 'The Parting of Lord and Lady Russell,' 'Monk declaring for a Free Parliament,' and 'Speaker Lenthal asserting the privileges of the Commons against Charles I., when the attempt was made to seize the Five Members.'

Music.

THE study and practice of music has greatly increased in this country, since 1840, more especially through the teaching of Mr. John Hullah. The *tonic sol-fa* system, in which the letters *d*, *r*, *m*, *f*, &c. (for *do*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, &c.) are used instead of notes, was invented by Miss Glover of Norwich, but the system has been greatly improved by Mr. John Curwen.

The most eminent musical composers of modern times have been Mendelssohn, Cherubini, Bishop, Spohr, Auber, Meyerbeer, Halévy, Rossini, Balfe, Sir Sterndale Bennett, Sir Michael Costa, Sir Julius Benedict, Sir John Goss, Macfarren, Brinley Richards, &c. Music is now sung and played in a higher key than it was fifty years ago, the standard pitch having been raised nearly a whole tone. It was settled in France in 1860 that the middle C should be 522 vibrations in the second, while at a meeting held at the Society of Arts in 1860, on the 23rd of November, the concert-pitch of C was recommended to be 528 vibrations in a second; so that the musical pitch has been raised slightly more in England than on the continent. The rate of movement too has been accelerated in all kinds of psalmody, and syllabic phrases have been substituted for slurred and repeated ones.

The larger use of the *minor mode* has led to a greater employment of classic music in places of worship; whilst the general use of the pianoforte and harmonium has introduced among us a new kind of music, adapted for the home-circle and family parties, arranged after the manner of cantata.

We notice, too, that comic songs are gradually being laid aside, the popular taste rather inclining at present to the Christy Minstrel style of 'moral' song.

Comparative Philology.

COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY, i.e. the *Science of Language*, is of very modern date; yet it has already attracted the attention of men of the highest rank in other branches of learning, and has maintained its ground successfully against the prejudices and jealousies which everything new has to contend with. Just as comparative anatomy comprises, not only the anatomy of the human body, but of all organic beings, so comparative philology is not restricted to the so-called classic languages, Greek and Latin, but includes all languages spoken by man. Specimens of human speech, whether derived from Greek and Latin authors, from the clucking utterances of Hottentots and Bushmen, from the steppes of Russia, the prairies of America, the temples of Egypt, the runes of Iceland, or the mountain-records of Behistun, are all equally welcome to the comparative philologist. "The comparative study of languages," says Baron Humboldt ('Cosmos'), "shows how races or nations, now separated by wide regions, are related to each other, and have proceeded from a common seat. It discloses the directions and paths of ancient migrations, and, in tracing out epochs of development, it recognises in the more or less altered characters of the language, in the permanency of certain forms, or the already advanced departure from them, which portion of the race has preserved a language nearest to that of their former common dwelling-place." It is not mere accidental resemblances in words with sometimes a corresponding meaning, which may be found between any two languages, that constitutes affinity; it is the frequent recurrence of *grammatical forms*, altogether special, which really constitute families of language. Two degrees of relationship exist among languages, viz.: 1st, the relationship of words coupled with a conformity of the general grammatical system; or, 2nd, this conformity in grammatical structure *without* similitude of vocabulary. Languages are considered as *daughters* or *sisters* when they present the former characteristics, and simply as *cognate*, or allied, when distinguished by the latter. Whether all languages spring from the same source is not yet decided. The Hebrew text of Genesis xi., which was held to decide the point, says nothing of the kind. It simply states that, at the time of the erection of a certain tower, which is called in the cuneiform inscriptions *the Tower of the Seven Spheres*, or the *Tower of Borsippa*, there was but one language (literally but one *lip*) in the whole *land* (הָאָרֶץ); i.e. in the particular country called Shinar, or Mesopotamia. The Bible says nothing about Persia or India, of Africa or America; and those who infer that the existing diversity of human speech is in some manner connected with the event which occurred ages ago in the plains of Shinar are desirous of being wise above what is written. The name given to the tower, BABEL, does not mean *confusion;* it signifies *Gate of God*, a rendering which the Babylonians themselves give us in the cuneiform inscriptions. Eminent Hebrew scholars, as Gesenius and others, gave it conjecturally long before the discovery of the key to the reading of the cuneiform inscriptions. *Bilbool* (בְּלבּוּל) is the Hebrew word, which signifies *confusion*. The similarity of Babel to *bilbool* no doubt gave rise to the story; but, as our theme is philology, not Biblical criticism, we will not pursue the subject farther. Babylon, situated almost at the point of junction—the common frontier, as it were—of three different races, the Semitic races of Western Asia, the Aryans of Persia and Asia Minor, and the Turanians of Tartary, the history of the tower of Babel may be considered as an apologue or figurative manner of accounting for the diversity of languages which existed in the land. Hebrew, according to the hypothesis grounded on this narrative, was long held to be the primitive language of mankind, and its claims were maintained for ages with all the learning and enthusiasm which the pulpit could bring to bear upon the subject. But it can no longer be pretended that Hebrew can claim to be regarded as the first language of mankind; we might with more reason and consistency maintain Chinese was the mother-tongue of the human race. The science of comparative philology has long since demonstrated not only that Hebrew has no claim to that elevated position, but that no tongue exists among all the races of men which can make good such a pretension. From the researches of distinguished philologists it would appear, indeed, that each type of language is cast into a different mould; and, consequently, the impression upon each must be diverse. The discovery of the Sanskrit (the ancient language of the Aryan race in India) and its application to grammatical comparison constitute a new era in the history of language, just as the discovery of the mariner's compass forms an epoch in the history of navigation. As soon as the Sanskrit appeared above the horizon, the broad fact of the connection of the Aryan languages became as clear as daylight. So close is the connection, indeed, and so plain the filiation to any one in the slightest degree acquainted with the principles of philology, that, as Professor Bopp expresses it, "most European languages do not need proof of their relationship to the Sanskrit, for they themselves show it by their forms, which in part are but very little changed." Many philologists have included all known languages under five great divisions:—

1st. The *Monosyllabic Languages*, such as the Chinese, Siamese, Thibetan, and Burmese. To this class belong the Chinese dialects, in which we find nothing but naked *roots;* the meaning of sentences being determined, not by grammatical relations, but by the position of words in a sentence. If the language of a nation were committed to writing in a very early state of its progress, the simple elementary forms would be kept much more distinct than in languages which have not been committed to writing except in a more mature form. Thus the mass of words would be of the monosyllabic class, and this class of languages represents the infancy of human speech.

2nd. Languages composed of monosyllabic roots, as the Sanskrit, but with a great abundance of grammatical forms. These are comprehended under the designation of *Aryan languages*, from the Sanskrit word *arya* = *noble, illustrious*. It includes Old Bactrian, Sanskrit, Old Persian, Greek, Latin, the Teutonic, Slavonic, and Keltic branches.

3rd. Languages whose verbal roots consist of two syllables, and require three consonants for the expression of their fundamental meaning. To this class belong the *Semitic Languages*, represented by the Hebrew, Assyrian, Arabic, and Ethiopic.

4th. Languages in which the *root* stands always *unchanged*, but to which the various cases and modifications are attached at the end, and, as it were, *glued on*, i.e. *Agglutinative Languages*. To this class belong the Magyar, Finnish, Turkish, and other Turanian languages. Some of the languages of America are exceedingly rich, as we shall now see, in all such words as are formed by this process of agglutination; but it is carried in these latter to its extreme point.

5th. The *Polysynthetic* or *Holophrastic Languages*.—Under this designation are comprehended, with two exceptions, all the aboriginal languages of America. In this respect the American languages differ from those of the whole world, presenting linguistic phenomena and grammatical peculiarities which broadly differentiate the languages of the New World from those of the Old. These languages seem to be the product of minds differently constituted from those of other races; as if they had been cast in a different mould; consequently, they bear a different impression from those of other races. We will now briefly point out some of the peculiarities of "*holophrasm*." It shows what Maupertuis calls "a peculiar plan of thought," by which not only the main features of objects are described, but with all the *accidental circumstances* which they present at a given moment. Thus, an American Indian often says in *one word* that for which we require ten; in other words, one American word often contains a whole sentence. *Holophrasm*, then, is a process of squeezing a number of separate ideas and words into one; it is like a box containing within it another box, within that box another, and so on; or, like a bunch of grapes which consists of a cluster of individual berries. We give a few examples of this remarkable phenomenon. In the Karalit, a Greenlandish language, the nouns have particular forms to express magnitude, smallness, beauty, ugliness, &c., and hence adjectives are almost entirely wanting. The verb expresses in *one word* the nominative, the action, and the object; thus, *ermikpunga* means, *I am washing myself; ermikpaukit* means, *I am washing thee;* but *ermingilanga* means, *I am not washing myself.* In the Karalit, the five or six words thus compressed into one are all so abbreviated that only *one syllable*—possibly the radical one of each—is preserved. In the Knisteneaux, the language of the Cree Indians, we meet with such a word (Matthew iii. 13) as *sekahuntahkookt*, which means, *that he might be poured on by him —John;* or, as we should express it, (Jesus came) "that he might be baptized by John." The Tarasca language, spoken in Mexico, presents similar phenomena, e.g. *pireni* means *to sing*; *pareponi* means *to go anywhere to sing;* and *pireponi*, *to come to sing.* Another example from the same language gives us *hoponi* = *to wash; hopocuni* = *to wash hands; hopoaduni* = *to wash the feet; hopomuni* = *to wash the mouth.* In the Nahuatl or Aztec—the language of the ancient Mexicans—(still spoken), we have the following examples of word-formation; e.g. from *tlaxcalli* = *a cake*, we get *tlaxcalchihua* = *making of cakes; tlaxcalchihubni* = a *cake-maker;* and *tlaxchalchihucan* = *a place where cakes are made.* The word for "priest" is *notlazomahuizteopixcatatzin*, formed of *minister of God, whom I love as my father.* Another remarkable Aztec word is the following, which simply means *postage;* but is formed by the combination of several words; it is *Amatla-cuilo-tquilca-tlax-tlahuilli*, compressed into one word. When analysed, it is found to be composed of *agave* (a vegetable product used for paper-making), *writing, payment, sent, carrier.* Here we see no less than *five* distinct words squeezed into one in order to represent what we express by the simple word *postage.* Similar compounds, formed on the same principle, run through all American languages from the Arctic Circle to Cape Horn.

Aryan Languages.—"An Aryan root (as best typified by a Sanskrit radical) is generally a single monosyllable, which may be compared to a malleable substance capable of being drawn out to express every modification of an original conception. The Aryan languages (of which Sanskrit is the eldest sister, and English one of the youngest) proceeded from a common but nameless and unknown parent, whose very home in Asia cannot now be absolutely fixed. From this centre, which was probably the ancient Bactria, radiated eight principal lines of speech: first, the two Asiatic lines, Indian and Iranian; the former eventually comprising Sanskrit, Pâli, Prâkrit and the modern Prâkrits, or spoken languages of the Hindûs, the latter the (*a*) Zend or Old Bactrian, Pahlavi, Old Persian, Deri, Modern Persian, and Pushtû; (*b*) Armenian; and then the six European lines, viz. Keltic, Hellenic, Italic, Teutonic, Slavonic, and Lithuanian, each branching into various ramifications, as exhibited in the present languages of Europe. Pâli is one of the oldest forms of the ancient Hinduî, the language of which Sanskrit is the learned form, and was spoken in Magadhâ, near Oude, where Buddha, the great religious reformer, flourished, whence, carried by the Buddhists into Ceylon, it became the sacred language, which is preserved in the *Tri-pitaka*, or Ceylonese religious book. Prakrit is the name of later provincial forms of Sanskrit, which were the precursors and parents of the present Hindû dialects, Hindî, Marathî, Hindustani, &c., which may be called modern Prakrits." Old Bactrian, commonly but erroneously called Zend, is to Old Persian and Pahlavi what Sanskrit is to Pâli and Prâkrit. It is that ancient language of Persia in which the sacred books, called the Zend-Avesta, are written; Old Persian is a name given to that form of the language preserved in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenide dynasty, found at Murghâb, Persepolis, Behistun, Elvend, Nakshi-Rustam, &c. Pehlevî, or Pahlavî, is a later Persian dialect, intermixed with many Semitic words, which once possessed an extensive literature. A more recent Iranian dialect is Parsî, or Pazand, leading to the modern Persian, a language which sprang up in Persia not long after the Mohammedan conquest (A.D. 1000). Pushtu, or Pukhtoo, is the language of Afghânistân. Armenian has two forms: the Old Armenian, or literary language, which is dead; and the Modern Armenian, divided into two principal dialects, containing many Turkish and Persian words. The Ossetic, the language of the Irons, a Caucasian tribe, is also an Aryan tongue, though surrounded with various forms of Turanian speech. It is to some extent related to Armenian.

The Keltic, or Celtic, is the oldest branch of the Aryan family in Europe. As it has maintained the longest life, so it presents the greatest divergence from the Sanskrit. It has been driven into the corners of our continent, viz. into Brittany by the French, and into the extremities of Cornwall, Wales, Ireland, and the highlands of Scotland by the English language. It has two lines, (*a*) the Keltic or Gaelic (i.e. of the Galli), comprising the Irish, Gaelic, and Manx, of which the Irish is most interesting in relation to Sanskrit; and (*b*) the Kymric, including Welsh, Cornish, and Armorican, or the language of Brittany, in France.

The *Hellenic* embraces the Greek language, both ancient and modern, in all its dialects.

The *Italic* comprehends not only the Latin, but also the languages which, though now extinct, have entered into the composition of the Latin tongue. These are the Umbrian, Oscan, Sabine, &c. The Romance languages are those derived from the Latin, adopting its vocabulary to a great extent, and influenced by its grammar, as the Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and French.

The *Teutonic* or German and Dutch, and the Scandinavian (including Old Norse), Icelandic, Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian.

The *Slavonic* and *Lithuanian*.—To the former belong the Russian, Polish, Bohemian or Tchekh, the Servian, Illyrian, Bulgarian, Montenegrin.

The *Turanian* or *Tartar Languages*.—All languages which have entered upon their second stage of development—the first being the monosyllabic—are called *agglutinated* languages. In this stage of development we find two or more root-words joined, or, so to speak, *glued* together, to form one word. In a Turanian language, whatever be the number of suffixes, the *root* must never be *obscured*, but must stand out always in bold relief. Contrast the Aryan grammatical system with the Turanian, and compare, for example, the Latin *homo*, *hominis*, *hominem*, &c., with the Turkish *adam*, *adam*-in, *adam*-eh, *adam*-evi, *adam*-dan, where the root-word *adam* = *man*, always remains *fixed*, whatever postpositions may follow it; the same is the case in the plural, which is *adam*-ler = men, *adam*-ler-in, &c. The Turanian or Scythic branch of languages belongs, with few exceptions, to wandering tribes. The Turkish, the Magyar or Hungarian, the Japanese, the Finnish and Lappic, are all Turanian languages. In ancient times we find Turanian tribes at Babylon and throughout Mesopotamia. Under the name of Akkads, or *mountaineers*, they were the inventors of the cuneiform system of writing adopted by the Babylonians and Assyrians; they were apparently also the originators of the civilisation which the Assyrians inherited from them. Numberless documents in the Accad, Akkad, or proto-Chaldean language, and in the Medo-Scythic are contained in the British Museum. (See the articles, by Mr. E. R. Hodges, on the 'Chaldee Language,' and on the 'Turanian Languages,' in the Supplement to the 'English Cyclopædia,' and Professor Max Müller's 'Lectures on the Science of Language'). The Mantchoo is the court-language of China, which is governed by a Tungusic dynasty. Turkish is a very fine specimen of a Turanian language, especially as regards its grammar; but it is flooded with Arabic and Persian words. The Dravidian languages, viz. the Tamil, Teloogoo, Malayâlam, &c., of South India, also belong to this family. See the article 'Dravidian Languages,' in the 'English Cyclopædia.' The Finnic alone, of all Turanian tongues, possesses an ancient epic poem, the 'Kalewâla,' of a grand and elegant character, equal, it is said, to the 'Iliad' itself in extent and beauty.

Semitic Languages.—These are Assyrian, Hebrew, Phœnician, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Syriac. The roots of these languages are, more or less, common to the whole group, and follow nearly the same grammatical principles. The main distinction between Aryan and Semitic languages lies in the character of their roots or radical sounds; for, although both Aryan and Semitic forms of speech are called inflective languages, i.e. as distinguished from *monosyllabic* and *agglutinative*, the inflectiveness of the root in the two cases implies two wholly different processes. "A Semitic root may be described as a kind of hard frame-work, consisting generally of *three* consonants, which resemble three sliding but inflexible upright limbs or posts, movable in a frame hither and thither to admit on either side the intervenient vowels, and certain merely ancillary consonants, usually called 'serviles.' These subservient letters are, it is true, of the utmost importance to the diverse colouring of the radical idea, and the perfect precision of their operation is noteworthy; but their presence within and without the rigid frame of the root is, so to speak, almost overpowered by the ever prominent consonantal skeleton. The Arabic triliteral root (كتب K*a*T*a*B*a*) will produce, from the three radicals of which it is composed, the following words. We print the root-letters in capitals, while the italic letters represent the serviles, or additions to the root. K*a*T*a*B*a* = *he wrote*; K*a*TB = *writing*; K*a*T*i*B = *a writer*; maKT*u*B = *written*, e.g. *a letter*, *an inscription*; *ta*KT*i*B = *causing to write*; *mu*K*a*T*a*B*at* = *corresponding by letter*; iKT*a*B = *dictating*; *ta*K*a*T*u*B = *writing to one another*, *ma*KT*â*B = *a place of writing, a school;* K*i*T*a*B = *a book*, i.e. something written; K*i*TB*at* = *an inscription*" (Monier Williams' 'Sanskrit Dictionary,' 1872). The principal characteristics of Semitic languages are: 1st, they are written from right to left; 2nd, the *consonants* alone, and not the vowels, constitute the root; 3rd, the existence of a great number of guttural letters of various degrees of hardness.

The *Assyrian* language stands to the Semitic tongues in the same relation as the Sanskrit to the Aryan languages. The Assyrian and Babylonian, which differ from each other so slightly that they may be regarded as really but one language, present to us the oldest documents in any Semitic form of speech. Although written in the cuneiform character, and with a cumbrous syllabary of four hundred characters, the grammar of the Assyrian is quite Semitic in character, and its vocabulary resembles, for the most part, the Hebrew, though some words are traceable to the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. It is rendered difficult, however, to the student by its frequent employment of *Accad*, or proto-Chaldean words, and by its use of ideograms; but above all by its polyphones, a single sign often representing six or seven different sounds. It has no alphabet, but uses instead a syllabary, as we have said. Now, what increases the difficulty in this case is, that there is no connection whatever between syllables beginning with the same letter; e.g. *ba, be, oi, bo, bu*, are all written with characters *so widely different* that the student who knows the sign for *ba* obtains no help in learning *be, bi*, &c., because they are totally different characters. The Ethiopic, including the Tigré and Amharic, uses a syllabary; but each syllable in *b* differs so slightly one from the other that the student who knows the character for *ba* sees at a glance its relation to *be* or *bo*. In Assyrian he has no such assistance. Many of the characters, indeed nearly all of them, are polyphones. The sign usually read *ka* is sometimes to be pronounced *gu*, sometimes *duk*, or *kir*, or *du;* and, as if this were not sufficiently puzzling, it stands sometimes as an *ideogram*, that is, it represents an idea, not a syllable, and stands for *mouth*, for *gate*, and has several other meanings. The sign for *bar* sometimes is to be read *mas* or *vas;* and often it stands as an *ideogram* and has neither of these sounds, but represents one or other of forty different ideas, and is pronounced according to the word it stands for, which the student must gather from the context. The sign for *e* and *et* is also *ideographically* used for *house*, when it is to be pronounced *bîtu* or *bît*, which is the same as the Hebrew word *beth*, in Bethel, Beth-Dagon, and Bethlehem. Another sign, very simple in its appearance, stands for the following syllables, viz. *ut, ud, par, zal, lakh, tam, zam*, and *tav*. Then, as an *ideogram* it stands for *yom*, or *immu* = a day, for *namar* = brightness, for *samsu* = the sun, for the god *Vul*, as a sign for *silver*, and with about a dozen other meanings, all having the notion of *splendour* or *brightness* attached to them. The syllable *tin* or *din* is sometimes to be pronounced *baladu*, i.e. *life;* and the sign *mat* is sometimes used for *nat, lat, sat*, and *kur;* at other times it signifies a *land* or *country*, as *mat Martu*, i.e. the west country, or Phœnicia; *mat Musri*, the land of Egypt; *mat Ashur* = the country of the god Ashur, i.e. Assyria. The syllable *at*, or *ad*, is sometimes deprived of its syllabic power and used as an *ideogram*, when it is pronounced *abu* = father, like the well-known Syriac word Abba, so often used in the Gospels. We will now, leaving the subject of the polyphony, say a little about the ideograms, and this, perhaps, is the most perplexing part of the whole matter. A good Semitic scholar knows what syllable he requires to make up a Hebrew, Arabic, or Syriac word, and will reject all the different sounds till he finds the required one, which, joined to the others, will make a genuine word whose meaning shall suit the context; but the *ideograms* present a difficulty of quite another kind. Let us suppose an Arab brings us an ancient brick from the ruins of Babylon. Every brick bears an inscription, and this one reads "*An-ak-sadu-sis* king of *Din-tir-ki*." What can we make of this? The first word we know to be the name of a man, because it is preceded by the determinative sign for a man's name; the second is the sign usually interpreted *sar*, meaning *king;* and the third is evidently the name of a *place*, for it is preceded by the determinative sign for *city*, and the syllable *ki*, at the end, means *place*. To interpret the two names before us, neither Hebrew, Syriac, nor Arabic, indeed, not any Semitic language at all, will help us; we must go to another family of languages altogether; viz. to the Turanian. In the Accad language, which belongs to that branch of tongues, we find that *An* signifies god; *Ak* means Nebo, *sadu* is family, and *sis* signifies protect. In Semitic it would be pronounced Nebuchadrezzar, or Nebuchadnezzar, as it occurs in our Hebrew and English Bibles, and as the Assyrians themselves have told us they *pronounced* it, though it be written *Anaksadusis*. Then, we have the name of the city of which he was king. We know from the Bible, and from ancient history, that Nebuchadnezzar, the conqueror of the Jews and the destroyer of their temple, was king of Babylon; but the inscription before us terms him king of the city *Dintirki*, or, leaving out the *ki* as being a determinative of *place*, king of *Dintir*. Again we must have recourse to the Accad, or proto-Chaldean, to clear up this difficulty, which it does thus. On one of the bilingual cylinders now in the British Museum, from the palace of Asurbanipal, king of Assyria, we have the explanation of a great number of Accad words. It is, in fact, a page from a dictionary, Accad-Assyrian. We learn from it that *Din* meant the same as the Assyrian *baladu*, i.e. *life;* and *tir* meant the same as the Assyrian, Hebrew, and Arabic word *bab*, i.e. *gate* or *door;* so that he was king of a city which was designated by the singular name of "*life's-gate*," but which, the Assyrians tell us, they called *Bab-ilu*, which means the same as Bab-el in Hebrew, the *gate of God*, just as Beth-el signifies *the house of God*. We find the inscription to be, therefore, one of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. In the same manner we learn that *Divanubar* in Accad was pronounced *Shalmaneser* in Assyrian, and *An-sag-sar-sis* was pronounced Neriglissor; the word *an* in each case being the Accad word for *god*, which the Assyrians always read and pronounced as *ilu*, which is the same as the Hebrew *El*, and the Arabic *Allah*.* We have thus attempted to give the general reader some information regarding the difficulties which beset cuneiform scholars, and pointed out briefly the means we have at our command for overcoming them. For further information we must refer to the 'Assyrian Dictionary' of Dr. Norris, and to the grammars of Sayce, Oppert, and Menant, to the syllabary of Mr. George Smith, of the British Museum, and to the articles by Mr. E. Richmond Hodges, 'Semitic Languages,' and 'Chaldee Language,' in the 'English Cyclopædia.'

Hebrew and Phœnician.—The Hebrew language is well known to us as preserved in the sacred writings of the Old Testament. One would suppose it would be diligently studied in Christendom by all who profess and call themselves Christians; and we should expect in our Protestant country to find, at least, the clergy—the teachers of others—"mighty in the Hebrew Scriptures." Our experience among all denominations teaches us that, in general, it is quite otherwise.

Thanks to the critical researches of Simonis, Schultens, Winer, Ewald, Fürst, and other continental scholars, but especially Gesenius, our knowledge of this Semitic language has almost reached perfection. We can now, thanks to the labours of these industrious scholars, read our Hebrew Bibles with as much ease and certainty as we read an ode of Horace, or a chapter in Thucydides. An unexpected light has also been thrown upon the Hebrew Scriptures from the ruins of Nineveh and the library of Asurbanipal. We not only find the historical events reported in the Bible confirmed by Assyrian testimony, but the Hebrew language has itself received a great light from cuneiform scholarship. It has helped us also to the derivation of many other Hebrew words; e.g. *hêkâl*, used for *temple* in the Hebrew text of 2 Kings xxiii. 4, and elsewhere, is compounded of the two Accad words, E, *house*, and GAL or KAL, *great*, great house; i.e. palace or temple. Many other Accad words are found in the Hebrew Scriptures, as, *yâm* = sea, *ir* = a city, *dudu* = to go, and others.

The Phœnician is simply a dialect of Hebrew, written in the old Hebrew character, common at one time to the Jews, Phœnicians, Samaritans, and Carthaginians. For further information on this interesting subject we must refer to Mr. E. R. Hodges' articles, 'Hebrew Language and Hebrew Literature' in the 'English Cyclopædia' (Arts and Sciences Supplement), and to the same author's article, 'Phœnician Language and Inscriptions.'

Arabic.—This language is very rich in literature of all kinds. The literary standard is the Korân, written in the Koreish, the most elegant dialect of the language. It is still also, though nearly one thousand two hundred years old, the standard for conversation in nearly all parts of the Mohammedan world. Acquainted with this, we have ourselves conversed freely with the moollahs and educated classes, not only in Syria and Egypt, but in Tunis, Algiers and Morocco. We have even conversed in Arabic with Turks at Constantinople, although Arabic is almost as foreign from Turkish, as English or German is; but, as the language of their Korân, it is more or less familiar, like Latin among ourselves, to all educated Mohammedans, even in India and Persia.

Aramaic.—Under this term is comprised the Syriac as found in the Peshito version of the Old and New Testaments, and the Syriac writers Bar Hebræus, Assemani, Aphrem, Syrus, &c. It comprehends also what is called the *Chaldee*, contained in the Chaldee Targums and the books of Daniel and Ezra. It was the prevailing language among the Jews after the Hebrew had died out, in the time of our Saviour and His apostles. The words of Christ wherever they are given untranslated are in the Syriac; or, as it is sometimes called, the Syro-Chaldaic, e.g. "*Epphatha*," "Be opened," "*Talitha coomi*," "Damsel arise," and even the cry from the cross, "*Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani!*" "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me!" The Samaritan and Zabaean (or Mendian) are dialects of Syriac. Karshun is simply Arabic written in Syriac characters, for the use of those Syrian Christians who read Syriac, but do not know the Arabic character. The Maronite Church, a branch of the Romish Church in Syria, always reads the prayers and lessons and celebrates mass in the ancient Syriac.

Ethiopic or *Geez*, to which we may add Himyaritic, are both dead languages, though the former is still the sacred and ecclesiastical language of the Abyssinian Church. The Tigré, Amharic, the Shoan, and that of the Yejjoos, are the modern representatives of the ancient Geez, or Ethiopic. The Himyaritic is the extinct language of southern Arabia.

Sub-Semitic Languages.—Besides the Semitic languages properly so-called, there is an extensive group of languages found in Africa more distantly related to the Semitic. These are the ancient Egyptian and Coptic, both extinct, the Berber dialects, spoken by the Kabyles, and Shelluhs; of the Beni-Mzab, the Tuaregs, and Tibbus, in the heart of the Sahara, by the natives of the oasis of Ammon (Siwah), and of the Island of Gerba and the Canary Islands. These are all properly *Berber dialects*. In grammar, and to a considerable extent in vocabulary, they are connected with the Semitic family. The Guragué, the Somauli, and Dankali are also sub-Semitic, though not Berber, dialects. Another class still more distantly related to the Semitic family are the languages of the Hottentots; with the dialects of the Corana and Namaqua, the Saho, and Wakuafi, together with the languages of Darfur, Wadai, Adirar, and Beran.

AFRICAN LANGUAGES.—The languages spoken in this continent are divided into three great branches.

1st. The *Sub-Semitic*, the most important of which have been already enumerated.

2nd. The *Congo-Caffer*, spoken by the *Amakosas*, whom we insult by calling *Caffres*, which in Arabic means *infidels*, a term of reproach given to them by the Mohammedans. To this class belong the Herero, or Dammara, the Betchuana, the language of the Fingoes, Zoolus, &c. It extends over the whole of

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* An ideogram may be compared to an Arabic numeral, which each nation understands to have the same meaning, although all pronounce it differently. Thus: 5 represents 2+3; we call it *five*, a Frenchman calls it *cinq*, a German *fünf*, and a Welshman *pump*; but it is an ideogram, conveying to all the same idea, and all give it the same value, although they *pronounce* it differently.

South Africa, on the east coast as far as Mozambique, and on the west to Sierra Leone and far into Central Africa.

3rd. The *Negro* or *Soodan* languages, as the Ashânti, the Akwapim, the Yoruba, the Mandingo, Akra, Grebo, Foulah, Woloff, Haussa, Timbuktoo.

The American or Holophrastic Languages.—In an article on the 'Aboriginal Languages of America' by Mr. E. Richmond Hodges, part of which is published in the new edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' we are informed that "Among the seven or eight millions of American aborigines, it is estimated that there are as many languages spoken as among the seven or eight hundred million inhabitants of the Old World." The American languages, like the Americans themselves, stand apart from the rest, forming a group of themselves.

1st, we have the language of the Eskimos (i.e. raw-fish eaters) divided into the Tchuktchi, the Tchugatchi, and the Karalit or Greenlandic.

2nd. That of the Kolush tribes, inhabiting the north-west coast of Alaska, south of the Eskimos. These tribes are remarkable for their fair complexion and auburn hair.

3rd. That of the tribes of the east coast, viz. the Algonquin or Delaware Indians, including the Shawnees, Narragansetts, Chippewas, Ottogamies, Knistenaux or Cree Indians, amounting to about forty tribes, all speaking dialects of one language.

4th. The languages of the Iroquois or Five-Nation-Confederacy, which embraces the Hurons, Mingoes, Oneidas, Mohawks, Tuscaroras, Cayugas, Onondagas, Senekas, Wyandots, Winebagos, &c., fifteen tribes, all speaking similar dialects.

5th. Those of the Florida or Creek Indians, which include the languages of the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chikasaws, Muskogees, Natchez, Mobiles, Creeks, and Seminoles. The Cherokee is like the Algonquin or Delaware language in its grammar, but resembles it slightly in its vocabulary. The Natchez language has three styles, the common or ordinary, the language of etiquette, and the woman-language, used by women when addressing men.

6th. The Athabascan spoken by the Beaver, Hare, Carrier, Squinter, and other tribes of Indians.

7th. The languages of the Sioux Indians, divided into three branches: 1st, that of the seven confederated Dakotah tribes; 2nd, of the Minetarees, Crows, and Mandans; and 3rd, of the Iowas, Omahas, Kansas, Osages, &c.

8th. Several different languages are grouped as a family under the Caddoes and Nandaks, viz. those spoken by the Inies or Tachies, from whom Texas has its name; and the Natchitoches, and Attacapas, all spoken beyond the Mississippi.

9th. Another family of languages is that of the Pawnees, Ricarees, &c.

10th. Another, that of the Blackfeet Indians, and other tribes on the Rapids or Falls of the Mississippi.

Lastly, there is the great family named from the Comanches, whose tribes (such as the Apaches and Utahs) extend from Oregon to the Gulf of California, and the Rio del Norte, speaking various languages.

Central America.—The languages of this, the most highly civilised, part of the New World are, 1st, the Aztec or Nahuatl, which at the time of the Spanish conquest was also spoken by the Chichimecs, by the Pipils of San Salvador, and the natives on Lake Nicaragua; 2nd, the Cuitlateca, spoken near the city of Mexico; 3rd, the Huasteca, which is analogous to the *Maya*, spoken in Yucatan; 4th, the two languages, Pirinda and Tarasca, the latter said to be very sonorous and harmonious; 5th, the Cora, which resembles the Aztec or Nahuatl; 6th, the Tepeguana, spoken opposite the mouth of the Gulf of California; 7th, the Topia, to the north of it; 8th, the Cinaloa or Tubar; 9th and lastly, the Tarahumara and its dialects, the Pimo, &c.

The Othomi, one of the Mexican languages, a professorship of which has been established in the city of Mexico, deserves particular attention. Its pronunciation is very peculiar, and, unlike other American languages, most of its words are *monosyllabic*, in which and in its vowels it resembles the Chinese. "Its sound of *k* is likened to the sound of a nut cracked by a monkey." It constitutes one of the exceptions from the usually polysynthetic or holophrastic character of American tongues, and in its root words differs altogether from other Mexican languages.

The southern languages of the great Mexican republic offer almost a greater variety than the northern. Here we find the *Matlazinga* spoken in the Toluca valley; the *Tlapaneca* in Puebla; the *Totonaca* in Puebla and Vera Cruz; the Misteca in Oaxaca, which has a language of etiquette like the Natchez; the Zapoteca, still spoken in the ancient metropolis Teozapollan; the Popoluca (a collective name of several tribes), the Chinanteca in Oaxaca and Chiapas; and the Mixa. *Maya* is the predominant language in Yucatan. It was extensively spoken at the time of the Spanish conquest, and is supposed to have prevailed in Anahuac (Mexico, Guatemala, &c.) before the invasion of the Toltecs. It is spoken by the Creoles mixed with Spanish, and resembles the Othomi in its monosyllabic character and tones. Then we have the Quiché, in the northern part of Guatemala; Kachiquel, the language of the most cultivated people between the city of Mexico and Peru; the languages called Subtugil and Mam, in Vera Paz; the Pocoman or Poconchi, on the confines of San Salvador; the Sinca, spoken on the Pacific coast, and the Chorti in Zacapa, as far as the ancient city of Copan.

South American Languages.—The Caribs speak among them about thirty cognate and harmonious dialects: nearly all the words, like Italian, end in vowels. Many tenses and a passive voice with the auxiliary substantive verb, wanting in others, distinguish them from other American languages. The Carib has also a peculiar form of speech used by the women in addressing men; the Muysca of Bogota, New Granada, the Tamanac, spoken on the Orinoco, and the Arawak in British Guiana. In Brazil about two hundred and fifty different languages are spoken, among which are the Tupi, or general language, and various dialects of Guarani; the languages of Peru, viz. the Quichua and Aymara; with the Zamuca, Chiquito; the Mbaya, Abiponian, Chiliduga or Chilian, the Charrua, Araucanian, Moluche, and Tchelhuet or Patagonian, with many others. Lastly we have the languages spoken in Tierra del Fuego, and on the Brunswick and King William IV. peninsulas, divided into three groups as spoken respectively by the Kamenetes, Kennekas, and Karaikas.

Archæology.

Archæology, which means "the description of ancient things," is now used to designate that science which deduces history from the relics of the past. The recent adoption of this term to characterise the pursuits of the antiquarian marks a new era in the study of antiquities. The origin of archæology is to be found in the natural desire of the human mind to master the secrets of the mysterious past, and, therefore, it forms an essential element in the studies of the historian, the inquiries of the ethnologist, and the researches of the philologist.

The history of archæology bears a very near resemblance to that of its elder sister, geology. They are, indeed, like two successive series of links in the same chain of reasoning; the earliest data of the archæologist being found exactly where those of the geologist end—in the debatable land of the later alluvial formations. An eminent archæologist, describing a visit to the museum, and recognising the labours of the archæologist as applying to the human era the same speculations that geology does to an earlier state of things, says:—"As I passed in the geological department of the Museum from the older Silurian system to the newer Tertiary, and then from the Tertiary to the votive tablets, sacrificial altars, and sepulchral memorials of the Anglo-Roman gallery, I could not help regarding them as all belonging to one department. The antiquities piece on in natural sequence to geology; and it seems but rational to indulge in the same sort of reasoning regarding them. They are the fossils of an extinct order of things newer than the Tertiary; of an extinct race, of an extinct religion, of a state of society and a class of enterprises which the world saw once, but which it will never see again." The two great divisions of this science are into, 1st, *Pre-historical Archæology*, and, 2nd, *Historical Archæology*. The former deals with the records of a period prior to written annals, and traces out the history of ages heretofore believed to be irrecoverable. It investigates the rude burial-mounds, the cairns, lake-dwellings, and bone-caves of pre-historic times, and seeks in them for information regarding the uncivilised races who at a remote period roamed over the earth. Historical archæology treats of the public and private life, arms, institutions, laws, religion, inscriptions, and general state of civilisation of ancient *civilised* nations, as the Etruscans, Greeks and Romans, Phœnicians, Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, and Americans.

American Antiquities.—The antiquities of the New World occupy a place in the investigations of the archæologist altogether apart from every other branch of his studies. America has its *stone age* as well as Europe. Many of the most ancient, as well as the most important, remains of American civilisation have been but recently brought to light. Some are in the depths of impenetrable forests, which are even yet but imperfectly known. Tumuli, the burial mounds of ancient races, are found in many parts of North America, containing spear-heads and adzes of flint and stone, and urns of rudely baked clay, not greatly dissimilar to those found in the barrows of Wiltshire, Denmark, and Brittany.

In the western states of North America are seen numerous mounds, similar to the tumuli met with in Scandinavia and Russia. Remains of fortifications also exist that must have required for their construction a degree of industry, and an advancement in the arts, that never characterised any of the present Indian tribes. Ancient pottery, too, is found there, and rocks have been observed inscribed with unknown characters, engraved on material so hard that it was impossible of execution without the aid of iron or other hard metallic instrument.

Probably the oldest architectural monuments of America are found in the northern part of that continent, more especially in the Mississippi valley. They are contained in a district almost triangular in form, having its apex on the great lakes, Michigan, Huron, &c., and its base on the Gulf of Mexico. In this region, commonly known as that of "the mound-builders," we find an extensive tract of country characterised by the presence of vast mounds, in the form of animals, birds, serpents, or even men.

In and around the state of Ohio we have a large area distinguished by pyramidal mounds, from six to thirty feet high; but, in some cases, reaching the height of sixty and even ninety feet. They are generally square, and are ascended by winding-staircases on the outside. Lines of circumvallation, from five to thirty feet high, inclosing an area of from thirty to four hundred acres, are also met with. Many of these combine both square and circular figures, exhibiting such an amount of mathematical accuracy as to prove that their builders possessed some standard of measurement. No less than ten thousand such mounds and fifteen thousand inclosures exist in the state of Ohio alone.

Whether these colossal structures were intended for worship or for defence we cannot decide; more probably, however, they are of a military character, since they are provided with cisterns or artificial ponds.

Near Newark, in Licking, there are four forts, inclosing from twenty to forty acres each, and consisting of earthen walls from eight to thirty feet high. Two of them are perfect circles; one is a perfect square, and the fourth is an octagon. These forts are severally connected by roads running between parallel walls, and communicating with some creeks. The works extend over an area of four square miles. In the valley of the Scioto, a square fort with eight gateways is united to a circular fort, surrounded by two walls.

The town of Circleville, in the county of Pickaway, is partly built in the ancient circular fort. On the banks of the White River, in Arkansas, is a wall which incloses an area of six hundred and forty acres; in its centre is the foundation of a large circular building, supposed to have been a temple.

The square forts, like the pyramids of Mexico, face the cardinal points. When they have only one entrance, it looks towards the east. The walls are usually of earth; but sometimes of stone. In Adams county, one of the mounds represents a great serpent, with a triple-coiled tail, a waving body, and open jaws, which appear as if swallowing a large oval. The length is six hundred feet, and would be a thousand feet if extended. Another mound represents an alligator, or broad-backed lizard, two hundred and fifty feet in length, and forty in breadth.

In Pickaway county is a mound in the form of a Greek cross, raised three feet from the ground, being ninety feet from end to end of the arms. Similar mounds are found north and south of the state of Ohio.

Monuments of kindred character are found also in Louisiana. Near Rock River, in Illinois, exists a quadrangular inclosure with a brick wall. These mounds are constructed either of stone or of earth, and in some of them great numbers of bones have been found; in others a skeleton or two. In one a small elliptical stone tablet was discovered, on which were twenty-four distinct hieroglyphic characters, arranged in parallel lines. Among the lofty mounds in the vicinity of St. Louis, there are two which have two or three stages, or terraces—important as tending to connect "the mound-builders" of the United States with the more civilised Mexican races. Their tools and other instruments are of copper, often containing silver in the lump, just as it is found in the matrix on the shores of Lake Superior. Hence, it is evident, they were not skilled in metallurgy. Some of their relics are of silver, porphyry, greenstone, and obsidian.

Utensils and trinkets have also been found; together with hatchets of stone, vases of earthenware and copper, some of elegant forms, pipe-bowls decorated with human heads, a small piece of copper *plated*, and, very rarely, a little gold. Mr. Squier has found also sculptures of human heads and masks; but none of them exhibit any artistic talent beyond what is possessed by existing North American tribes.

The architectural remains of Central and South America are of more modern origin, and of more elaborate character. Among the most remarkable objects of antiquity in Central America, although existing to a certain extent in New Mexico and Arizona, are the Casas Grandes, large ruins of which exist on the river Gila and in the Mexican state of Chihuahua, where for several leagues the country is covered with the ruins of immense buildings. These *casas grandes* (which is Spanish for *large houses*) contain space sufficient for an entire town, divided into small rooms, and running up to three and even four stories in height. They resemble the great edifices in the ruined cities of Palenque, or the great building called Casa del Gobernador, in the deserted city of Uxmál, in Yucatan. Such immense buildings were occupied by the aborigines at the time of the Spanish conquest, four hundred years ago, and in some districts of America they are still inhabited. The "Pueblos," an Indian tribe, are so called from the circumstance of their still living together in these vast edifices, the word *pueblo* in Spanish signifying *town* or *village*. The Pueblos are far superior in civilisation and culture to the wild tribes north of them. Humboldt regarded the ruins on the river Gila as one of the temporary stations of the Aztecs, in their migrations from north to south.

In Chiapas, Tabasco, Oaxaca, Yucatan, Honduras, Tehuantepec, and Guatemala, the ruins are those of cities built of stone, of vast extent; palaces, richly ornamented, standing upon raised platforms. Uniformly in the pyramidal style—on account of the frequent earthquakes—they are built of huge blocks of stone, some of the blocks in the walls of Tiahuanaco in Bolivia being equivalent to cubes of sixteen feet each way.

Mr. Stephens, in 'Incidents of Travel in Central America,' mentions having visited forty-four of these cities, and he is of opinion that they were erected by the ancestors of the present population, at a period little before the arrival of the Spaniards. The ruins are most numerous at Uxmál, Kabáh, Gabna, Kewick, and Chichen; some are found at Taloon, and Tancar, on the Bay of Honduras. The most famous are the ruins of Mitla, Palenqué, Santa Cruz del Quiché, and Copán. The ruins of Santa Cruz del Quiché, situated at the southern extremity of the peninsula of Yucatan, have a historical value, as being connected with the conquest of this part of the country by the Spaniards. It was at that time inhabited, and, indeed, so well fortified as to be almost impregnable, except to artillery. The flat top of the hill was occupied by a palace of the kings of Quiché, and by a military college; at present nothing but shapeless mounds of ruins exist there.

The ruins of Copán, on the banks of a river of the same name, cover an area of one thousand feet in length, and five hundred in width, and consist of the remains of strong and high walls, constructed of massive hewn stones, and of several pyramidal buildings. Numerous stone images are found there, standing from twelve to twenty feet high, four-sided, in the shape of columns, and covered with richly executed sculptures, exhibiting great art, and formed of a single block of stone. Most of them represent a human figure fantastically dressed and adorned. The sculpture on one of the best preserved of the altars is in bas-relief, and this is the only specimen of that kind of art found at Copán; all the rest being in bold alto-relievo. This altar is six feet square and four feet high, and the top is divided into thirty-six tablets of hieroglyphics, the sides of the altar being covered with sculptures, each representing four human figures in a sitting attitude. No ruins, it is said, show greater art and ingenuity, nor display more labour, than those of Copán. They have even been compared with the temples of Elora and Elephanta. This city also was inhabited at the time of the Spanish conquest; no human habitation is found there now, the whole site of the town being overgrown with large trees and underwood.

The 'History of the Mayas,' by Don Diego de Landa, contains an explanation of the hieroglyphic characters of some of these Central American monuments, by the help of which the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg has deciphered some of the early American writings; and translated the *Popol Vuh*, the ancient sacred book of the Quichés, a people of Guatemala. From this—the Bible of the ancient Quichés—we obtain much valuable information concerning their early migrations, with their account of the creation of the world, and other matters, much resembling the dogmas of the Catholic church. The good Father Ximenes, indeed, its discoverer, thought he could discern in it the hand of "the father of lies" counterfeiting the teaching of his church, the better to deceive and mislead souls. With this conviction he thought it his duty to conceal the book, and deny it the light. Discovered recently, and dragged from its hiding-place by the Abbé Bourbourg, it is now published, together with a translation into French, and is thus rendered accessible to all students of archæology. Unfortunately this key is of no use for unlocking the secret of the inscriptions of Copán and Palenqué; for although the characters are similar, these inscriptions appear to belong to an older form of the language.

The ancient buildings within the area of the Mexican republic consist chiefly of the four-sided pyramids, rising by stages or terraces to a considerable elevation, called *teocallis*, or houses of the gods. At Teotihuacan, to the north-east of Mexico, a whole group of such pyramids still exists. Two large ones, of one hundred and thirty and one hundred and sixty feet in height, respectively consecrated to the sun and moon, are surrounded by several hundred smaller ones. According to the tradition of the natives these mark the burial-places of their chiefs. The two larger of these *teocallis* have four stages, on the top of which stood at the time of the Spanish invasion the colossal statues of the sun and moon. East of this group, and buried in a thick forest, is situated the pyramid of Papantla. The form of this *teocalli*, which has still six stories, but formerly had seven, is more tapering than any other known monument of the kind; but the height is only fifty-seven feet. It is built entirely of hewn stones, of extraordinary size, and well shaped. Three staircases lead to the top, and the several stages are decorated with hieroglyphical sculptures. But the largest and most famous of the Mexican *teocallis* is that of Cholula, erected by the Toltecs about five hundred years before the Spanish invasion. This great pyramid is one hundred and seventy-eight feet high, built in four receding stages of equal height, and its sides exactly face the four cardinal points. The base of each side is one thousand four hundred and eighty-eight feet long, and it covers an area more than three times the base of the Great Pyramid of Egypt. A colossal statue covered with plates of gold, and an altar dedicated to the god of the air, formerly occupied its platform. It is now the site of a Roman Catholic church, dedicated to "Our Lady de los remedios," in which mass is said daily by a priest of the Mexican race. The Toltecs—the mysterious race, by whom this *teocalli* was erected—have left some reminiscences of themselves in the names of Omuch-Zaholab, that is, the "Four hundred young men," a desert-valley near the Pacific; and Omuch Cakha, or the plain of the "Four hundred Pyramids," the burial-place of the primitive heroes of the Toltec religion. At the time of the Spanish conquest, the Aztecs, who succeeded the Toltecs, had attained a high state of civilisation. Though they had not yet arrived at the art of alphabetic writing, they had sacred books written in hieroglyphics. One of these, called the 'Teo-Amoxtli,' or 'Divine Book' of the Toltecs, was held so sacred that only the priests and nobility were permitted (under penalty of death to all others) to consult it. With this sacred book the *Popol Vuh* seems to be in some manner connected.

The antiquities of South America are situated within the territory of Peru, which was at one time much more extensive than at present. They are referred mostly to the closing period of the dominion of the Incas. The principal remains of Peruvian civilisation are not distinguished by sculpture and rich ornaments, but by solidity and simplicity, as is proved by the great road running from Quito to the capital Cuzco, and further south, extending throughout the whole length of the empire. Besides this great highway, there are ruins of cities, palaces, fortresses, and aqueducts, one of which latter is four hundred and fifty miles long. There are a few ancient edifices in Ecuador, on the table-land of Quito; while not far from the volcano of Cotopaxi are the ruins of a large building called the Palace of the Incas, of a square form, measuring on each side about thirty yards, and having four entrances. The interior is divided into eight apartments, three of which are in a fair state of preservation. Near the mountain-pass of Assuay is the ancient fortress of Cañar, consisting of a wall of very large stones, about five or six yards high. It is of an oval form, nearly forty feet long. Another ancient fortress, called Huikhay, near the town of Jauja, displays in its construction considerable military science; but, like most other Peruvian edifices, it is rapidly going to decay. Massive stone buildings are also found dispersed over the mountainous countries enclosed by the ranges of the Andes; and the ruins of many destroyed towns are seen in the low land on the Pacific coast. Besides the palaces and mausoleums of the royal race, there are also found the ruins of a temple at Pachacamac, not far from Lima; and of another temple, on an island in Lake Titicaca, the doors of which have the peculiarity of being narrower at the top, like some of the pre-historic structures of Europe. The tools of the ancient Peruvians were of bronze, iron being unknown in the time of the Incas. There are no inscriptions in Peru, although it is probable that, like the Mexicans, they made use of some kind of hieroglyphics.

Historic Archæology.

Fifty years ago little more was known of the ancient world than the history of the Greeks and Romans. Accustomed to look upon these two great nations as the sole representatives of ancient civilisation, all outside their area was considered as of little value.

It seemed to be generally admitted that real history only commenced when we had set foot on the soil of Europe.

A vague knowledge existed, however, that the immense country extending between the Nile and the Indus had once been the centre of civilisation, the seat of vast empires embracing wide-spread territories, of capitals rivalling in size the modern cities of Europe, and palaces more gorgeous than those of our own royalty. Tradition, moreover, said that on the walls of these palaces they had recorded their proud triumphs, with the number and extent of their conquests. The ruins of temples, pyramids, and palaces, covered with inscriptions in strange mysterious characters, as attested by modern travellers, proved the existence of great material prosperity, together with considerable progress in civilisation. But this grandeur was only visible in the midst of ruins; or in the incomplete narratives of the Greek writers. Matters have entirely changed since that time. The conquests of archæology have renewed the face of history; and, side by side with the monuments of Egypt in our museums, are found the winged human-headed bulls of Assyria, the bas-reliefs of Nineveh, and the cuneiform records of Asurbanipal. Phœnicia has yielded up to our investigation the sarcophagus of Esmunazar, king of Sidon; Lycia and Cyprus, their monuments; Phrygia her bas-reliefs and tombs bearing the name of King Midas. Arabia has yielded up to our investigation her ancient Himyaritic inscriptions, and Sinai the mysterious writings of long-forgotten pilgrims. Prinsep and Norris, with other investigators, have described the ancient monuments of the Aryan population of India, and the rock-cut temples of Elora and Elephanta; while Professor Leitner now brings to our view the Græco-Buddhistic monuments of North-Western India. The trilingual inscriptions written on the walls of Persepolis, on the sepulchres of Nakhshi-Rustam, and on the face of the cliff at Behistun, have been put into the crucible of philological analysis, and have yielded to us the pure gold of scientific truth.

To the learned researches of Dr. Young and Monsieur Champollion into the hieroglyphics of Egypt, aided by the Græco-Egyptian inscription of Rosetta, we are indebted for our knowledge of ancient Egypt. Fifty years ago all that was known of Egyptian history was limited to the names of a few of its kings, whose annals were corrupted by the ignorance and credulity of Greek travellers, or embellished by national vanity. Since then, however, the temples, obelisks, pyramids, and other objects of antiquity, scattered here and there throughout the Nile valley, have been carefully examined, their inscriptions and paintings copied, and we are now in possession of the complete history of this ancient country from the reign of Menes, its first sovereign, down to its conquest by Asurbanipal, king of Assyria, the son of Esarhaddon. From Asurbanipal, we descend the stream of Egyptian history down to the conquest under Cambyses, king of Persia; the Greek dynasty of the Ptolemies, and the reign of the beautiful and luxurious Cleopatra.

Our knowledge of the language of the ancient Egyptians has also been materially increased by the discovery a few years ago of another most important bilingual inscription at San, the Zoan of the Scriptures. The bilingual inscription, Greek and hieroglyphic, of San not only confirms the value attributed to the hieroglyphics in the text of the Rosetta stone, but also considerably enlarges our vocabulary, and furnishes us with the ancient Egyptian names of the countries with which they came in contact.

The principal points of study for the archæologist in regard to Egypt are the extreme limits of her chronology, the probable period of the Exodus, the life of Moses, and the comparison of her religious creed and ritual with those of the Semitic nations. The monuments of Egypt present an almost unbroken chain for more than twenty centuries before Christ, and papyri have come down from that remote period to our time. These ancient records of an extinct race are of great variety and interest; for, in addition to historical compositions, and religious rituals, we have treatises on morals and medicine, geometry and religion; novels and romances for youthful princes; songs, chants, and dirges for the dead. Such are the Egyptian treasures we possess to spur the flagging ardour of the student and pique the latent curiosity of the educated public.

By the help of these documents, written sometimes on imperishable marble on the walls of temples, or the sides of obelisks, we have gained an exact acquaintance with one of the most civilised nations of the ancient world. Many of these ancient writings have been published in France, Germany, and by the Trustees of the British Museum for the use of students of the Egyptian language; while a few of the more interesting and important have been ably translated by Dr. Birch, M. Le Page Renouf, G. Maspero, and other eminent Egyptologists, and published for the information of the intelligent public in a cheap and valuable series of works, entitled, 'Records of the Past' (Bagster and Sons, London).

Assyrian Antiquities.—The discoveries of Botta at Khorsabad, and of Layard, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Loftus, and Mr. George Smith at Mosul and elsewhere, have filled the Louvre and our own British Museum not only with cuneiform inscriptions, but with the most magnificent sculptures and bas-reliefs, dug up from the long-buried cities of Assyria and Mesopotamia. In the British Museum we may now see, sculptured on the marble slabs excavated from their palaces, those proud kings who once ruled over the civilised world, and led whole nations into captivity. We may view there depicted those gates whence issued, as a flood, troops of warriors, pressing one upon the other, on the path of conquest; the fortified cities, the defenders of them upon the ramparts, the battering-rams making a breach, amid the terror and consternation of the besieged. Displayed on many an ancient slab, one may see carved with life-like faithfulness, scenes from the life of the old Assyrians, their religious ceremonies, their domestic usages, their swimming over rapid rivers supported by inflated skins; the lion-hunts of their sovereigns, fiercer than the beasts they pursued; their dress, the ornaments of their sovereigns, their horses and chariots, and the barbarities heaped upon their conquered enemies. Innumerable Assyrian inscriptions in the cuneiform character are found on these precious relics of ancient art, which bring before us the history of the land, the foundation of cities, the suppression of rebellions, the prosecution of war, and the proclamation of peace.

Tiglath Pileser and Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Nebuchadnezzar, are no longer mere names; they stand before us in effigy, or sculptured in bas-relief. We read in their inscriptions the story of their campaigns against Samaria, or Jerusalem, Egypt, or Gaza; we know the cities they destroyed, what tribute they imposed on the conquered, what kings they deposed and whom they set up in their place, in fact, almost all the public and important events which transpired in Western Asia for nearly two thousand years before the Christian era.

The historical inscriptions of Assyria now in the British Museum give the annals of her kings from the reign of an Elamite king named Kudur-nankhundi (whose name may be compared with the Chedorlaomer of Genesis), down to the destruction of the Assyro-Babylonian empire by the Persians. The age in which this Elamite sovereign lived is positively fixed by the cuneiform inscriptions themselves, B.C. 2280. Fortunately, the Assyrians kept a record of chronology (the Eponym Canon), and valuable portions of this canon have, among other documents, fallen into our hands. Babylon, we find, existed as a city at least 2280 years before Christ, when it was taken by the Elamite monarch, who probably founded an Elamite dynasty, which ruled over Babylonia; the reign of this king is chronologically ascertained, and fixed by documentary evidence. How long Babylon may have existed before this event, or how many kings may have preceded him on the throne, we are nowhere told. Perhaps that information is already given upon some cylinder of baked clay still buried in the ruins of some ancient city; or recorded, perhaps, upon some historical slab decorating the palace-wall of an ancient sovereign at Nineveh, or Khorsabad. The cuneiform records now deposited in the British Museum make mention also of seven of the kings of Israel contemporaries of Assyrian monarchs. None of the cylinders of Nebuchadnezzar found hitherto give any account of his foreign conquests. This is the more to be deplored since we might find there some account of his siege and capture of Jerusalem. The inscriptions we possess merely present him to us in the character of a great builder and restorer. The black obelisk of Shalmaneser II. from Calakh speaks of Jehu, son of Omri (i.e. ruler of Samaria which was built by Omri), and records the amount of tribute he paid; an inscription of Esarhaddon's mentions Baal, king of Tyre, Manasseh, king of Judah, and Hazael of Damascus. The chief interest of the British Museum collection lies perhaps in those copies from Accadian originals of the story of Izdubar—supposed to be identical with Nimrod; of the history of the flood; of the creation of our first parents, their temptation by a serpent and subsequent fall. We possess also the private will of Sennacherib, prayers, charms, hymns, with proof of their belief in evil spirits and in the immortality of the soul; legal documents, such as contract-tablets for the sale of slaves and other property, or loans of money upon interest; astronomical observations, &c. Many of these interesting records have been published in the cuneiform character for the use of Assyriologists by the trustees of the British Museum, and translations of them into English are accessible at a low price, in a series of small books entitled 'Records of the Past.' It is to the sciences of *Palæography* and *Comparative Philology* that we owe our ability to read and translate these ancient Assyrian records. We can touch but briefly upon this point; to pass it by entirely would be to ignore one of the greatest discoveries of the nineteenth century.

Travellers had gazed at the ruins of Persepolis with awe and wonder; while some had even displayed their curiosity by making copies of the inscriptions found there. Pietro della Valle, an Italian, and Figueroa, the Spanish ambassador, in 1616, were the first European travellers who directed attention to the cuneiform characters of Persepolis; which they thought to be genuine inscriptions, to be read from left to right. Chardin, a French traveller, regarded them also as inscriptions, but thought they should be read perpendicularly. Chardin, Kaempfer, and Le Brun visited the magnificent ruins of Persepolis towards the close of the seventeenth century; but, like many other travellers, they did not care to copy inscriptions which they did not understand. Hyde, the learned author of the 'De Religione Veterum Persarum,' supposed that the cuneiform or arrow-headed characters on the ruins of Persepolis were no inscriptions at all, but merely due to the caprice of the architect; and that they were placed as mere ornaments round the doors and windows of the palace. Others took these mysterious wedges and angles for charms and talismans.

At length, Niebuhr, on his return from the East published exact copies of the Persepolitan inscriptions; but no help could be obtained towards the explanation to them.

In 1798 Professor Tychsen, of Rostock, published a dissertation on these inscriptions, which was followed by a treatise from the hands of Bishop Münter of Copenhagen. Both of these writers thought these characters alphabetical, and remarked that each word is separated from the preceding and following word by a wedge placed obliquely thus ; and conjectured that, in all probability, the inscriptions were to be read from left to right, like our own inscriptions. They had even conjectured that a certain group of characters which frequently recurred must signify "king."

We pass by a host of ignorant pretenders and charlatans. We have before us, as we write, specimens of their audacious attempts to impose upon the credulity of the public; but we cannot waste our time in exposing them. The honour of first solving this difficult problem belongs to Professor Grotefend, of Göttingen. Others had speculated about it, and written learned treatises upon the cuneiform signs; Münter and Tychsen had even made some very correct deductions; but it was Grotefend who first read a Persepolitan inscription. It was in 1803 that Grotefend, having read what Tychsen and Münter had written on the subject, and provided with correct copies of cuneiform inscriptions, directed his powerful mind to the solution of the problem. He had no bilingual inscriptions to use as a pick-lock; but, in the recesses of his study, he forged out of that much-reviled inner consciousness a key to the interpretations of the cuneiform. Without any acquaintance with Oriental languages, he approached the task with the weapons of common sense, and he succeeded. The inscription before him was from Persepolis, and must be, he reasoned, that of a king of Persia. Now the title of the ancient kings of that country was always, as it is still, "king of kings." Such a phrase, he conjectured, would be shown by the repetition of a certain group of wedges with another group between them for the grammatical structure. The character which preceded these, he inferred, would be the name of the monarch. He tried the names of Cyrus and of Xerxes, but without success; he then attempted to make out the name of Darius, and, lo! he succeeded. Having by this sort of natural magic evoked the name of Darius, he proceeded in the same manner to decipher the names of Xerxes and Artaxerxes. He then read the words "khshâyathîya khshâyathîyânam," which by comparison with the modern Persian word for *king*, viz. *shah*, he found meant, "king of kings." With these talismans the Persian cuneiform alphabet, consisting of forty-two characters, was evolved, and the inscriptions read. Once the characters were deciphered, the task of interpretation was only a work of time, in which our knowledge of the modern Persian, the Sanskrit, and old Bactrian (commonly called Zend), rendered great assistance. The study was then taken up by Burnouf, Lassen, Sir Henry Rawlinson, De Saulcy, Hincks, Oppert, Norris, and Westergard. Year by year the old Persian was studied and investigated; and when at length Sir Henry Rawlinson climbed the rock of Behistun, on the frontier of Media, and copied the long inscription of Darius Hystaspes written on the face of the cliff in three languages, viz., in Old Persian, Median, and Assyrian, the foundation of our knowledge of the language of Nineveh and Babylon was laid. The Behistun inscription, which constitutes the title-deeds of the Persian empire, is a very long one. It contains a proclamation in three languages addressed to the subjects of Darius Hystaspes, B.C. 510. The text of this important inscription is in Persian; accompanying it are translations respectively into Median and Assyrian. We had succeeded in reading the original Persian text; the difficulty now was, using that as a key, to make out the translations. Unfortunately; all three were written in different characters, yet all of them cuneiform. The Persian character is simple and alphabetic; the Median is totally different from the Persian, and is *not* alphabetic, but syllabic; while the Assyrian is in another kind of cuneiform, and is both syllabic and ideographic. The first point was to pick out the proper names in the Persian text, and then find out to what groups they corresponded in the Assyrian translation; and then to analyse these groups into their component elements. At length, by the decomposition of the ninety names of persons and places, after a labour of a quarter of a century, we have determined the values of all the Assyrian signs, found that they render the sounds of a language allied to Hebrew and Arabic, and that, with our knowledge of the Semitic languages, aided, where available, by the Persian text, we can everywhere evoke the meaning of the Assyrian words. The translation of the Assyrian text of this inscription has been our spelling-book, our dictionary, and grammar, by means of which we have gone on to read the historical records of Tiglath Pileser, Shalmaneser, Esarhaddon, Sargon, Asurbanipal, and Nebuchadnezzar. The invention of the Assyrian cuneiform signs, numbering about four hundred, is due to an early race, named Akkads, a people of Turanian or Tartar-Finnish origin; and the Assyrians, who conquered them at a very remote period, adopted their mode of writing, still further complicating it by using it for a language it was not intended for, thus introducing a cumbrous system of polyphones and ideograms. Further information will be found in the grammars and dictionaries of the Assyrian by Oppert, Sayce, Menant, and Norris; and in the articles in the supplement to the 'English Cyclopædia,' 1874, by Mr. E. Richmond Hodges, entitled "Behistun Inscription," "Chaldee Language," "Semitic Languages," "Turanian Languages," "Persian Language and Literature," "Phœnician Inscriptions," &c.

Investigation has been directed of late years to the antiquities of the earlier races of Italy—the Etruscans, Umbrians, Samnites, and Oscans—and while great progress has been made in deciphering the Umbrian inscription on the Iguvine tablets, and the Oscan inscriptions of Pompeii, the cippus Abellanus, the bronze tablet of Agnone (now in the British Museum), and the Bantine tablet, little has really been effected for the interpretation of the Etruscan. The learned researches of Donaldson, Stickel, Müller, Lord Crawford, and Balcarres, the Rev. Isaac Taylor, and Corssen of Berlin, however, have now brought us nearer to the interpretation of the Etruscan inscriptions. We now seem to have determined, as regards this mysterious people, to whom Rome was indebted for her civilisation and religion, that they were of the Turanian family, as Mr. Isaac Taylor and Dr. Deek seek to establish; not of the same Italic race as the Oscans, Sabines, and Umbrians, as Corssen endeavoured to prove. Researches have been carried on also of late years in Cyprus, and at Athens; also in Rome by Mr. John Henry Parker, C.B., under the auspices of the Italian government, as also in various parts of the Italian peninsula. Excavations at Pompeii and Bologna have done much towards clearing up questions of philology and history; we may therefore entertain a hope that, as the cuneiform question has been at length solved, so, in time, will be the Etruscan.

Dr. Schliemann's excavations and discoveries on the site of Troy have yielded most interesting results. More than one hundred thousand ancient objects, gold and silver ornaments, &c., have been exhumed. Troy has indeed risen again from the ground which had buried it for more centuries than the 'Iliad' has books. According to the latest information received, "four strata of remains have been discovered, representing four successive cities, different in the stages and the forms of their civilisation, which rose and perished on that hill of the Trojan plain which is now called the mound of Hissarlik." The conjectural series stands briefly thus:—"In the first stratum, the earliest Aryan settlement; in the second stratum, a later Aryan settlement by those Phrygians who called their town Troy; in the third a city built by Greek conquerors of these Trojans; in the fourth a town built by Thracians, who overcame either these Greeks, or the Phrygians, whose return had for a moment wrested the town from the Greeks. The Homeric Troy, it has been argued, was a city built in the clouds. But, given these facts,—the constant tradition that such a city as Troy *once existed*, the discovery of a town on the traditional site and the correspondence of these remains with the town called Troy in the 'Iliad,'—the 'ethereal' view has, at least, probabilities against it, and, in any case, is irrelevant to the question as between Hissarlik and another site." (See Schliemann's 'Troy and its Remains.') Very interesting Lycian monuments with inscriptions have been collected by Sir Charles Fellows, and placed in the British Museum; the Cyprian monuments in the same institution were discovered by Mr. Consul Lang. The characters of both the Cyprian and Lycian inscriptions have been deciphered; but the languages are still under investigation. See the articles, "Lycian Language," and "Cypriotic Inscriptions," in the Supplement to the 'English Cyclopædia,' 1874.

Prehistoric Archæology. Old World.*

PREHISTORICAL ARCHÆOLOGY, though not yet thirty years old, has already taken its place among the exact sciences. It has accumulated a great number of facts, the bearing and importance of which is now just beginning to be appreciated. Its researches have reproduced the scenes of the rude and savage life of primitive man, and from its successes in this field of discovery we may form some idea of those which are likely to follow. The history of primitive man cannot dispense with the results obtained by this study, although its researches have been limited hitherto to but a small part of our globe. With the exception of some parts of America, only France, Switzerland, Belgium, and England, have been the theatre of its activity. To find the most ancient vestiges of human existence and activity, we must go back to the period called by geologists the *quaternary age*, or that which immediately precedes the present geological era, a period comparatively recent, when the ocean covered the broad desert of the Sahara; when no straits of Gibraltar separated Africa from Europe; and the British Islands were united with France. At that period Sicily formed part of the Italian peninsula, and the north of Asia was submerged by an extensive inland sea, of which the Caspian, the lakes of Aral, Van, Urumeah, and Baikal, are all that now remain. The climatic, floral, and faunal conditions of our world were, at that time, as may be supposed, very different from the present. After having for ages enjoyed a much higher mean temperature than the same regions have at the present time, these parts of the world experienced, from causes not sufficiently explained, a great diminution of temperature which ushered in the glacial or frozen age.

During the glacial period the continent of Europe, down as far south as Sicily, presented much the same aspect as Siberia does at present. Immense glaciers covered Ireland, Scotland, and Scandinavia; the Alpine glaciers extended into the plains of Piedmont and Lombardy, part of which was covered with water. The glacier of the Rhone was united with that of the Jura, and all the valleys of the Carpathians, the Balkhan, the Pyrenees, and the Apennines, were covered with ice. Such were the climatic conditions of our northern hemisphere; and indications of glaciers not less extensive have been recently found in America. Asia, as far south almost as the tropics, bears evident traces of having at one time suffered from the same rigour of climate, for an immense glacier extended from the upper course of the Tigris and Euphrates as far as Assyria. Soon after this period, when the climatic conditions had somewhat moderated, vegetation became sufficiently abundant to supply the wants of the numerous animals which characterise the end of this period of excessive cold. The faunal, like the climatic, conditions were quite different to anything in the present day. Then the mammoth or hairy elephant and the rhinoceros, beasts whose thick fur allowed them to live in a rigorous climate, came down south as far as Spain and Greece; while the aurochs, a species of bison, wild cattle, stags, much taller than those of any existing species, were mingled with gigantic cave-bears, hyænas, and other fierce carnivora of the feline species, superior in height and strength to the lion and tiger of our own day.

At this epoch the beaver, and the hippopotamus, now found only in the lakes and rivers of tropical Africa, inhabited our rivers; while the musk ox, now found only in North America, together with the reindeer of Lapland, roamed in herds over the plains of central France. The distinguishing mark of this period in other respects was its excessive *humidity;* there were lakes of large extent, and enormous rivers, the result of the melting of the snow and ice which covered the earth during the glacial period. Such was the appearance of the landscape, and such were the fauna still inhabiting it, when man first makes his appearance. The bones of the fierce animals just enumerated are found associated with the flint implements of primeval man, in the sands and river deposits of the counties of Suffolk and Bedford, in the valleys of the Somme and Oise, and in the sands of the Champ de Mars at Paris. The bone-caves of the Pyrenees, situated at from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty yards above the level of the present valleys, and certain caverns of Périgord, especially that of Moustier—the flint implements of which are as skilfully wrought as those found at Saint-Acheul and Abbeville—were also of this early period. The flints consist chiefly of hatchets, which were evidently intended for cutting, splitting, and piercing; some of the instruments resemble scrapers, used, no doubt, to scrape the inside of the skins of wild beasts, which the savages of the first stone age wore to defend themselves from the excessive cold. We can form a tolerably correct idea also of the kind of life led by our savage forefathers. Thus, the cultivation of the soil, the rearing of cattle, the domestication of beasts of burden, were unknown to them. They wandered about in the forests, and took shelter in the caves in the mountains. Those who inhabited the sea-coast lived upon shell-fish and such other fish as they could harpoon among the rocks; while the tribes of the interior subsisted on the flesh of those animals which their stone weapons could procure for them in the chase. From the great accumulation of bones which we find in these bone-caves, we perceive that the cave-dwellers of this epoch did not limit themselves to devouring the flesh of the carnivora and ruminants, but, like the savages of our own day, they were very fond of the marrow, as is proved by the long bones being almost always found broken, the better to extract it. The life of our rude forefathers must have been a most wretched one. Walk into our museums and look at the skeletons of the monsters among whom they were obliged to live. One can barely imagine the terrible contests they had to wage continually against the fierce beasts of that era, now happily extinct. Man, so feeble by nature, so defenceless, could only maintain the struggle against such odds, could only preserve his race from utter extinction by displaying all his courage and intelligence. Every hour obliged to dispute with the wild beasts the possession of the caves, he could only continue to hold them by his superior cunning and skill in the art of war. Sometimes the contest was too much for him; surprised by the tigers, bears, or hyænas, fleeing before the storm or the inundation, he became their prey, and mingled his bones with those of the animals he had formerly fed on. At length, however, by cunning and determination, he succeeded in intimidating, if not conquering, these fierce man-eaters, for they withdrew to the depths of the forests or the most inaccessible caves of the mountains.

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* For the above sketch of the subject we are principally indebted to the 'Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne,' of Lenormant, third edition, 1869, which contains a very complete résumé of this science.

The second stone age shows us man in a somewhat higher state of civilisation. Still a dweller in caves, the weapons and utensils of this period, nevertheless, show a greater progress in art. The fragments dating from the second or neolithic period, found in caves at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the grottoes of Périgord and Angoumois, and elsewhere, prove that the bones and horns of animals were now utilised as weapons or tools; while the flint implements are wrought with greater skill and better finished off; arrows are barbed, flints are serrated with teeth like a saw, and even ornaments are found formed of teeth or shells. Mr. Boyd Dawkins, one of our most indefatigable cave explorers, has recently given to the world an excellent account of caves, and of the human and animal remains found in them, showing the vast changes of climate which they illustrate. The exploration of these caves offers a wide field of investigation to the anthropologist and archælogist; whilst there is danger sufficient to please the most adventurous mountaineer who may engage in the exploration of these recesses. Mr. Dawkins would divide the bone-caves of Europe into three classes: the historic, pre-historic, and pleistocene. The historic cave is that containing articles of the iron and bronze period, that is, of the same date as our barrows or dolmens, being the most modern; the prehistoric, or neolithic, are of the second stone age; and the pleistocene, or palæolithic, of the first or earliest stone age. Some caves, he tells us, as the Victoria cave at Settle in Yorkshire, contain stratified deposits, comprising various remains of all these periods. At the entrance were found bronze, gilt and enamelled ornaments, which are referred to the Romano-Keltic or Brit-Welsh period, after the withdrawal of the Romans from this island, prior to the Anglo-Saxon conquest. Underneath these, and separated by a mass of accumulated fragments of stone six feet in thickness—calculated to represent a period of three thousand five hundred years—is a neolithic stratum; below which again is a deposit of grey clays of variable depth, under which is the loamy *cave earth*, containing the bones of animals of the pleistocene or earliest *stone age*, more or less gnawed by hyænas, which, at that time, must have inhabited this cave; finally, a fragment of a human fibula (i.e. the long bone of the leg), establishes the fact of the existence of man in England as a contemporary of these animals. The neolithic caves are far more numerous, and the Denbighshire caverns afford the most remarkable examples of them; these indicate not only occupation by the living but also by the dead.

The difficulty, however, of pronouncing on the relative age of associated remains is indeed enormous; mere superposition or association, it seems, can never be rigidly enforced as a test; for instance, in the Uphill cave the pleistocene deposit is vertically *above* the historic deposit. In the Paviland cave, again, two sets of widely different ages are intimately associated; it would seem, too, that even the objects being cemented together by the same calcareous infiltration is no proof of contemporary or relative age, which cannot be ascertained without distinct stratification, as in Kent's Hole, Wookey's Cave, &c. The problem is also still further complicated by the filling up, re-excavating, and re-filling of caves by floods; and, to some such physical change of position from an older to a newer deposit, does Mr. Dawkins attribute the presence of that formidable carnivore, *Machairodus latidens*, in Kent's Cave. The evidence of the cave deposits may be thus briefly summed up as proving: first, that the climate and geography of Europe in ancient times were altogether different from those of the present day, and that a palæolithic people of Eskimo race migrated into Europe, probably from the East, along with the peculiar pleistocene fauna in the pre-glacial age, and disappeared with the same arctic mammalia, leaving behind them as their representatives the Eskimos, and that those palæolithic people were cave-dwellers, supporting life in a rigorous climate by hunting and fishing. Second, that an indefinite interval of time, which cannot be measured by years, separated the palæolithic peoples from their successors of the neolithic age, who also probably came from the East, bringing with them cereals and domestic animals. We know more of these people than of the palæolithic, and, from what we can ascertain, it appears that they lived in caves like their predecessors, and also used caves as sepulchres; that they were a non-Aryan people, were of swarthy complexion, dolichocephalic, and short, and were distinguished, in many instances, by platycnemism (a peculiar flattening of the shin-bone); that they were a pastoral people, and, to some extent, agricultural; and that, when caves were not to be had, they buried their dead in chambered cairns. These peoples, also, have been absorbed into other races, or have almost disappeared, leaving as their sole representatives the Basques, Berbers, and Kabyles. They were succeeded by the Aryan migration, the fair, brachycephalic, tall, and broad-shouldered Kelts, who brought with them metallurgic skill, bronze and iron, and a higher state of civilisation. And here we must take leave of Mr. Dawkins, and refer our readers for further information to Sir Charles Lyell's 'Antiquity of Man,' fourth edition, 1873; to Sir John Lubbock's 'Prehistoric Man;' and Mr. Boyd Dawkins' 'Cave hunting; or, Researches on the Evidences of Caves respecting the Early Inhabitants of Europe,' London, 1874.

Anthropology.

Our information with regard to man is extended beyond the historical limit by inferences drawn from the relics of early ages and remote districts, to interpret which is the task of prehistoric archæology. It is the office of anthropology to correct and arrange facts so as to elaborate, as completely as possible, the synopsis of man's bodily and mental nature; and to formulate the theory of his *whole course* of life and action since his first appearance on earth.

Professor Huxley, in 'Man's Place in Nature,' London, 1863, comparing man with other orders of mammalia, decides that—"There would remain but one order for comparison, that of the apes, and the question for discussion would narrow itself to this: Is man so different from any of these apes that he must form an order of animals by himself? Or, does he differ less from them than they differ from one another, and hence must take his place in the same order with them?" Into the anatomical peculiarities which distinguish man from every variety of apes, it is not our purpose to enter, except very briefly. M. Bory de St. Vincent, like some others of the same school of thought, is desirous of retaining man and the ourang-utans in the same zoological family. But the structural differences, easily recognisable by a comparison of the skeletons, forbid it. The formation of the skull alone, as compared with the most abject human idiot, is unmistakably brutal; while all the discrepancies in the osseous formation are distinctly referable to original structure, and are neither explicable on the supposition of any possible degradation of the human species, nor of any cultivation of the anthropoid apes. The ourang-utan of Borneo stands about five feet high, and its fingers, when it stands erect, reach to the ankle joint. It possesses strong imitative powers, but in intelligence it is far below the dog, the elephant, and the horse. It resembles man, however, in two points, in which it differs from all other animals. These points are:—First, that it does not squat to sleep like monkeys, but lies down on its side like a man, and puts its hands to form a pillow for the head, or provides a stone or a block of wood, to rest its head upon. Secondly, alone of all animals these anthropoids defend themselves, when attacked, by the use of weapons; handling stones, sticks, or clubs, which they use with considerable dexterity, either hurling them at the enemy, or standing up in a hand-to-hand fight. In evidence of their human sympathies, we have heard numerous stories told of gorillas carrying off young negresses into the woods for concubines; and Humboldt relates, on the evidence of Father Gili, of a lady carried off from San Carlos in South America, by an ape, and of her being subsequently rescued by hunters, and brought back together with the large family she had by this monster. On the other hand, so low is the scale of intelligence in these anthropoids that, if they find a fire burning, they will sit round it till it is out, but have no idea of supplying fuel to it though surrounded by a forest. It is, however, in assigning to man his place in nature on psychological grounds that the greater difficulty arises. The same naturalist (Huxley), who denies the existence of an absolute structural line of demarcation between man and the creatures next in the scale, readily acknowledges an immeasurable and practically infinite divergence, ending in the present enormous gulf between the family of apes and the family of man. To account for this intellectual chasm as possibly due to some minor structural difference is, however, a view strongly opposed to the prevailing opinion. That only a distinctive human element of the highest import can account for the difference between man and the highest animal in the scale immediately below him is the opinion deeply rooted in modern as in ancient thought. This distinction does not lie in the range and delicacy of direct sensation, as may be judged from such well-known facts as man's inferiority to the eagle in sight, or to the dog in scent; for, beyond a doubt, man possesses, by virtue of his superiority of brain, a power of co-ordinating the impressions of his senses, which enables him to understand the world he lives in and, by understanding, to use, resist, and even in a measure, rule it. No human art shows the nature of this human attribute more clearly than his faculty of speech and the phenomena of language. "There is," as has been well observed by Agassiz, "a manifest progress in the succession of beings on the surface of the earth; and this progress consists in an increasing similarity of the living fauna, and, among vertebrate animals especially, in their increasing resemblance to man. But the link by which they are connected is of a higher and immaterial nature; and their connection is to be sought in the view of the Creator Himself, whose aim in forming the earth, in allowing it to undergo the successive changes which geology has pointed out, and in creating successively all the different types of animals which have passed away, was to introduce man upon the surface of our globe." With reference to the alleged descent of man from a species of ape, we quote from Darwin's 'Descent of Man,' part i., chapter vi., the following remarks. Speaking of apes, he says:—"An ancient form, which possessed many characters common to the catarhine and platyrhine monkeys, and others in an intermediate condition, and some few, perhaps, distinct from those now present in either group, would undoubtedly have been ranked, if seen by a naturalist, as an ape or a monkey. And as man, under a genealogical point of view, belongs to the catarhine or Old World stock, we must conclude, however much the conclusion may revolt our pride, that our early progenitors would have been properly thus designated. But we must not fall into the error of supposing that the early progenitor of the whole Simian stock, including man, was identical with, or even closely resembled, any existing ape or monkey." And here we must quit the subject. Meantime, anthropology waits to see whether the discovery of intermediate forms, which has of late reduced so many asserted species to mere varieties, will go on till it produces a disbelief in any real separation between neighbouring species. Especially does it wait to see whether geology can furnish traces of the hypothetical animal, man's *near ancestor*, but not as yet *man*.

The classification of mankind into a number of permanent varieties or races rests on grounds which are not only obvious, but definite. The anthropological classification of mankind is zoological in its nature, like that of the varieties of any other animal group; and the characters on which it is based are, in great measure, physical; though intellectual and traditional peculiarities, such as moral habits and language, furnish important aid.

Among the best marked characteristics of a race are the colour of the skin, the structure and arrangement of the hair, the stature and proportions of the frame, the shape of the skull; the general contour of the face, especially the nose and eyes; and, lastly, the constitution of the body, and the mental and moral character. Professor Huxley's scheme probably approaches more nearly than any other to such a classification as may be accepted in definition of the principal varieties of mankind, regarded only from a *zoological* point of view. He distinguishes four principal types of mankind, viz. the Australoid, Negroid, Mongoloid, and Xanthochroic, adding a fifth variety, the Melanochroic or dark whites, to which he refers a large part of those classed as Kelts, together with the Spaniards, Italians, Greeks, and Arabs, regarding them as a cross between the Xanthochroids and Australoids. Professor Huxley has also divided the varieties of man into two great classes distinguished by the character of the hair, 1st, the Ulotrichi, or those races of man having crisp, woolly hair; and, 2nd, the Leiotrichi, or those with smooth hair.

A. THE ULOTRICHI.—The colour in this race of man varies from yellow and brown to the darkest tint known in the human skin, usually called *black*. The hair and eyes are dark, and the skulls *dolichocephalic*, or long. The chief varieties are:—

1st. Negroes, extending throughout Africa from the Desert of Sahara to the Cape of Good Hope.

2nd. Bushmen, inhabiting the Cape district. The Bushmen are remarkable for their low stature; the males seldom exceeding four feet in height, and the females are much shorter. The Bushmen have a remarkable tendency to develop great masses of fat upon the buttocks. The profile of the face is hideous, and remarkable for the prominence of the lips, over which the nose is flattened, displaying the open nostrils, while the foot is so singularly formed that the Bushman may be tracked by his foot-marks.

3rd. Negritos, inhabiting the Andaman Islands, Malacca, the Philippine Islands, and Papua, or New Guinea, with the Islands as far south as New Caledonia and Tasmania. Of these, the Andaman islanders alone have *brachycephalic* or broad skulls.

B. LEIOTRICHI. — These he divides into four classes:—

1st. The Australoid type, with dark skin, hair, and eyes; long wavy black hair of fine silky texture, *dolichocephalic* or long skull; prominent brow ridges; nose broad, but not flat; jaws heavy and projecting, and lips very coarse and flexible. The natives of Australia, and the hill-tribes of the Dekhan (Dravidians), exhibit these characters, and the ancient Egyptians possessed them also.

2nd. The Mongoloid type. Skin yellowish or reddish brown; eyes and hair black, the hair scanty upon the body and face, but long and straight on the scalp; skulls varying from dolichocephalic to brachycephalic. From Lapland to Siam this type prevails, and this section has broad skulls; but the Chinese and Japanese have long skulls. The Malays, with broad, and the Dyaks of Borneo, with long skulls, belong to this class, as do also the Polynesians, the Maories of New Zealand, and the American races.

3rd. The Xanthochroic type, or *fair white*, have clear transparent skins, blue or grey eyes, abundant fair hair. Skulls vary from dolichocephalic to brachycephalic. The Slavonians (Bohemians, Russians, Poles, Servians, Bulgarians, Slovaks, Slovenians, Dalmatians, Carinthians, and Montenegrins), the Teutons (Germans, Dutch, Belgians, Bavarians, Saxons), the Scandinavians (Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, and Icelanders), and fair Keltic speaking nations, belong to this division, which extends into North Africa and Western Asia.

4th. The Melanochroic type, or dark whites, have pale complexions, dark eyes and hair, skulls generally long, but sometimes broad. The Iberians, "black Kelts," of Western Europe, dark-complexioned whites of the Mediterranean, as Portuguese, Spaniards, Greeks, and Italians, together with the natives of Western Asia and Persia, are included in this class, which is probably due to a mixture of the Australoid type with the Xanthochroic.

Dr. Bergmann (Doyen de la Faculté de Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg) published a treatise in 1864, which, from its novelty, deserves to be mentioned in this connection. In this treatise he endeavours to establish two propositions: 1st, that there is a unity of the human species, in spite of the variety of the races; 2nd, that, notwithstanding there exists a unity of the human species, there is a radical difference between the different families of languages.

He considers the *black race* as the original and primitive type of mankind, and regards Central Africa as the cradle of the human race, whence it spread in different directions, and peopled the whole earth, acquiring in the course of long ages, and under the various gradations of climate and external circumstances, those marked physical peculiarities by which one race differs so widely from another.

For the arguments by which he seeks to establish these propositions, we must refer the reader to the original 'L'Unité de l'Espèce humaine, par F. G. Bergmann,' Strassbuurg, 1864. Our space will only permit us to give the summing up of his arguments, which is as follows:—"From the preceding arguments we may conclude that the origin of the human race goes back to at least 25,000 years; that the human species, now differing so much from each other in different races, proceeds from one primitive stock; and that is *the black race*, the original seat of which was in Central Africa; that man took between 15,000 and 20,000 years after his origin to multiply and spread abroad to the different parts of the world, and to differentiate himself into various races; and that, notwithstanding the plurality of races, there is a unity of the human species, because all races spring originally from one and the same primitive stock."

After the 100,000 years required by Sir Charles Lyell for the existence of the human race, we must admit that Dr. Bergmann's request is certainly a very modest one.

With the view of affording the most recent information on the important science of anthropology, we have made use of a very able article in the new edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' to which, and to the authors here quoted and referred to, we must direct the reader for further information. We may also add to the list Sir John Lubbock's 'Pre-historic Times,' and Tylor's 'Primitive Culture.'

CHAPTER V.

The History of Industry, Commerce, etc., from A.D. 1837 to A.D. 1873.

WONDERFUL and unprecedented as were the advances made by Great Britain in all the principal elements of national wealth and power during the half-century preceding the Victorian period, the much briefer term of years now to be reviewed offers the spectacle of a yet more prodigious growth in the main constituents of material prosperity and of the safeguards for its continuance.

Steam, that illimitable motive power, the new basis and the mainstay of most of the great modern industries that give subsistence to masses of the population, stands pre-eminent among the agencies that have thus rapidly brought about the enormous extension of England's resources, and an actual doubling of the property of her inhabitants. Steam depends on coal. Taking into account the quality, the abundance, and the comparative ease with which the buried stores of this most useful of all the minerals can be brought to the light of day, every other land is poor by contrast with England, in the ownership of this most potential of all the forces and energies of nature, hitherto rendered available in industry and locomotion. Hence from the days when inventive genius harnessed steam to mechanism, and enlisted its exhaustless energies into the service of manufacture and traffic, an easy ascendancy was secured to the people of these islands in the chief productive industries and in the carrying trade of the world. But besides the iron horse, fed with coal, and stimulated with water, whose unwearying strength is utilised in a thousand sorts of work, other efficient agencies have borne each a very important part in keeping this country ahead in the manufacturing and commercial rivalry of nations. Its central position in the highways of international traffic; its many commodious havens and harbours; the stability of its civil, financial, and political framework; its vast accumulations of capital, representing centuries of plodding industry and enterprise on the part of its inhabitants; the trained efficiency of its thousands of manufacturers and millions of handicraftsmen;—such are the advantages that have worked together, all playing their part in securing to this nation its commanding position as the chief workshop of the world, and making it the centre wherein converge all the interests and energies of commerce, both of the Old and the New World. Intervals of pause, or slackened progress, have not been less frequent in the period under notice than in the one preceding; but trying as have been such checks to the several interests which in turn have tasted adversity, taken as a whole, the main stream of national prosperity has shown no serious token of subsidence. Thousands of the most energetic and thriving merchants, manufacturers, inventors, and capitalists of other lands see in these islands so tempting a field for their enterprise and skill and wealth that they make their homes here, and find among us ample recompense for exile from the countries of their birth. London, Glasgow, Liverpool, and other great centres of our trade number among their wealthiest classes richer French, Germans, Russians, Spaniards, Greeks, and Italians than are to be found in the native countries of those aliens by birth and blood, though now adopted citizens.

As in previous similar sections, some few gleanings from official records are here presented, exhibiting in a collective form the outward token of expansion in home industries and foreign trade. The total official valuation of imports into the United Kingdom in 1837, the first year of the reign, stands at 54,702,285*l.*, and the exports at 86,779,568*l.* Five years later, viz. in 1842, imports stand at 65,253,286*l.*, and exports at 113,841,842*l.* In 1847, imports reached 90,992,000*l.*, and exports 146,172,000*l.*; in 1852, imports 109,245,000*l.*, and exports 219,946,000*l.* The large increase shewn for each of these periods of five years was almost equally continuous through the intervals. In 1854 the old method of official valuation, framed on a scale that no longer represented actual values, but was nevertheless of use as an index of quantities forming each yearly aggregate of commodities exported and imported, was set aside; and henceforth only real or declared values, as certified by the merchant concerned in each transaction, appear in the returns, instead of one column for official or estimated values, and another for real or declared values. This first has to be borne in mind in comparing the figures now to be stated with those for earliar years. In 1854 the real value of imports stands at 152,589,000*l.*, and of exports at 115,821,000*l.* Five years later, in 1859, imports were swollen to 179,182,000*l.*, and exports to 155,693,000*l.* In 1864 imports reached to 274,962,000*l.*, and exports to 212,620,000*l.* In 1869, imports were 295,460,000*l.*, and exports 237,015,000*l.* For the remaining four years of our period the quantities were as under:—

	1870	1871	1872	1873
	£	£	£	£
Imports	303,257,493	331,015,480	354,693,624	370,380,742
Exports	244,080,577	283,574,700	314,588,834	310,903,498

This imposing array of figures, eloquently significant of progress, thus leads up from an import trade represented by little more than 1,000,000*l.* sterling for *each week* in the first year of the period to upwards of 1,000,000*l.* *each day* in the final year of the series, or a sevenfold increase in thirty-seven years. The export trade for the same period exhibits a more than fourfold increase. Such growth would have been simply impossible under the system of protection, which was still in vigorous force at the opening of the period, though somewhat shaken by the results of Huskisson's measures. But Sir Robert Peel, who in Huskisson's time was a protectionist, had become a convert to free-trade principles, and after some preliminary advances in 1842, when the income-tax was adopted to fill the void, about to be created by a reduced tariff, he abolished, in 1845, customs' duties on no fewer than 420 articles, including cotton, flax, hemp, hides, and most of the raw materials of manufactures. The failure of the potato crop in that year, with its terrible consequence, the Irish famine, and the bad corn harvest, forced upon a reluctant parliament a yet further acceptance of free-trade doctrine in regard to grain and other food imports. In 1846 came the crowning glory of Peel's administration, the repeal of the duties on corn, and with it the close of a dangerous agitation which for years had kept alive the angry discontent of toiling millions. The potato disease and the bad corn harvest of 1846, besides dealing the deathblow to our ancient protectionist policy, were noteworthy for the part they bore in bringing about the widespread commercial distress and panic of 1847. Wheat in our home markets having risen to 120*s.* the quarter in the winter of 1846, the speculators in that article were tempted to buy all they could get in America and the nearer corn-exporting countries. Prodigious quantities came over in the summer. Our own harvest proved abundant and early. These two influences in combination caused a sudden fall down to half the prices that ruled the corn-market a few months earlier. Most of the large speculators in wheat forthwith failed. Their insolvency caused the stoppage of several leading monetary firms—discount brokers, and bankers—that had supplied the funds for their rash ventures. These failures engendered alarm that rapidly intensified the evil. Credit generally was undermined; several leading firms of high standing collapsed; and there was a rush upon the banks, bringing downfall and ruin on many of them. The Royal Bank of Liverpool, the Liverpool Banking Company, the North and South Wales Banking Company, some private banks, and the Union Bank of Newcastle, were among the first victims of this almost total prostration of credit. The London bankers and discount brokers declined to give the usual accommodation to their customers, and thus forced all who required help to resort to the Bank of England. The pressure on its resources was nearly as severe as that under which it was forced to suspend cash payments just fifty years earlier. Meanwhile the failures of mercantile houses in London alone represented a total exceeding 8,000,000*l.* The dangers of the crisis, as subsequently described in the report of a parliamentary committee, "were such as to require a remedy prompt, decisive, and effectual." The remedy was sought and found in a departure from the restrictive provisions of the Bank Act of 1844. By an extraordinary exercise of government power, such as would never be ventured on except in grave emergencies, the premier and the chancellor of the exchequer, by a letter dated 25th of October 1847, authorised the directors to enlarge the amount of their discounts and advances beyond the limits prescribed by law, upon approved security at eight per cent. interest. This relaxation, which was subsequently approved of by parliament, in effect pledged the public credit for the special advances over and above the 14,474,000*l.* allowed under the Act. The letter dissipated the storm, which indeed had pretty well spent its force before, and calm reigned afresh in the money market, without the actual issue of a single note under the exceptional powers conferred on the directors. The year 1857 also witnessed widespread monetary disaster, much of which was only too well deserved, through a sudden stagnation in commerce, and a large depreciation of railroad shares and other securities. Almost all the banks in New York, Boston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, suspended cash payments, just when more than 20,000,000*l.* were payable to our exporters of goods to those ports, besides very large sums due to English investors in American securities. Glasgow, Liverpool, and London, the centres of our trade with America, soon felt the weight of this American trouble. Thirty great mercantile and banking-houses failed, with an aggregate liability of more than 9,000,000*l.* Conspicuous among the banks that failed was the Western Bank of Scotland, which had its headquarters in Glasgow, with 101 branch establishments dispersed over Scotland. The ruin of this great establishment was unquestionably due to reckless indiscretion, and even graver faults, in the management. Its funds and credits were largely employed in sustaining the enormous speculative enterprises of four Glasgow firms, engaged in the American trade, with next to no capital of their own, and which were the first to close their doors when news came over of the American panic. The aggregate losses of the Western Bank exceeded 3,000,000*l.*; hundreds of its too confiding shareholders were reduced to absolute want, and many more were nearly ruined. No such gigantic failure had ever happened before in Scotland. The City of Glasgow Bank suspended; but it emerged creditably from its troubles, and was set going afresh. "In a public point of view, the stoppage of the Glasgow banks was productive of the very worst results. By creating a panic, and occasioning a heavy internal demand for gold, it may indeed be said to have been the main cause of the suspension of the Act of 1844." (McCulloch 'Dictionary of Commerce,' article, "Banking.") Scotland at large felt acutely the consequences of these Glasgow failures, and most of its banks were put to the utmost strain to meet the rush upon them for gold. The other great failures included the Borough Bank of Liverpool, with a total loss of its capital of nearly a million; the Northumberland and Durham Bank, at Newcastle, with a loss of even greater magnitude, due mainly to dealings with the Derwent Iron Company, a sort of bottomless pit for absorbing capital without yielding any return; and two bill-broking houses in London, with liabilities of between eight and nine millions and a trading capital hardly one-hundreth part as much. Excessive speculation and abuse of credit were at the bottom of all these failures. The demand meanwhile on the Bank of England for advances and discounts at ten per cent. drained its resources to a level even lower than 1847; but in this critical state of affairs government intervened with a temporary relaxation of the restrictions on its paper issues, and a bill of indemnity was subsequently carried through parliament, to cover such infringement of the law. Hamburg, Amsterdam, and other chief trading communities of Europe felt more or less the pressure of the same disturbing influences, that had their widest and deepest operations in America, England, and Scotland. A committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1858 to inquire into the operation of the Bank Acts of 1844 (England) and 1845 (Scotland and Ireland), and to investigate how far it had been affected by the laws for regulating the issue of banknotes. Their report is strongly in favour of maintaining the existing law without modification, and in that view they had the concurrence of all the principal financiers and bankers of the day. They held "that the recent commercial crisis in this country, as well as in America and in the north of Europe, was mainly owing to excessive speculation and abuse of credit; and also that in the time of pressure the houses which deserved assistance received it from the Bank of England, in a manner which that establishment would not have been able to give except for the bullion retained in its coffers." They were further "satisfied to leave in the discretion of the executive government the time and prudent opportunity of giving farther effect to those principles by which the convertibility of the Bank of England note has been kept above suspicion."

The abnormal abundance of gold, in not a few of the last twenty years covered by this section, exerted a yet more potent influence than comparative scarcity of specie and bullion at other times in bringing about the violent monetary shocks of 1857 and later dates. Irrespective of coinage imports, and of gold brought into England under private charge, the quantities of uncoined gold entered in ships' manifests, as portions of cargo, between 1851 and 1873, were little less in aggregate value than 300,000,000*l.* Australia alone, in the first ten years (1851-61) from the opening of its gold stores, sent nuggets and other varieties of the metal to the value of 100,000,000*l.* The total yield of all the goldfields of the world, between 1850 and 1873, must have exceeded 500,000,000*l.* Large and flourishing cities, with busy and prosperous industries, that now diversify the aspect of vast tracts of country on the shores of the Pacific and in Australia, owe their origin or their expansion to the gold-finding in neighbouring districts, within the short span of twenty or less years. San Francisco, the centre of a commerce that calls into its commodious harbour the mercantile fleets of all nations, was in 1846 a small coast station, with about a hundred and fifty inhabitants. The gold discoveries of the following four years called hundreds of thousands of enterprising immigrants from Europe, Asia, Australia, and every part of America. A splendid city of fifty thousand inhabitants grew up in a few years about the harbour of San Francisco, and the population of California mounted from a few thousands to a million. The yield of gold in that quarter exceeded an annual average of 10,000,000*l.* throughout many years, and attracted in exchange a corresponding amount of the commodities produced for the most part in our own busy hives of industry. The development of our Australian colonies, under the same stimulus of gold discovery, has been hardly less rapid and marvellous than that of California. The total imports into all the Australian colonies mounted in value from 8,086,000*l.* in 1852 to 32,453,000*l.* in 1865. The exports from the same colonies, including gold, increased in the same interval from 15,523,000*l.* to 30,399,000*l.* The largest masses of gold ever found came from the prolific Australian goldfields. Among these were the "Welcome" nugget from Ballarat, valued at 10,000*l.*; the "Heron" nugget, valued at 4080*l.*; and the "Blanche Barkly" nugget, valued at 6905*l.* The wants of a rapidly growing commerce and an increasing population have absorbed the abundant additions to our gold stores, and forestalled the inconvenience of a scarcity that must else have found expression in prices of commodities beyond all former experience. The annual yield of silver has so nearly kept pace with the increase of our gold stores that the relative values of the two metals have undergone scarcely any change.

The frugal populations of India, China, and Japan, have clung tenaciously to heavy amounts of the bullion remitted in exchange for their raw produce. But the enrichment of Orientals cannot fail in the long run to make them better customers than ever for the products of our factories and workshops.

As already hinted, the vast increment in our stock of gold has not proved an unmixed blessing. A reckless spirit of speculation, beyond all limits of sober trading, spread as an epidemic through most of the countries irrigated by the golden flood. The evil spirit was called into operation by that element of uncertainty in values which sprang, as a matter of course, out of a threefold or fourfold increase in the annual yield of gold and silver. "Immense profits were made upon many commodities shipped to the gold countries, and speculative shipments were encouraged. Much of the gold consigned to England was in payment for goods, and a considerable amount was for investment. There was an unusual abundance of capital seeking employment, and the rate of interest declined. Borrowing was thus encouraged, and securities were not so rigidly examined as they are when capital is scarce. A period of recklessness followed. Railways were again promoted. Consignments to Australia, California, and America, were made to an unparalleled extent. Every factory in the United Kingdom was overwhelmed with orders, and new factories were started. Joint-stock companies put in their familiar appearance, and rash commercial enterprises were undertaken. Foreign ports were soon so lavishly supplied with British goods that the prices could not be maintained, and great losses followed. . . . . Dealings in the scrip of new companies, before the first calls, sent worthless schemes to a premium, although the shares were never intended to be kept by the allottees, who, indeed, never had the money to pay for them. . . . . But the fatal day of distrust could not be for ever deferred. As schemes matured, solid capital was wanted, and the unreal character of the traffic in shares began to be perceived. . . . . Fidelity to engagements became almost impossible. Notwithstanding the fabulous sums of gold and silver contributed by the new mines, money was sorely wanted. . . . . Gold and silver, mostly the latter, to the value of 60,000,000*l.* had, since 1857, been sent to India, China, and other parts of Asia. French railways had absorbed 120,000,000*l.* English railways had been more than doubled in extent since 1848, at an enormous outlay. Railways in every quarter of the globe were being formed as fast as engineers and contractors could accomplish the work. The Crimean war, moreover, cost England 100,000,000*l.* . . . The era was marked by a profuse expenditure in England and France, but in America, where the practice of long credit prevailed, the extravagance was even greater, and as insensate as it was immoral." (Yeats' 'Manual of Recent and Existing Commerce.')

The panic of 1866 is memorable, partly for the enormous monetary losses by which it was marked, but more so on account of a peculiarity of its own, singling it out from earlier financial shocks and crashes that figure in history. It was not caused by over-trading, in the usual sense of the term, as applying to buying and selling of produce and other merchandise. Except in the item of cotton, of which supplies were scant, owing to the war in America, the commerce of the year was unmarked by speculative transactions. Foreign trade generally was highly prosperous, and conducted on a sound footing. The new finance and credit companies, formed under the provisions of the Limited Liability Act of 1856, were the sources of the mischief. These associations professed to find funds for keeping all sorts of enterprises going. In order to attract deposits, they offered higher interest to their customers by two or three per cent. than most of the banks were giving. But deposits on which high interest was offered had necessarily to be lent at yet higher interest, in order to earn a dividend for shareholders, and pay working expenses. Borrowers, however, at exceptionally high interest, in years when money was abundant and cheap, were not forthcoming in sufficient numbers among traders in safe and established concerns. They were mainly to be found among projectors of new lines of railway, and kindred undertakings, the profits of which, if any, could only accrue after a prolonged interval; among promoters of mining ventures, and similar intrinsically risky enterprises; and among men carrying on businesses that had never thriven through lack of adequate capital, for which good security could not be given. Such were, in fact, the classes of debtors that for the most part figured in the largest transactions of the new leading companies.

Several of the finance and credit establishments beguiled their shareholders, in successive years, with fictitious reports of large profits, and with the distribution of fictitious dividends of large amount, which in reality were paid out of capital. Such falsifications, however, eventually came to light, on the failure of funds to continue the process of deception. The first of these rotten concerns that collapsed was the *Financial Corporation.* Its nominal capital was 3,000,000*l.*, out of which, however only 125,000*l.* was really subscribed in cash. The house of Overend, Gurney, and Co., a financial firm of old standing and of world-wide repute, had for several years previously committed itself to the class of risky business which its new competitors started. Its losses in mining ventures, loans for railway construction, and other unprosperous or unprofitable fields of investment, were enormous. Rumours of its instability sent crowds of its customers, on the 10th of May, to claim payment of their deposits. Next day its doors were closed, and the panic was in full force. One day later came the close of the English Joint Stock Bank, and the announcement that Peto and Betts, contractors for railway and other works of the greatest magnitude, were insolvent. Distrust and terror spread far and wide. The Bank of England raised its rate of discount to nine per cent., but so pressing were the demands for its notes that the reserve fell to 730,000*l.* on the 16th of May. Then came, under urgent requisitions from the mercantile community, the governmental remedy—a suspension of the Bank Charter Act, on condition that the lowest rate of discount should be ten per cent. while the suspension lasted. The knowledge that notes were to be had beyond the statutory limitation that governs the issues in ordinary times allayed the distrust, and the run was checked. But though the force of the tempest was abated, other wrecks were yet to be counted. Establishments linked with those that had fallen were soon dragged into the same vortex of ruin. The most conspicuous London failures, in succession to the Overend crash, were the European Bank, the Agra and Masterman's Bank, the Bank of London, the Consolidated Bank, the Oriental Commercial Bank, and Hallet, Ommanney, and Co. The Consolidated Bank succumbed only temporarily, and finally weathered the storm with flying colours. Barned's Bank, at Liverpool, and several other conspicuous establishments in the same place, besides several firms in London and Liverpool, connected mainly with Bombay business, were among the failures in the same crisis. But cotton speculations, rather than misapplied credits in ventures out of the line of ordinary commercial dealings, were at the bottom of this section of the years' disasters. The other financial companies, including most of the banks that collapsed, owed their ruin to the misuse of credit, in its large and imprudent extension to the furtherance of transaction and ventures quite beyond the range of safe trading operations. The very name of *credit and finance* companies fell into serious, if not irretrievable, disrepute, through the exposures of malpractices in the working of the associations that collapsed in the panic of 1866.

Since 1866 several near advances towards the same trying ordeal have overtaken the commercial and financial world; but actual panic of the old type has happily not again been experienced in England, though examples of it have again occurred, especially in 1873, in Austria, parts of northern Germany, and the United States. No nation having any considerable amount of commerce is exempt from periodical disturbances of the same description; nor is it probable that trading operations will ever be so prudently conducted as to abolish the risk of failures, with the inevitable accompaniment of distrust and alarm, growing at times to the condition of a panic that infinitely multiplies the first losses out of which it originates.

Peel's successors have followed up his free-trade principles to an extent that leaves at the present date little over a dozen articles subject to import duties, whereas the reign began with a tariff of more than one thousand two hundred items. The excise tariff also included many articles now happily liberated from imposts, such as bricks, glass, soap, paper, &c. Despite the enormous remission of customs and excise duties, representing 24,000,000*l.* since 1840, over and above any amount imposed, the increased yield on the articles remaining taxable has more than filled the gap. Customs and excise together supplied, in 1873, 46,880,086*l.* of the national income, being 8,751,280*l.* in excess of the corresponding totals for 1840. Commerce is ever finding new channels in which to flow, or widens and deepens the old ones. With vast extension in all the productive industries, and proportionate expansion in home and foreign trade, has come a corresponding growth in the property of the kingdom. The property assessed for income tax in 1843 was 250,000,000*l.*; the corresponding total has gone on increasing at an average yearly rate of more than 6,000,000*l.*, until it is represented by an aggregate close on 450,000,000*l.* Thirty years ago each penny in the poundage forming income and property tax yielded less than 850,000*l.* At the close of the period dealt with in this chapter the corresponding poundage produced 1,840,000*l.* for each penny.

To the foregoing evidence of continuous progress in wealth and prosperity, despite of crashes due to rash speculation or worse sources, may here be added some of the more striking items in the import and export trade of the last three years covered by this notice. The money value, without specifying quantities, weights, or numbers, is all our limited space will allow of mentioning.

Imports.—In 1871, the money value of meat supplies imported, both living and dead, including oxen, calves, sheep, lambs, and swine, together with bacon and salted or fresh beef, reached a total of 8,805,614*l.* For 1872, the corresponding aggregate was 8,587,765*l*; and for 1873, 11,608,795*l.* Pork and hams, not included in this reckoning of meat supplies, would raise the totals of each year by quite another million. For butter, in addition to the produce of our own dairies, we paid 6,958,961*l.* in 1871; 6,030,893*l.* in 1872; and 6,857,396*l.* in 1873. For the same years, foreign cheese cost us 3,343,574*l.*, 3,035,643*l.*, and 4,057,784*l.*

Imported bread-stuffs, comprising wheat and flour, but not reckoning coarser ingredients such as are too commonly mingled with wheaten meal to make bread, cost 26,848,414*l.* in 1871; 30,139,065*l.* in 1872; and 34,285,886*l.* in 1873. Rice, in 1871, 2,320,637*l.*; in 1872, 3,473,788*l.*; and in 1873, 3,238,387*l.* For the same years, the cost of imported food for horses, &c., such as barley, oats, peas, beans, and maize, reached the respective totals of 15,759,661*l.*, 20,859,559*l.* and 17,235,468*l.*

Foreign eggs, to supplement the insufficient yield of our own poultry-yards, cost 1,265,484*l.* in 1871; 1,762,803*l.* in 1872; and 2,367,741*l.* in 1873.

The imports of tinned meats, preserved otherwise than by salting, were of the values of 671,452*l.* in 1871; 906,680*l.* in 1872; and 733,848*l.* in 1873.

Potatoes from abroad came to 225,732*l.* in 1871; to 1,654,240*l.* in 1872; and to 2,121,235*l.* in 1873.

Sugar, raw and refined, candy, and molasses, cost us 18,571,618*l.* in 1871; 21,414,803*l.* in 1872; and 21,436,882*l.* in 1873.

Tea imports reached 11,635,641*l.* in 1871; 12,814,440*l.* in 1872; and 11,538,865*l.* in 1873.

The coffee imports were to the value of 5,407,110*l.* in 1871; 5,228,608*l.* in 1872; and 7,318,587*l.* in 1873.

Tobacco, cigars, and snuff cost the importers 4,002,706*l.* in 1871; 2,646,215*l.* in 1872; and 3,460,919*l.* in 1873. The heavy duty on the fragrant weed, and the profits of the dealers, will raise these aggregates to fully fivefold those totals, as the cost to the consumers.

The wine bill of the nation, up to the point of landing the supply, was 7,069,557*l.* in 1871; 7,714,825*l.* in 1872; and 8,304,032*l.* in 1873.

Wood and timber, including hewn, sawn, or split, planed or dressed, staves and mahogany, represent total values of 12,081,879*l.* in 1871; 13,753,208*l.* in 1872; and 18,664,992*l.* in 1873.

Raw cotton, more than half of which both in quantity and money value came from the United States, cost us 55,767,545*l.* in 1871; 53,617,457*l.* in 1872; and 54,887,320*l.* in 1873.

Flax, dressed and undressed, mainly from Russia, but with large contingents from Belgium, Holland, and Germany, reached the respective totals of 5,791,188*l.* in 1871; 5,009,176*l.* in 1872; and 5,294,834*l.* in 1873.

The totals for hemp, dressed and undressed, principally from Russia, but with a large share from Italy and the Philippine Islands, were 2,376,392*l.* in 1871; 2,095,294*l.* in 1872; and 2,319,349*l.* in 1873.

Jute fibre cost us, in 1871, 2,932,238*l.*; in 1872, 2,478,967*l.*; and in 1873, 2,438,273*l.*

Hides, dry and wet, tanned or dressed, together with leather, manufactured into gloves, boots, and shoes, cost 6,457,699*l.* in 1871; 8,285,230*l.* in 1872; and 8,104,921*l.* in 1873.

Oils, including train, blubber, spermaceti, palm, cocoa-nut, olive, the various seed oils, and turpentine, reached the aggregates of 5,817,611*l.* in 1871; 5,906,173*l.* in 1872; and 5,555,888*l.* in 1873.

Tallow and stearine cost us, in 1871, 3,111,751*l.*; in 1872, 2,835, 021*l.*; and in 1873, 3,133,357*l.*

Silk, including all the varieties of raw and manufactured, satins, ribbons, broad-stuffs, &c., shows a total of 16,801,223*l.* for 1871; of 16,400,062*l.* for 1872; and 16,553,046*l.* for 1873.

Imports of sheep and lambs' wool, woollen yarn for weaving, and the materials partaking of the character both of wool and hair, such as goats' wool or hair, alpaca, llama, raw wool of all kinds used in making woollen fabrics and woollen goods, amounted to 25,206,782*l.* in 1871; to 25,327,382*l.* in 1872; and to 26,034,157*l.* in 1873.

Copper, unwrought or partly wrought, ore and regulus, stands at 3,886,293*l.* in 1871; at 6,299,368*l.* in 1872; and at 4,986,256*l.* in 1873.

Lead, pig and sheet, 1,393,134*l.* in 1871; 1,522,999*l.* in 1872; and 1,474,252*l.* in 1873.

Iron and steel, in bars, unwrought and manufactured, 1,473,276*l.* in 1871; 2,198,503*l.* in 1872; and 2,226,626*l.* in 1873.

Oranges and lemons, in 1871, 1,050,115*l.*; in 1872, 1,154,417*l.*; and in 1873, 1,120,309*l.*

Imported seeds, clover and grass, and the oil yielding sorts—as rape, cotton, flax, and linseed—reached the value of 8,915,056*l.* in 1871; of 7,672,424*l.* in 1872; and of 6,772,241*l.* in 1873.

The lesser items of imports,—such as paper and the raw materials from which it is made, guano, bones for manure, ivory, horns, bark for tanners' and dyers' use, bristles, caoutchouc, chemical ingredients, clocks and watches, jewellery and fancy goods, cochineal and other dye-stuffs, cocoa, hops, lard, raisins and currants, brandy and other spirits, spices, tin and zinc, fruits, and a long catalogue besides—would show a higher aggregate of cost, unconsidered trifles though they seem, in the grand totals of recent years than the entire yearly imports in the reign of George IV. or William IV. And the purchasing power of our colonial and foreign customers, as shown by augmented and ever enlarging sums they spend on the products of British ingenuity and industry, has progressed in full proportion to our multiplied purchases of their products. The single item first quoted, in the following enumeration of principal exports of British produce, exceeds in money value all the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom, that were ever sent forth from our shores in any single year earlier than 1852.

Exports.—Cotton, including piece-goods of all kinds, unbleached or bleached, printed, dyed, or coloured, hosiery, lace, and patent net, socks, stockings, thread for sewing, yarn, and twist, shows for the last three years of the period the following enormous and unprecedented total real or declared values: in 1871, 72,841,411*l.*; in 1872, 80,164,155*l.*; and in 1873, 77,323,720*l.* Thus our cotton products alone fetch more money, or money's worth, into the country than the total public income shown in the yearly budgets of the chancellor of the exchequer. Many of the other items of export, though they fall short of the year's revenue of a first-rate power, are still simply enormous by contrast with corresponding totals for earlier years in the current reign.

Iron products furnish a striking instance in point. The year 1846, when the railway system was first developing, was a stirring time for the iron trade abroad as well as at home. The total of iron and steel exports in that year represented a value of 4,178,026*l.* The totals of the same commodities stood at 26,124,134*l.* in 1871; at 35,996,167*l.* in 1872; and at 37,779,586*l.* in 1873.

In 1846, the value of steam-engines exported was 315,745*l.* In 1871, the same item stands at 2,064,004*l.*; in 1872, at 2,594,996*l.*; and in 1873, at 2,952,879*l.* Other machinery exported in 1846 was valued at 801,725*l.* The corresponding item in 1872 reached 5,606,116*l.*; and in 1873, 7,041,290*l.* The contrast, if farther followed, would be equally telling in regard to many other exports, but limits of space allow only of some examples of principal exports in the last three years of the period.

Wearing apparel was exported to the value of 2,707,499*l.* in 1871; 3,112,452*l.* in 1872; 3,434,392*l.* in 1873.

Haberdashery and millinery goods, including embroidery and needle-work, were exported to the values, in 1871, of 5,901,979*l.*; in 1872, of 6,640,827*l.*; and in 1873, of 6,598,091*l.*

Hardware and cutlery exports stand, in 1871, at 4,006,385*l.*; in 1872, at 5,089,481*l.*; and in 1873, at 4,938,182*l.*

Our foreign customers bought coal from us to the value, in 1871, of 6,246,133*l.*; in 1872, of 10,442,321*l.*; and in 1873, of 13,205,618*l.*

Linen exports of all sorts represent 7,503816*l.* in 1871; 8,225,690*l.* in 1872; 7,295,121*l.* in 1873.

Silk exports stood in 1871 at 2,053,086*l.*; in 1872, at 2,190,869*l.*; and in 1873, at 1,876,313*l.*

The totals of woollen and worsted goods exported stood at the high value of 27,182,385*l.* in 1871; at 32,383,273*l.* in 1872; and at 25,279,235*l.* in 1873.

Woollen and worsted yarn, to be worked into fabrics in foreign looms, stood at 6,100,727*l.* in 1871; at 6,110,133*l.* in 1872; and at 5,403,983*l.* in 1873.

Telegraph wires, and apparatus connected therewith, for foreign service, fetched 2,359,563*l.* in 1873, and in the same year other wire fetched 702,264*l.*

Ale and beer exports stood at 1,853,733*l.* in 1871; at 2,085,430*l.* in 1872; and at 2,419,575*l.* in 1873. Copper goods, unwrought, in ingots, cakes, and slabs, and wrought and manufactured, including mixed or yellow metal sheathing, are represented by the aggregate values of 2,962,634*l.* in 1871; of 3,231,302*l.* in 1872; and of 3,319,264*l.* in 1873. Earthen and china wares, parian and porcelain (except red pottery and brown stone-ware), were exported in 1871 to the value of 1,731,483*l.*; in 1872, 1,986,187*l.*, and in 1873, 2,063,633*l.*

Alkali valued at 1,747,269*l.* was exported in 1871; at 2,486,991*l.* in 1872; and at 2,931,351*l.* in 1873. Empty bags and sacks, for packing merchandise, are represented in the same years by 1,206,621*l.*, 1,627,026*l.* and 1,914,458*l.* respectively. India-rubber goods make an average of close on a million a year. Chemical products exceed three-quarters of a million yearly. Fish, chiefly herrings, bring in from 1,000,000*l.* to 1,300,000*l.* according to latest returns. Glass goods exported stand on about the same level with fish as respects money values. Hats of all kinds sent abroad in 1873 stand at 880,286*l.*; printed books at 912,534*l.*; stationery other than paper, at 672,970*l.*; paper, including the writing and printing sorts, and envelopes, but not including paper-hangings and papier-maché articles, at 973,899*l.*; pickles and sundry oilmen's stores at 649,186*l.*; salt, white and rock, at 789,185*l.*; soap at 240,657*l.*; arms, ammunition, and military stores, about a million and a half; tin plates, nearly four millions, but this item is included in the returns for iron and steel before enumerated; tin, unwrought, at 790,218*l.*; boots and shoes, at 1,704,145*l.*; leather unwrought, tanned, tawed, or dressed, at 952,237*l.*; saddlery and harness, at 455,112*l.*; other miscellaneous leather goods, 305,259*l.*; seed oils, at 1,470,675*l.*; painters' colours and materials, at 1,017,000*l.* The value of British and Irish produce exported in 1873 reaches the magnificent aggregate of 255,073,336*l.* To this remains to be added the value of foreign and colonial goods, brought in the first instance to our markets, but afterwards sent away to purchasers abroad, making a farther sum of 55,830,162*l.*, and bringing the collective export trade of the year to the grand total of 310,903,498*l.*

Adding imports and exports together, we get for 1870, 547,338,070*l.*, or 17*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* per head for every inhabitant, man, woman, and child, of the United Kingdom. For 1871, the corresponding total is 614,590,007*l.*, or 19*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* per head of the population; for 1872, the total imports and exports, 669,282,458, and the average per head 21*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*, and for 1873, the yet higher aggregate of 681,284,240*l.* Another interesting aspect of this vast aggregate of our commercial transactions with foreign and colonial populations is presented in the figures showing the values of imports from and exports to the several countries with which we are linked in this mutually advantageous intercourse. Foremost among the foreign communities with which we carry on this vast international buying and selling stands the kindred English-speaking nation, the United States of America. In 1872, our imports from that quarter alone, chiefly raw cotton and bread-stuffs, were of the value of 54,663,948*l.*, and our exports thither brought back 45,907,998*l.* These figures show a total trade between England and the United States exceeding in money value our aggregate trade with all the world in any year earlier than 1827. France supplied us in 1872 with commodities to the value of 41,803,444*l.* and bought from us to the value of 28,292,445*l.* In the years immediately preceding the commercial treaty of 1860, under which France lowered her tariff in return for concessions on our side in favour of her wines, silks, &c., the commerce between the two nations was only about one-third the amount to which it expanded in the brief space of twelve years. And if the retrospect be carried back to the days of jealous prohibitory and hostile tariffs, when the trade between the two leading nations of the world was insignificant, the benefits of unfettered commercial intercourse are yet more irresistibly and unquestionably manifest. The extent of our commerce with others of the principal among our customers with whom we carry on large and reciprocally beneficial traffic is indicated in the following statement of imports and exports for the year 1872:—Russia, imports from, 24,320,333*l*, and exports to, 9,468,972*l.*; Sweden and Norway, imports from, 9,091,307*l.*, and exports to, 4,854,837*l.*; Germany, imports from, 19,231,873*l.*, and exports to, 43,150,207*l.*; Holland, imports from, 13,108,473*l.*, and exports to, 24,336,156*l.*; Belgium, imports from, 13,211,044*l.*, and exports to, 13,099,927*l.*; Portugal, imports from, 4,119,363*l.*, and exports to, 2,677,308*l.*; Spain, imports from, 9,316,820*l.*, and exports to, 4,309,307*l*; West India Islands, imports from, 5,231,543*l.*, and exports to, 3,475,280*l.*; Italy, imports from, 4,159,161*l.*, and exports to, 7,715,888*l.*; Turkey, imports from, 5,440,529*l.*, and exports to, 8,170,060*l.*; Egypt, imports from, 16,455,731*l.*, and exports to, 7,307,960*l.*; Brazil, imports from, 9,450,249*l.*, and exports to, 7,781,820*l.*; Buenos Ayres, imports from, 1,903,000*l*, and exports to, 4,031,939*l.*; Chili, imports from, 5,591,783*l.*, and exports to, 3,368,503*l.*; Peru, imports from, 4,211,723*l.*, and exports to, 3,342,840*l.*; China, imports from, 13,454,326*l.*, and exports to, 6,870,418*l.*; Japan, imports from, 184,342*l.*, and exports to, 2,146,518*l.*; Canada, and the other provinces of British America, imports from, 9,130,919*l.*, and exports to, 11,324,187*l.*; British West Indies and Guiana, imports from, 6,445,274*l.*, and exports to, 3,745,963*l.*; Australia, imports from, 15,625,866*l.*, and exports to, 15,482,776*l.*;

British India, imports from, 33,682,156*l*., and exports to, 19,486,806*l*.; the Straits Settlements, imports from, 3,505,114*l*., and exports to, 2,533,909*l*.; Ceylon, imports from, 3,163,153*l*., and exports to, 1,064,935*l*.; Cape of Good Hope and Natal, imports from, 3,717,465*l*., and exports to, 3,993,301*l*.; total for all British colonies and dependencies: imports, 70,372,853*l*., and exports, 65,609,218*l*.

The vast continent of Africa, with its unnumbered millions of people, has until lately borne a most insignificant part in the stir and movement of productive industry and beneficial interchange of commodities among the family of nations. But the prospect in that quarter is fast brightening. Egypt is rapidly rising in the scale of nations, after ages of comparative exclusion from the living ebb and flow of the world's history. The land of the Pharaohs now takes more of our commodities and supplies us with more of the products of her own prosperous industries than many a nation ranking higher in the world's reckoning. European capital has found in the Isthmus of Suez a most profitable field for investment, such as the Suez railway of our overland route to India, and the great canal now daily traversed by ocean steamers in their passage from the Mediterranean to the ports of India, China, Japan, and Australia. This canal has commodious harbours at either end, which vessels of the largest burden can at any time enter, through channels cut and maintained in shifting sands. The influence of Egypt as a pioneer of commerce and civilisation is happily extending southwards, into vast central regions, and among races hitherto hidden, as if by an impenetrable cloud, from the knowledge of civilised mankind. Intrepid and heroic explorers, such as Speke, Burton, Grant, Baker, Stanley, Petherick, and above and before all, the lamented martyr to the cause of African discovery and civilisation—the illustrious Livingstone—have in recent years pierced on all sides the roadless interior, and lifted the dark veil that enshrouded many fertile, well-watered, and salubrious countries, covering vast expanses which in our maps had always before been confounded with the sandy and sterile deserts on their outer borders. The only likely chance of improvement for that part of the world lies in the forcible imposition of orderly government by more advanced races.

The fruitful lands which Sir Samuel Baker conquered and annexed in 1872–73 to the territory of the Egyptian viceroy, and which had before been supposed to be nothing but sterile wastes, are now in a fair way to yield cotton, corn, ivory, oil, silk, and various fibrous materials for textile manufactures. These and other products may figure before long as the staples of a large and prosperous commerce with interior Africa, the return trade, as elsewhere, to consist mainly of the multifarious goods and wares produced in the factories and workshops of the United Kingdom. This, however, cannot be until order is firmly established, and order will never exist in the heart of the African continent until its accursed traffic in slaves is utterly abolished. The Egyptian ruler is fully conscious of this, and has secured the services of another Englishman, in succession to Baker, to continue the civilising work already so well begun; that of quelling reluctant savagery, and planting the germs of a real and healthy trade in the products of the soil, in substitution for that immemorial staple of native African dealings with each other, and with more enlightened races, the unwholesome traffic in slaves. Even the humblest type of civilised institutions will be an enormous gain to the unnumbered African nations that have hitherto found no place in history, and are unknown in the transactions of honest and civilising commerce.

The demands of a vastly augmenting foreign trade gave a grand impulse to the ship-building industries of Great Britain. The average yearly tonnage of new vessels added to the mercantile service of the United Kingdom was 174,500 tons in each of the years 1843–45, and 413,900 tons in each of the years 1853–45. The increase shown for the latter as contrasted with the former of these triennial periods is the more remarkable inasmuch as it followed closely on the repeal, in 1849, of those famous navigation laws which from an early period were most strenuously upheld in the belief that they constituted the very foundations and framework of English maritime greatness and commercial superiority. The annual additions in tonnage have since continued to be very large; and steamships form an increasing proportion of the total number of new vessels built. For example, in 1865 there were built and added to the shipping of the United Kingdom 922 sailing vessels and 382 steam vessels, both together having an aggregate tonnage of 415,204; the corresponding additions in 1872 were 427 sailing vessels and 635 steamers, with a total tonnage of 474,718. These two sets of figures further illustrate the fact that steamers are coming more and more, and sailing-vessels in decreasing numbers, into the carrying trade on the ocean highways, while big ships and fewer of them are taking the place of the smaller craft that found favour formerly. The figures now to be quoted show these points yet more strikingly. In 1850, the vessels belonging to the United Kingdom, without reckoning river steamers and other craft engaged solely in river and canal traffic, were 17,892 in number, with a total capacity of 3,137,212 tons. Among these were only 426 steamers, carrying 104,680 tons, or about one-thirtieth of the aggregate tonnage employed in the coasting and foreign trade. Ten years later, viz. in 1860, out of 20,019 vessels owned in the United Kingdom, carrying in all 4,251,739 tons, 929 were steamers, of 399,494 tons, or nearly one-tenth of the total tonnage. In 1870, the corresponding numbers were 22,180 vessels, carrying 5,559,110 tons, of which 2240 were steamers, with a tonnage of 1,039,969, or nearly one-fifth. In 1872, the numbers were 22,554 vessels, carrying 5,761,608 tons, out of which 2845 were steamers, with a tonnage of 1,515,704, or more than a quarter of the aggregate. The royal navy is yet more largely served by steam than the mercantile marine. Steam power was introduced in the navy in 1822, in 1 paddle tender. In 1824 the number was increased to 3; in 1827 to 4; in 1828 to 6; and in that year 2 paddle gun-vessels were added. In 1829 there were added 1 paddle brig, and another paddle gun-vessel. In 1831 the number was increased to 3 brigs, 3 gun-vessels, and 6 tenders. In 1837 there were 2 paddle steam frigates and 25 other steam vessels. In 1838, 30 mail packets were paddle; the brigs, gun-vessels &c., with paddle, having also largely increased, making in all 2 frigates and 59 other steam vessels. In 1842 there were 8 paddle frigates and 97 other paddle vessels. In 1845 screw frigates were first introduced, and in that year there were 4 screw and 13 paddle frigates, and 5 screw and 105 paddle other vessels. In 1848 there were 1 screw ship of the line, 13 screw and 14 paddle frigates, and 36 screw and 121 paddle other vessels. In 1853 there were 21 screw ships of the line, 20 screw and 17 paddle frigates, and 38 screw and 98 paddle other vessels. In 1859 there were 54 screw ships of the line, 33 screw and 9 paddle frigates, and 296 screw and 103 paddle other vessels. In 1861 there were in the whole navy only 4 sailing vessels, without any auxiliary steam-power, in commission as sea-going ships, and these 4 were all ordered home in that year. Since that date the sailing craft belonging to the navy can scarcely be considered as ships of war. They have consisted solely of training ships for boys and young ordinary seamen, coastguard cruisers, tenders, and a few schooners employed in regulating the labour traffic in Polynesia.

The "wooden walls of old England" are numbered among curiosities of bygone days. The substitution of ironclads for unplated wooden fighting ships began in 1855, when what were called floating batteries, of very clumsy construction, were built for the Russian war. They had about four inches of armour plating. One was to be seen until the summer of 1873 at Sheerness, where she housed the water police. She is now broken up. The first efficient ironclad sea-going ship was the Warrior, launched in 1861. Thus the extinction of sailing vessels of war and the birth of our ironclads date from the same year. The number of ships and vessels in commission, not reckoning coastguard cruisers and such like small craft, is in recent years about 160 in times of peace, with a reserve of about twice the same number to meet emergencies.

It remains to take brief account, as in previous periods, of a few of the leading home industries out of which flow the world-wide commerce thus traced through its chief ramifications and followed in its story of enormous and well-nigh ceaseless growth.

Cotton Manufacture.—The previous section of this chapter told of unexampled growth in every branch of the cotton trade. The years 1837–73, though chequered by several trying fluctuations in this business, and by one most disastrous interruption to its prosperity, yet exhibit, on the whole, a similar marvellous expansion. One of the most striking among many illustrations showing the progress of this chief of national industries is furnished by a comparison of the populations at different periods of the principal towns forming the centres of the trade. Manchester and Salford together. contained only 27,246 inhabitants in 1774. In 1861 the number had grown to 441,171, and in 1871 to 480,470. Preston, in 1780, had fewer than 6000 inhabitants, but in 1861 its population was 82,985, and in 1871, 85,428. Bolton increased its population from 17,416 in 1801 to 82,854 in 1871. Liverpool—the grand emporium of the cotton-trade, though not in strictness a seat of the manufacture—the port which receives the raw material from abroad, and sends forth the bulk of the finished goods from the inland towns to other countries—offers a yet more wonderful instance of progress. A century ago its population amounted to 3405; in the next 30 years, when the cotton trade was putting forth its first noteworthy upward movement, the number increased to 77,653. In 1851 a further half-century of growth had brought the number to 375,955; and in 1871 it reached 493,346. Adding to the local limits of the Liverpool district the contiguous district of West Derby—which is really only an extension of Liverpool—and Birkenhead, which is now more than ever annexed to it, by the tunnel constructed under the Mersey, the aggregate population becomes 660,511. Glasgow, which for Scotland is what Liverpool and Manchester together are for England, in 1801 had but 77,385 inhabitants; in 1861 the number was 394,864; in 1871 it reached 477,156. Lancashire and Lanarkshire, the counties embracing most of the seats of the cotton manufacture, and both mainly indebted to it for their vast strides in wealth and population, show each an aggregate progress proportionate to that indicated by the instances thus quoted. In recent years the cotton trade of Scotland has been nearly stationary, while that in England has been greatly extended.

The increasing quantities of the raw material brought into the country, to feed its thousands of factories, afford hardly less marked indications of prosperity; while the diminished imports of certain years point with like precision to that pressure of occasional adversity which has overtaken the trade. The imports in 1837, which greatly surpassed those of any previous year, were 407,287,000 lbs. In 1845 the quantity reached 721,980,000 lbs. Two years later, when an extensive failure befel the American cotton crop, our imports fell to 474,708,000 lbs. In 1852, the total reached 929,782,000 lbs. The next three years show some falling off; but in 1856, the quantity was 1,025,866,000 lbs. The years 1860 and 1861 stood for some time the culminating years of plenteousness, the former giving 1,390,939,000 lbs., and the latter 1,256,985,000 lbs. Then followed the memorable and calamitous scarcity of imports, most appropriately called the cotton famine, which in 1862 inflicted its heaviest miseries on hundreds of thousands of our population who drew their livelihood out of employments that were wholly or in part taken from them by the war then raging on the other side of the Atlantic. The imports in that year of dearth for Lancashire and the other seats of the cotton industries fell to 523,973,000 lbs., a total which would have ranked as prodigious for magnitude in the earlier years of the current reign, but which was barely more than a third of the quantity for 1860. The mills and the mill-hands had multiplied with the growth of the trade, and two days' work per week, in lieu of six, meant very scant earnings for the hands, with loss rather than profit for the masters. Thirty years earlier, such a dearth of work and wages would have exasperated the sufferers to acts of violence and destruction, and to efforts for opening the cotton markets of the blockaded Southern

States at the cost of hostilities with the other side in that great fratricidal strife. But a more enlightened spirit was now abroad, even among the humblest social grades. The distressed spinners and weavers bore their privations with an exemplary fortitude that won the admiration and the sympathy of all ranks of their countrymen. Their sufferings were mitigated by the help of a national subscription that reached nearly 1,500,000*l.* The most distant of our colonies, and not a few of the kindred race whose quarrel occasioned the disaster, bore a liberal part in the generous movement for helping Lancashire to tide over its time of adversity. The United States endured the self-imposed loss of nearly all their own vast export trade in cotton wool while the war lasted. In 1860 they sold to us 1,116,000,000 lbs. of this commodity; in 1862, the quantity drawn from them by the risky ventures of blockade runners was 13,524,000 lbs. In 1863, when the blockade was more efficient, the quantity fell to 6,394,000 lbs. In 1864 it somewhat exceeded the level reached in 1862; but even throughout the four years following the close of the war, the ruin of the cotton plantations of the Southern States told upon their cotton exports most severely, and it was not until 1871 that the quantity regained the level reached in 1860. The money losses occasioned to our own workpeople by the dearth of employment in the years 1862 and 1863 is estimated by Dr. Watts, of Manchester, in his book on the 'Facts of the Cotton Famine,' at 33,000,000*l.*, while the total loss to employers, factory operatives, and the shopkeepers dependent on their custom, was fully twice that amount. The scarcity of cotton wool in those days of Lancashire's adversity caused an enormous rise in the price of all available supplies. Egyptian cotton, which sold at 3*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* per. cwt. in 1860, rose in 1864 to 12*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.*; that of the United States from 3*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* to 13*l.* 11*s.*; that of India from 1*l.* 17*s.* to 8*l.* 9*s.* The urgent demands for supplies at such unheard of prices encouraged a greatly extended growth of cotton in countries which had previously sent out very limited quantities. China, Japan, and Mexico, whence none had been drawn before, now took their place among countries supplying us with this material; while India, Egypt, the West Indies, the Levant, Brazil, and other regions sent greatly augmented quantities. Our total imports rose from 523,973,000 lbs. in 1862, when the American supplies were all but extinguished, to 978,502,000 lbs. in 1865. In the latter year the United States furnished less than one-seventh of our supply; whereas in 1860 eleven-thirteenths of our total imports were drawn from that source. From 1865 onwards to 1873 the total has never fallen below the mark reached before the years of the cotton famine. The latest issue of Board of Trade returns of imports adopts the hundredweight as the unit, instead of the pound as before. This is a convenience, and the ton would be still better, where such vast quantities are recorded. The total of our cotton imports for the last three years—and each of these three surpasses all earlier years in the history of the cotton trade—were as under:—

In 1871, 15,843,890 cwt.
In 1872, 12,641,059 cwt.
In 1873, 13,693,427 cwt.

Our exports of calicoes, white or plain, printed or dyed; of cambrics, muslins, cotton hosiery, and other fabrics; together with yarns and twists—those semi-manufactured cotton products which suit many foreign markets better than cotton wool—tell the same story, though not with as much precision as attaches to imports, of enormous growth through the same span of years. Setting aside the exceptional period of the cotton famine, and some subsequent years, the price of cotton wool, in the period under notice, has averaged hardly a third the range of prices current in the earlier years of the century. The cost of working it into fabrics has been reduced in nearly the same proportion by the improved processes of manufacture brought successively into play. In the teeth, however, of these powerful influences pulling down the money value of our cotton exports, the returns show, in the large increase of quantities sold, a more than compensating influence. The exports of cotton fabrics and yarns in 1838 were of the declared real value of 24,147,726*l.*; the succeeding ten years show a tolerably uniform level of money values, with a steady increase of quantities. Then ollowed twelve years, however, in which, while the money values rose from 26,275,000*l.* in 1849 to 52,013,000*l.* in 1860, the quantities were not augmented in quite so high a ratio as the values. So also in the years of the cotton famine, and onwards until America again filled its accustomed position as chief among cotton-producing countries, aggregate values, as compared with aggregate quantities, remind us of the old times of high-priced fabrics, when the raw material was forthcoming only in stinted quantities. The remembrance of the high prices ranging in the home trade while the civil war continued in the United States, and for some time after, will not soon fade from the minds of the living generation. Great fortunes were realised by some sagacious speculators who bought large stocks of goods just before the great rise of price. One of the Manchester warehouses in Friday Street, London, cleared 30,000*l.* in the year 1863 on the single article calico, the stock of which was sold for more than twice the price it had cost a year earlier. The total declared value for the year 1862 was only 26,751,000*l.*, or about two-thirds of the level reached in 1860. From that point of depression, however, a rapid recovery and increase took place in each succeeding year, until in 1866 the value of cotton exports of all sorts reached the unprecedented amount of 74,613,046*l.* In 1870 exports reached 70,416,345*l.*; in 1871 they were 72,821,000*l.*; and in 1872 the total was 80,164,155*l.*

These eloquent figures proclaim, more forcibly than any comments that may be founded on them, the vast extent and national importance of the cotton manufacture. What are the risks that we may lose that foremost place among the nations which we have heretofore maintained in the chief cotton industries, and the trade springing therefrom? Gloomy forebodings are not unfrequently vented to the effect that foreign rivals will soon outstrip us in the competition in which we have hitherto distanced them, mainly through having the advantage of a good start at the outset of the race. Against such despondent forecasts stands the reassuring argument forcibly set forth in the following passage from a work of high authority on all commercial questions:—"The natural capabilities we possess for carrying on the business of manufacturing are, all things considered, decidedly superior to those of any other people. But the superiority to which we have already arrived is perhaps the greatest advantage in our favour. Our master manufacturers, engineers, and artisans, are more intelligent, skilful, and enterprising than those of any other country; and the extraordinary inventions they have already made, and their familiarity with all the principles and details of their businesses, will not only enable them to perfect the processes already in use, but can hardly fail to lead to the discovery of others. Our establishments for spinning, weaving, printing, bleaching, &c. are infinitely more complete and perfect than any that exist elsewhere; the division of labour in them is carried on to an incomparably greater extent; the workmen are trained from infancy to industrious habits, and have attained that peculiar dexterity and sleight of hand in the performance of the separate tasks than can only be acquired by long and unremitting application to the same employment. Why, then, having all these advantages on our sides, should we not keep the start we have already gained? Every other people that attempt to set up manufactures must obviously labour under the greatest difficulties as compared with us. Their establishments cannot at first be sufficiently large to enable the division of employments to be carried to any considerable extent, at the same time that expertness in manipulation and in the details of the various processes can only be attained by slow degrees. It appears therefore reasonable to suppose that such new beginners, having to withstand the competition of those who have already arrived at a very high degree of perfection in the art, must be immediately driven out of every market equally accessible to both parties; and that nothing but the aid derived from restrictive regulations and prohibitions will be effectual to prevent the total destruction of their establishments in the countries where they are set up." (McCulloch's 'Dictionary of Commerce,' pp. 470, 471, new edition, 1869.)

One risk of decadence, overlooked by the sagacious author of the foregoing passage, remains to be noted, viz. the discredit brought upon the trade at large by the nefarious practices of not a few unprincipled men engaged in it. The greed and dishonesty of manufacturers and merchants have too frequently in recent years worked together in palming off shams, under the semblance of realities, upon distant markets. *Manchester morality* has become a very byword for such trickery as doubling the weight of calico piece-goods by means of pastes, sizes, and such like compounds, or using deceptive marks to indicate greater lengths than are actually offered to the purchaser, as in the case of reels of thread marked one hundred, but really consisting of sixty or less yards. India, one of the largest consumers of cheap cotton-stuffs, has too long, but to little purpose, cried shame on these abominations. At length, however, she is resenting the trickery in a fashion that will assuredly punish Manchester, unless a better code of commercial morality be forthwith enforced on those whose frauds have tarnished the fair fame of their country. At the close of 1873, the newspapers of India invited attention to the thriving cotton industries of Bombay, where the local manufacture was supplanting, in local markets, various sorts of piece-goods heretofore drawn from Manchester. Natives are said to prefer the local manufactures, as being composed of better material, and neither adulterated nor mildewed. In December 1873, there were in Bombay 9775 hands employed by spinning and weaving companies, working 371,116 spindles and 4473 looms. Thus is Manchester threatened with retribution for impositions she has practised on Bombay, and it seriously behoves her to take to heart this very practical proof that dishonesty is bad policy. Traders and manufacturers are unduly jealous of any governmental interference with their means and methods of conducting their business, but it is manifestly the interest of the great bulk of them, who are upright and honourable in their dealings, to stamp out such plague-spots as "Manchester morality" from the trading practices of the nation. China, too, is raising her protests, in accents not less menacing than the cries from India, against the shams and counterfeits of true fabrics, too long and too often consigned to her markets.

In 1870 there were 2371 cotton factories in England, 98 in Scotland, and 14 in Ireland, or 2483 in the United Kingdom. In the same year the number of persons employed in these factories was 414,970 in England, 30,960 in Scotland, and 4157 in Ireland, or 450,087 in the United Kingdom. The power-loom employed in all these factories made a total of 440,676.

WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE.—In the period of thirty-six years covered by this section, this earliest of British textile industries, and the most important of them all until cotton came to the front, has in some of its branches undergone extensions and developments hardly less wonderful than the astounding growth of the cotton trade itself. The money value, for example, of worsted and woollen yarns exported, being in recent years about six millions yearly, is five hundred times greater than in years antecedent to the present period. The shoddy and mungo trade, of yet more recent growth, affords an equally striking example, though the money value in question is not of the same magnitude as for yarns. In the shoddy factories, the vilest of worn wollen rags, such as were formerly deemed worthless, except as manure for hop-gardens, are torn to shreds by the aid of powerful machinery, and reduced to their original state as wool. This old wool, by itself or with some admixture of new wool, is re-spun and again made into fabrics, such as blankets, druggets, flushings, carpet, table-covers, pilot-cloth, clothing for the military and naval forces, and indeed such a great variety of useful and elegant fabrics that it may safely be said that shoddy is more or less used by everybody. Shoddy clothes are extensively exported. This substitution of old wool for new, provided a proper proportion of each sort be employed in the mixture, is said to be advantageous rather than otherwise to the composition of many fabrics. A great amount of rhetorical abuse has been showered upon the shoddy business, on the assumption that it is a species of adulteration and a sham. There is no doubt in proportion as cloth is made from old instead of new wool its strength, tenacity, and durability are lessened, but as shoddy stuffs are sold at lower prices than fabrics consisting wholly of new wool, the purchaser is recompensed, not to mention the increased variety of goods produced by the use of wools that have done service already.

Batley, Dewsbury, and the neighbouring section of Yorkshire, the head-quarters of shoddy manufacture, are among the most prosperous of all the seats of the woollen trade. Batley, where the shoddy business took its beginning, had, in 1869, thirty-five mills with fifty rag machines, yielding no less than twelve million lbs. of rag wool per annum, while the surrounding district, including Dewsbury, produced in all about double that quantity. The rags used in feeding this industry are gathered from all quarters, at home and abroad.

Of vastly more importance, however, than the shoddy branch of the woollen trade is the *stuff* trade, a branch nowise concerned with refuse woollen rags or other worn material, but with mixtures, nevertheless, of wool with cotton or silk. The stuff trade is chiefly carried on at Leeds, Halifax, and the district around Bradford. Worsted goods have their headquarters in Bradford. Enormous progress has been made of late years in the stuff and worsted branches; but the manufacture of cloths of the higher qualities has not shared in the same rate of progress, for the obvious reason that cheaper fabrics have largely displaced them in general wear. The total value of woollen goods turned out of all our factories, for home and foreign consumption, can hardly be less than 50,000,000*l.* per annum in recent years. At the beginning of the present reign the total value was estimated at less than 20,000,000*l.* The United States stand foremost among our foreign purchasers of woollens, worsteds, and the composite fabrics and endless varieties of mixed cloths. Holland, Germany, British North America, Australia, New Zealand, and China, take large quantities. We hold a decided superiority over all rivals in the production and sale of such goods. The total value of woollen and worsted fabrics exported in 1872 was 32,383,273*l.*; in addition to this, woollen and worsted yarns, for use of foreign weavers, fetched, 6,110,138*l.*, thus making an aggregate of 38,493,411*l.*, or nearly tenfold more than the corresponding total in 1837, the opening year of this brief period. Australia has shared largely in the prosperity of the home woollen manufacture, by feeding it with the raw material. In 1846 our imports of Australian wool amounted to a third part of the aggregate from all quarters, viz. 65,255,462 lbs. In 1856, out of a total of 116,211,392 lbs. imported, the Australian colonies furnished 52,052,139 lbs. or little less than as much as the total from all other sources. Ten years later, in 1866, the Australian portion was 113,773,694 lbs. out of a total importation of 239,358,689 lbs. In 1872, when the aggregate of wool imports amounted to 306,379,664 lbs., Australia supplied 172,261,712 lbs. as her quota. To estimate these figures at their proper value, it must be borne in mind that in the early years of the current century the average importation from all quarters rarely exceeded 13,000,000 lbs., of which Spain supplied the whole or nearly all, and Australia contributed none at all. Spain now furnishes scarcely as much as half a million of pounds annually. Saxony and other German states, where the merino sheep has turned out a greater success for wool-yielding uses than even in its native country, send us an average of about six million pounds yearly. Russia and other European countries, not named above, sent us more than forty-five million pounds in 1871 and about ten million less in 1872. The British possessions in South Africa are also making their mark more and more conspicuously in the list of wool-yielding countries. They supplied us with the large quota of 35,619,568 lbs. in 1872, being twelve times more than in 1846. India, too, contributes largely to our wool imports, furnishing an average of about twenty million pounds yearly, and showing a fourfold increase since 1846. South America sends even more than India, and exhibits fully as marked a tendency to supply larger and larger quantities.

An enormous impetus was given to the woollen and worsted trades by the disastrous cotton famine of 1862–65. Lancashire's difficulty was Yorkshire's opportunity, nor was the proverbial astuteness of the Yorkshireman found wanting when the prosperous tide for woollen and worsted ventures set in. The power-looms in Yorkshire woollen factories rose from 11,405 in 1861 to 20,028 in 1868; and the number of persons employed in the same factories increased from 50,473 in the former year to 59,602 in the latter.

The Yorkshire worsted factories increased in the same period of seven years from 443 to 626; the power-looms in the same period, from 40,577 to 69,211; and the number of workpeople from 76,483 to 121,117.

The total number of woollen factories in 1870 was 1550 in England, 218 in Scotland, and 61 in Ireland, or 1829 in the United Kingdom. The total number of worsted factories in the same year was 599 in England, 28 in Scotland, and 3 in Ireland, or 630 in the United Kingdom. The total number of persons employed in these factories in the same year in the United Kingdom was 125,130 in the woollen and 109,557 in the worsted factories, or 234,687 in the two great branches of the trade. The number of power-looms in the woollen factories was at that date 43,714 running and 4426 standing, or 43,140 in all; and in the worsted factories 56,063 running and 8591 standing, or 64,654 in all; the total for woollen and worsted being 112,794.

Linen Manufacture.—This branch of British industry never really thrived until it ceased to be a domestic one, and passed from the dwellings of the spinners and weavers into mills and factories. Yet it was fostered according to the well-meant but delusive policy of ante-free-trade times, with encouragement of various kinds at the cost of the national exchequer. Bounties on exported linen goods, if made in Ireland or Scotland, were paid for a very long period, and only ceased in 1830. McCulloch aptly remarks on this practice:"—It is not easy to imagine a worse policy. Bounties of this sort, instead of promoting the manufacture, render those engaged in it comparatively indifferent to improvement, and though it had been otherwise, what is to be thought of the policy of persisting, for above a century, in supplying the foreigners with linens for less than they cost? We have not the least doubt that were the various sums expended in well-meant but useless attempts to force this manufacture added together, with their accumulations at simple interest merely, they would be found sufficient to yield an annual revenue little if at all inferior to the entire value of the linens exported from Ireland to foreign parts." With curious and absurd inconsistency, the help thus rendered by bounties was in part at least and very materially neutralised by heavy restrictions on the importation of foreign flax and hemp in the shape of customs duties. This impost on the raw material was another illustration of the nursing and forcing system, the intent being to encourage the growth of flax and hemp by our own farmers. The only real benefit conferred by government on the manufacture came from the repeal of import duties on flax and hemp, in 1845, and the abandonment of further attempts to force their growth at home. Until the early years of the century, when the linen industry began to share the benefits of Arkwright's and Hargreave's inventions, home-made linens were inferior to those of Holland, Flanders, and Germany. But the employment of efficient machinery in place of the old hand-wheel, and improvements in the bleaching processes, have raised British linen goods to the level of the best in the world, and in some departments of the trade to an acknowledged superiority. In 1800, the aggregate value of fabrics made from flax and hemp in Great Britain was set down by Sir F. Eden at 2,000,000*l.* In some recent years, especially in the cotton-famine period, Dundee alone turned out linen goods to the value of more than 3,000,000*l.* each year, and Belfast approached the yield of Dundee. The aggregate value of linen goods made in the United Kingdom in 1858, according to the careful estimate of McCulloch, was not less than 12,000,000*l.*; and in 1866, one of the years of heavy adversity for cotton, but of unprecedented prosperity to linen, the total must have exceeded 20,000,000*l.*, including exports of linen fabrics and yarns to the value of more than 12,000,000*l.* Since that date there has been some diminution of exports, though not at all proportionate to the recovery by cotton of its lost ground. In 1872 the declared value of linen goods and yarns exported was close on 10,500,000*l.*, nor had it been much under that limit in the four or five preceding years. The chief seats and centres of the linen manufacture are Dundee, Belfast, and Leeds.

In 1861 the number of operatives employed in all branches of the linen manufacture in Scotland was 76,897, and in England 19,792, or about one-fourth as many as in Scotland. In Ireland, at the same date, the linen and damask weavers alone were 60,626 in number. According to the latest returns there were in 1870, in the United Kingdom, 500 flax factories, employing 124,772 spinners, weavers, and other operatives. Of these the Irish portion was 154 factories, employing 55,089 persons; the Scotch division numbered 191 factories and 49,917 workpeople, and the English section, 155 factories with 19,816 operatives. The hemp factories in the same year were thirty-five altogether, employing 3150 operatives.

JUTE.—In close alliance with industries dependent on flax and hemp stands the jute trade. Jute, a fibre from the inner bark of an Indian plant, was unknown in Europe before 1830. At the outset of its application to industrial uses, it was employed to make the coarse bags in which rice, sugar, and other products of India were packed for shipment. Next it was turned to account as a material for cordage. Successive improvements in the working it into yarn have since rendered it available for more profitable uses. It is now the staple of a new and rapidly extending industry, seated chiefly in Dundee. Many dress stuffs that pass for silk or cotton contain a large admixture of jute fibre. Carpets and other materials are composed of it. The paper manufacture lays it under tribute. The past five years alone have sufficed for quite a wonderful growth in this new branch of textile industry. The unmanufactured jute imports were 2,467,000 cwt. in 1869; in 1873 they reached 4,643,000 cwt. The exports of the raw fibre in the same years were 413,000 and 789,000 cwt. repectively. France takes the bulk of the raw material from our markets, but returns about 20,000 cwt. annually to this country in the shape of jute yarn. The total of British-made jute yarn exported in 1869 was 8,041,000 lbs. In each succeeding year up to and including 1873 the corresponding export has averaged more than 12,300,000 lbs. In 1869 the jute manufactures exported were 50,127,000 yards; the growth in each following year has been large, and the total for 1873 was 96,539,000 yards. These amounts are exclusive of jute bags and sacks (ready-made) which are not separately classified in the trade returns. In 1870 there were in the United Kingdom sixty-three jute factories, employing 17,570 persons, out of which Scotland had forty-eight factories, worked by 14,911 spinners, weavers, &c. Since that date the numbers, especially in Scotland, have gone up, but exact returns have not been published. In 1873 Dundee alone was said to employ more than 20,000 persons in the jute industries.

SILK.—This section of British manufacturing industry affords a marked example of the slow progress of any trade which relies for its existence and prosperity on the delusive help of protective legislation. At the opening of the period, and for long years afterwards, the vastly improved and cheap cotton fabrics, produced by the new mechanism already noticed, came into severe rivalry with silk, and occasioned a great falling off in the demand. Many thousands of the weavers and throwsters, however, readily found employment in the flourishing and kindred cotton industries, but the vicissitudes of the trade, despite this outlet for its superabundant hands, were from time to time very distressing. The king and parliament were frequently implored to devise means of relief, or to give effect to plans suggested by the petitioners. Large sums were often raised by public subscription; and balls were given, at which only new silks of British manufacture were to be worn. Such devices, however, were of no further avail than to give occasional spurts of profitable employment. The periods of brisk trade and contentment were seldom of long continuance in the silk-weaving quarters, especially Spitalfields. Stagnation in the trade brought such misery on the operatives as often moved them to riotous demonstrations and to acts of violence towards persons wearing silk-stuffs of foreign manufacture. Parliament made many abortive attempts to mend matters. The only effectual remedy came, however, from the actual undoing of all previous devices for helping the trade. Monopoly having fallen into disfavour, and received its death-blow in respect to many other industries, even the silk manufacturers began to lose faith in its benefits to their calling. But they were not at once to be persuaded to abandon all protection, so the compromise of a thirty per cent. duty was tried in 1826. Mr. Huskisson's speech on the occasion forcibly set forth the evils the trade had suffered through its misplaced reliance on monopoly. "To the prohibitive system"—said this energetic pioneer of free trade—"it was to be ascribed that in silk only, in the whole range of manufactures, we were left behind our neighbours. We have here a proof of that chilling and benumbing effect which is sure to be produced when no genius is called into action, and when we are rendered indifferent to exertion by the indolent security derived from restrictive regulations. I have not the slightest doubt that if the same system had been continued with respect to the cotton manufacture, it would have been at this moment as subordinate in amount to the woollen as it is junior in its introduction into the country." As was predicted at the time of the change by the advocates of free importation, the thirty per cent. duty brought its own difficulties, almost as objectionable as the state of things under as complete a monopoly as the force of law and the risk of penalties could secure. When foreign silk goods were under the ban of total prohibition, it was easy to detect and seize them, as they were readily distinguishable to the expert, from peculiarities not to be found in British silk goods. But when they could come through the ports by payment of the duty, it was hard to prove that smuggled goods had not been imported in the regular way. Smuggling then was less hazardous, and scarcely less profitable than before, and under such encouragement about half of the 6,332,132 lbs. of manufactured silk brought over from France, between 1827 and 1843, entirely evaded the duty. To remedy this state of things, the duty was reduced to fifteen per cent., or to 5*s*. per lb., in 1845, and the smuggler's profits were thenceforward too small to cover the risks and expenses of this branch of illicit trade. The duty on raw or thrown silk was at the same time totally repealed, to the immediate benefit of the throwsters, whose products could at length compete with success in foreign markets. We note in the following quantities of raw silk imported evidence of slow progress under the injurious operation of laws designed to "protect," or artificially raise, the price of a commodity, and of the sure growth which follows the removal of such props and stays, if the industry in question be one that is worth following in open competition: if an industry cannot stand this test, it should be abandoned. From 1801 to 1812, the average yearly quantity was 1,110,000 lbs. On the three years ending 1817 it was 1,388,000 lbs. On the three years ending 1823 it was 2,325,000 lbs. The average on each of the five years down to 1828 was 3,660,083 lbs., and on the next five years, 3,696,000 lbs. In 1846, with no duty on raw or thrown silk, the quantity rose to 4,839,717 lbs. Ten years later it reached, by steady progression through the interval, 8,241,687 lbs. In 1860, the year of the memorable treaty of commerce with France, under which we entirely abandoned our import duties on silk goods, by way of requital for large concessions in favour of English manufactured produce, the quantity increased to 9,403,482 lbs. In the three years following the abolition of duties, the yearly average went up to 9,516,560 lbs. Since that date, however, there has been a large falling off, amounting in several years to nearly one-half the high level reached in 1861. Coventry has been loud in its complaints against unrestricted importation of French ribbons; but the Manchester silk manufacturers hold on unwaveringly to the free-trade faith, under which they signed in 1852 a memorial to government, urging the total repeal of import duties on silk goods. Nor would it now avail them to recant, for however great the reverses that may affect the trade, a reversal of our free-trade policy is no more to be thought of than a return to our ancient system of parliamentary representation, under which Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds were speechless in the national councils, while Gatton, Old Sarum, and Grampound had each two votes in the settlement of all imperial questions. Other causes besides the removal of prohibitory and protective duties have operated to prevent the same rapidly progressive movement in the silk trade as in cotton and woollen industries. Silk is in the list of luxuries, so to speak, while woollen, worsted, and especially cotton fabrics are indispensable requisities. The customers buying luxuries form but a small fraction of the number wanting the commoner articles of indispensable use; so the sale of the elegancies can never keep pace with the sale of the simple utilities. The disparity becomes the more marked in proportion as the needy populations of semi-barbarous and even savage countries look to our merchants for the wherewithal to clothe, as cheaply as may be, their nakedness. Then again silk, as a luxury, falls more thoroughly than the homelier cotton and woollen stuffs under the supreme rule of fashion, and fashion is enthroned in Paris, where the earliest intimations of her will must be watched by all who are so dependent on her smiles as the dealers in silk fabrics. English silk manufacturers have pretty well given up the contest with their French rivals, in the making of the costlier and more lustrous fabrics, such as figure in the evening costumes of the wealthier classes, but they hold a stable position in the manufacture of goods suitable in price and quality to the greater number of wearers, and sufficiently rich, varied, and tasteful, to form the useful and morning dress of English ladies of the higher class. But besides largely responding to the demands of home consumers, our silk manufacturers have secured a good footing in foreign and colonial markets, where they stood no chance in the times when "protected" products were for the most part very inferior by comparison with the goods they competed with. The total value of exported English silks was only 161,000*l.* in 1826, the year when prohibition gave place to the thirty per cent. duty on foreign silks. In 1845, the year when the thirty per cent. duty was lowered by one-half, the value stood at 766,000*l.* In 1860, the year when silk import duties were abandoned, the total value of our silk exports was 1,587,000*l.* Then followed eleven years of somewhat diminished silk exports, but in 1871 the total was 2,053,000*l.*, and in 1872, 2,191,000*l.* The foregoing totals cover the values of silk fabrics only, but do not include thrown silk, twist and yarn, which in 1872 were represented by 1,894,595*l.*, showing about an eightfold increase since 1846, in this secondary yet important section of the silk industries. Our imports of manufactured silks have increased in a yet higher ratio, ranging in recent years from 8,000,000*l.* to 15,000,000*l.* in value. The number of silk factories in the United Kingdom increased from 277 in 1850 to 771 in 1861, but since that date several scores of them have taken to other of the allied textile industries. The total number of persons employed in these factories was 52,429 in 1861; in 1870 the total had fallen to 48,124. In the latter year the number of power-looms at work in the silk-factories was 12,378, with 940,143 spindles for spinning, and 190,198 for doubling; the whole were worked by engines representing a total of 7,604 horse-power, and about one-eighth part additional force derived from water-wheels.

Egypt, India, China, and Turkey furnish our importers with the largest stocks of raw silk. France and Italy yield small but good supplies. There is a deficiency in the supply of the staple article, which has been increasing from 1858 onwards. China, Japan, and other countries being unable to meet the demands of the western trade, the supply is still in arrear. It is generally admitted that the one great need of the silk trade at the present time is an ample supply of good silk at moderate price. The visit of the Shah in 1873 to this and other European countries had for its aim a new era of development for Persia. One of the results of this, it is expected, will be the importation from Persia to this country of large quantities of fine silk. But as this is not yet an accomplished fact, it will be wise to ascertain, if possible, whether there be no new fields whence silk can be exported. This, no doubt, means also fields where the silkworm and mulberry-tree can be cultivated. Many of our vast colonial possessions are admirably adapted by climate for the growth of the mulberry-tree and the rearing of silkworms. Especially are the African colonies favoured, Natal being peculiarly adapted both in climate and soil to this purpose. In Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, and India there are numerous districts of many thousands of acres admirably adapted to the production of silk. It is even said by Mr. Cobb, a high authority on all matters appertaining to silk production, "that there are in the British colonies silk-producing capabilities equal in the aggregate to the present silk production of the world, and it is not saying too much to state that in America there can be found as many more."

Leather Manufacture.—This branch of industry laboured under the vexatious trammels of an excise duty on leather until 1830. Since its emancipation from the interference of inland revenue officers it has largely increased. The aggregate value of all sorts of leather goods has in recent years ranged from 25,000,000*l.* to 30,000,000*l.* annually, for the United Kingdom Boots and shoes alone, for the home use of 32,000,000 persons, can hardly represent less than 20,000,000*l.*, a sum which allows little more than 12*s.* as the yearly outlay on each individual. The exports of boots and shoes, saddlery and harness, tanned and unwrought leather, may be said to average in recent years the total value of 2,600,000*l.* annually. The actual value for 1872 was 3,660,229*l.*

Earthenware.—There is little to add respecting this important branch of English industrial enterprise, beyond what is stated in the first section of this chapter, except that the prosperous condition of the trade has continued, and the former rate of progress has been fully sustained throughout this final period. That naturally poor and barren section of Staffordshire, which is the chief seat of this business, and which in the days of Wedgwood's great reforms in the potter's art was thought to be thickly peopled with its 20,000 inhabitants, sustains in the present time its 150,000 persons, all occupied in or dependent upon the conversion of clay, and other crude stuffs of little worth, into finished articles suited to a wide range of uses, and in such gradation of quality as to meet the requirements of every nation and every social grade. Lambeth now figures in this field of industry; the works of Messrs. Doulton in particular yielding certain descriptions of earthenware in large quantities of excellent quality, and some sections of it of rare artistic merit, both in ornamentation and construction. Worcester, Derby, Colebrookdale, Rotherham, and other places, add yet more extensively to the aggregate production. So universal is the demand for English stoneware, earthenware, and chinaware, that it is met with in all civilised communities in each of the great divisions of the earth, and in not a few of the barbarous and savage nations. The price of earthenware has fallen more than twenty-five per cent in the last forty years, through the lessened cost of production, brought about by labour-saving appliances. But the aggregate value of products from the potteries is believed to have steadily increased. Besides the large and ever-growing home consumption, which is not easily estimated, the exports in this section of trade are represented by the declared values of 793,166*l.* in 1846; of 1,121,114*l.* in 1851; of 1,450,644*l.* in 1860; of 1,746,153*l.* in 1870; and 2,063,633*l.* in 1873. These values represent earthen and china ware, parian and porcelain, but do not include brown stoneware and red pottery.

Metal Manufactures.—The multifarious industries included under this heading have, with hardly an exception, participated fully in the vast progress and prosperity of the country at large in the present period. No other industry can expand and flourish without calling in the help of the workers in metal; so the extension of all other branches of trade and manufacture has necessarily brought busy times for handicraftsmen in the metal trades. In the earlier years of the century, as noted in the previous section, an authoritative estimate placed the total value of all the articles made of iron in England and Wales at 10,000,000*l.* per annum; that of brass and copper goods at 3,000,000*l.*; and that of steel-plated and hardware articles at 4,000,000*l.*; making the total value of such goods, both for home use or export, 17,000,000*l.* In 1854, Mr. J. R. McCulloch, a still greater authority on economic and statistical matters, held this estimate "was very decidedly beyond the mark," and would more properly apply to the later date at which he was writing. In stating this opinion he took into account both the great extensions in the metal trades that had taken effect since the earlier estimates, as shown by the growth of Birmingham, Sheffield, and the many lesser seats of such industries, and also the countervailing operation of the heavy fall that had taken place in the prices of most articles. The same want of information as to the quantities and values of goods absorbed in home use exists now as when the previous reckonings were made, but the values of exported goods are known, at least approximately, for the whole series of years in the period. The following figures show conclusively the prodigious increase of exported products. In 1844, hardware and cutlery exports represented 1,736,545*l.*; in 1854 the value had increased up to 2,959,610*l.*; in 1864 it was 3,579,031*l.*; and in 1872 it reached 5,089,481*l.* The iron and steel, wrought and unwrought, exported in 1844 was worth 3,193,368*l.*; ten years later the value was 11,674,675*l.*; in 1864 it had grown up to 15,049,241*l.*; and in 1872 the corresponding total was 35,996,167*l.*, showing, for the last eight years alone a growth of more than 250 per cent.! In 1871 the total yield of our foundries and furnaces was nearly equal to the iron produced in all other countries together, and in 1872–73 more than half the iron manufacture of the world was English. But the exorbitant price of coal, to be noticed in a succeeding page, has inflicted a serious and perhaps a permanent injury on our iron industries. Belgium, France, and Germany compete in foreign markets on more than equal terms against English iron while coal is at such prices as in 1872–73, and whenever capital and labour are in hostile array in this important section of English industry. While these pages are passing through the press, a Belgian contractor undertakes to deliver at Birmingham, at 10*l.* 10*s.* per ton, bar iron of a quality, which our own ironmasters cannot now produce for less than 12*l.* 10*s.* or 13*l.*

Every important advance in the processes of iron production has originated in England. Dudley was the first to apply mineral fuel instead of wood for smelting. Cort invented the rolling-mill and the puddling furnace. Watt harnessed to the rolling-mill the untiring and unlimited force of steam; the hot-blast, commencing in 1828, was the invention of Neilson. Nasmyth placed the huge steam-hammer at the service of the ironmaster. Armstrong built up, of steel and iron, guns of a penetrating force that called forthwith for a doubled thickness in the plating of ironclad ships. Arrowsmith invented the universal rolling-mill; and Bessemer, in 1856, gave to the world the invaluable process of cheap steel production on an unlimited scale. English invention and skill are stamped on the iron industries of all nations. The largest and most flourishing of the French and Belgian iron-works were founded and carried forward by Englishmen. The Creusot foundries in France were started nearly a century ago by Wilkinson, of Broseley, who built the first iron boat that was ever used in commerce. Cockerell, another Englishman, created in 1817 the huge works at Seraing, near Liége.

The brass and copper goods sent to foreign markets, represented 1,736,545*l.* in 1844 and 2,999,408*l.* in 1872. The steam-engines and other machinery exported in 1846 were of the value of 1,117,470*l.*; in 1860 the corresponding items stand for 3,800,000*l.*; and in 1872 the value was 8,291,112*l.* Telegraphic wire, an item not to be found in the return for earlier years of the period, stands for an average of from 600,000*l.* to 700,000*l.* for many years past. In 1870, an exceptionally busy year for extensions in telegraphic works abroad, including submarine cables, the exports under this head alone stood at 2,522,593*l.* The growth of most of the seats of the metal manufactures has been not less marked than the rapid augmentation in the value of their exported products. The population of Birmingham increased from 101,722 in 1821 to 182,922 in 1841, and to 343,787 in 1871. The inhabitants of Sheffield were 65,275 in 1821, 101,091 in 1841, and 239,946 in 1871. Middlesbrough, a small rural hamlet with 366 inhabitants in 1821, had grown in 1871 into a thriving and important parliamentary borough, with a population of 39,563, and the certainty of continuous growth for long years to come. Merthyr Tydvil has increased its population from 17,404 in 1821 to 34,979 in 1841, and to 51,949 in 1871. Dudley, Bilston, Walsall, Wednesbury, Wolverhampton, West Bromwich, Broomsgrove, Swansea, Dowlais, and numerous other busy and thriving seats of the metallic industries, are scarcely less noteworthy illustrations of progress springing from the same sources.* The numbers employed in this cluster of allied industries are enormous, and still increasing. The engine and machine makers, who mustered a total of 61,266 in 1861, increased in the following ten years to 106,437, exclusive of 1034 agricultural machine and implement makers at the earlier date, and 3617 at the latter. The wire-workers were 5629 in 1861, and 7435 in 1871. The numbers working or dealing in steel at the same dates were 3,186 and 5,719. The nail manufacture employed 12,367 men and boys, besides 10,864 women and girls, in 1871. The blacksmiths alone made a force of 112,035 men and boys. The numbers engaged in the various branches of iron manufacture were 123,506 in 1861, and 178,114 in 1871. The brass manufacture employed 20,983 men in 1871. The locksmiths and bell-hangers, 5472 in 1861, were 7154 in 1871. Gasfitters in the same brief term of years increased from 5448 to 8615. The workers and dealers in gold, silver, jewellery, and electro-plate, numbered 28,312 in 1871. At the same date the cutlers numbered 17,903; the tinplate workers, 18,324; the ironmongers and hardware dealers, 17,308; and the working gunsmiths, 11,576. The growing prosperity of the tin trade is attested by the large and increasing export of its products. Tinned plates and tin and pewter wares exported are represented by 658,894*l.* in 1846; by 1,213,630*l.* in 1853; by 1,534,497*l.* in 1860; by 2,362,872*l.* in 1870 for wrought tin, besides 633,330*l.* for the unwrought metal. In 1872 the wrought and unwrought tin exports were of the aggregate value of 4,658,055*l.* In the return of exports for 1872, copper, in ingots, cakes, or slabs, figures for 1,422,214*l.*; mixed or yellow metal, for 860,712*l.*; copper of other sorts, for 948,376*l.*; brass of all sorts, for 377,329*l.*; lead, pig, sheet, and pipe, for 966,529*l.*; and zinc, wrought and unwrought, for 101,812*l.* The manufactures in metal, besides native supplies of the raw material on which they are chiefly sustained, have absorbed enormous quantities of similar supplies from abroad. The following are examples:—Imports, 1858: iron, in bars, unwrought, 25,464 tons; iron and steel, wrought or manufactured, 19,381 cwt.; lead, pig, and sheet, 14,109 tons; silver ore, 3,949 tons; tin, in blocks, ingots, bars, or slabs, 59,125 cwt.; zinc, crude, in cakes, 19,519 tons; zinc, manufactured, 88,152 cwt. Copper ore and regulus 97,099 tons; wrought or part-wrought copper, 147,320 cwt. In 1872 the quantities were 82,371 tons of bar and unwrought iron; 781,966 cwt. of iron and steel, wrought and manufactured; 69,841 tons of pig and sheet lead; 14,406 tons of silver ore; 166,840 cwt. of tin in blocks, ingots, bars, or slabs; 15,761 tons of crude zinc; 247,131 cwt. of manufactured zinc; 75,405 tons of copper ore and regulus; and 968,000 cwt. of copper, wrought or part-wrought. The number of iron miners in the same year was 20,931; of lead miners, 14,563; of tin, 10,617; and of other miners, exclusive of those in the coal-pits, 38,712.

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* The following extracts from Wilkins' 'History of Merthyr Tydfil,' 1867, furnish apt examples of what is going forward in prosperous times throughout the many centres of iron manufacture:—"Cyfarthfa Works now (1866) employ 4000 to 5000 men, and at a rough average may be said to support 20,000 souls. There are eleven furnaces; mine pits, seven; coal pits, eight; and the yield is 1000 tons of coal per foot thick per acre. The steam and water power used is equal to more than 4000 horses, and the works in full force can produce 1300 tons of pig iron and 1000 to 1100 tons of finished bars and railway iron per week. Such is the result of minute investigation of these magnificent works, so admired for their order and completeness. Seen by night, by the traveller entering Merthyr from the Breconshire valley, the picture is grand in the extreme. The border of the scene, cast into deeper darkness by the brilliancy of the glare, in turn adds to the fiery glow by its gloom. Forked tongues of flame leap up defiantly; and the very smoke is forced upwards, as it were, tinged with a ruddy glow. Here and there the molten iron sends forth an intense light; myriads of fiery stars rush into the open air; and the clang and roar, the whirl

COAL.—Sir Rowland Hill has aptly called coal the capital stock of the nation, and, with far-seeing patriotism, he urges his countrymen to be chary in drawing upon this essential fund. The hoarded wealth contained in our coal stores, though vast, is yet a fixed quantity, never to be replenished when exhausted. But experts bid us to take comfort in reckonings which tell that far-off future centuries will witness as unstinted an output from the coal mines of these islands as in the present. Most of the vast and prosperous industries, briefly reviewed in this chapter, owe their growth and indeed their very

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of monster wheels and shrill escape of steam, combine to form one of the grandest pictures of the terrible it is possible to conceive. Entering the works, the force of the picture is enhanced. Standing by the rolls on each side are hardy muscular men, wiry and active, whose duty seems to consist in pushing long red-hot iron rails, now through one roller and then through another, until they become of the required form and size. The dexterity with which these rails are handled is most startling. One moment's hesitation and nervousness would be followed by an accident; but there is no hesitation or nervousness there. Ribbon in a Coventry factory, calico in a Manchester loom, cloth in a Gloucestershire mill, winds not through with more ease, nor are they handled with greater freedom and *sang-froid*, though the rail is 'six hundred pounds' in weight, and of an intense white heat. Watching this process for a moment, we see one of the men suddenly seize hold of the 600-pound rail with a pincers, pull it vigorously towards him, and then, by the aid of a roller, run away with it, as though it were a plaything, to a place where a saw, worked by machinery, cuts it to the required measurement, scattering with a hideous noise a thousand fiery sparks around. Then two men rush to each end and fashion them off smoothly, and then the tortured iron is drawn out in the air to cool. Every moment this process is carried on. There is no hesitation. Each man takes up his task like an automaton; little speaking is heard; but the toil, the wear of the human machinery in this hard labour must be most excessive.

"The iron works, the coal and mine works, are of a most extensive and perfect character. The domain of Vulcan extends four miles down the valley; and throughout its length we have indications of the excellent system into which all things have been brought."

The same writer, telling of the development of the Dowlais mineral districts, states:—"In 1845 these works employed 7300 men, women, and children, and covered an area of forty acres, ten acres of which were occupied by the different buildings. The consumption of coal was 1200 tons weekly. Eighteen furnaces in blast made nearly 1600 tons of iron weekly, or an annual produce of 74,880 tons, being an average of more than eighty tons per week for one furnace. The quantity of finished iron manufactured monthly was equal to 1800 tons of railway bars, and 1800 tons of bar iron, and one mill alone in that year made 400 tons of rails in one week. The Dowlais Iron Company are the largest carriers of iron on the Taff Vale Railway—the average is about 70,000 tons per annum; and in one year this Company paid the Taff Vale Railway Company 25,641*l.*, a sum equal to 8-10ths of the whole iron carried by this railway company during that period. It was computed when these works were in full operation, in 1845, that if the colliers employed had worked one continuous seam of coal for twenty-four hours, half an acre would have been cleared, producing 1600 tons of coal; and that the produce of miners and colliers in that year was 80,000 tons of ironstone and 140,000 tons of coal. The eighteen furnaces were worked by seven powerful steam-engines, two of which had twelve-foot blowing cylinders and nine-foot stroke. The steam power in operation was equivalent to 2000 horses, besides twenty water balances for raising coal to the surface, and locomotive engines, with 500 to 600 horses in constant employment. The tram-roads below and above ground, if placed in a continuous straight line, would extend over a length of 2000 miles.

"The population had more than doubled in twenty-four years; and in 1852 it was computed that no less than 4500 men, 3000 women, and 3000 children were dependent on these works for subsistence. And uninterruptedly this great establishment was carried on, the only falter being when the old lease expired. It was then thought that it would not be renewed. The 'company' had prospered beyond all conception, and the Marquis of Bute was known to be resolved on getting a rental more adequate to the worth of the estate. The Dowlais Company paid but 100*l.* a year. From the Penydarren Company alone they received 10,000*l.*! Eventually, the new lease was granted for 30,000*l.*"

existence to the feeding of their furnaces and the working of their looms by the aid of native fuel. The immense strides made in productive industrial enterprise, in the spread of railways, and in the extension of steam power as the motive force in propelling ships, have called for a corresponding increase in the supply and consumption of coal. The yearly quantity used of late is tenfold more than in the early years of the century, and fivefold more than the rate current less than forty years ago. The total quantity raised in Great Britain was less than 25,000,000 tons in 1837; about 40,000,000 tons in 1847; 71,783,552 tons in 1856; 90,705,796 tons in 1861; 104,566,969 tons in 1868; and 123,386,758 tons in 1873. In the summer of 1872, when the yield was greater than ever before, the nation was not a little startled by a large and sudden rise in the price of this prime necessary of life. In 1873 a further and alarming increase of price took effect, bringing the cost in London and many other quarters up to 45*s.* and even 50*s.* per ton, and inspiring all ranks with anticipations of a veritable coal famine. Coal thereupon became a main topic of discussion alike in the townward omnibus or train, the domestic circle, the press, and in parliament. Many reasons were alleged for the rise. The owners of collieries were thought to be in a league to restrict the output and so enhance prices. The middlemen of all sorts were objects of equal or greater suspicion, and the London coal merchants' prices, in contrast with the price at the collieries, strongly supported this notion. The strikes and combinations among the miners formed another among the operating causes. The yearly output per man employed underground fell from the average of 321 tons in 1870 to 299 tons in 1872, under the operation of the workmen's organisations for shortening the time of labour. The eagerness, too, with which consumers and dealers gave large orders at high prices, in the fear that prices would soon be yet higher, aggravated the evil, since competition at the pit's mouth gave the coal owner an opportunity which he naturally turned to the best account for himself. But above and beyond all other causes for the increase in the price of coal was the large increase in the demand for and the price of British iron. The production of pig iron increased from 4,970,000 tons in 1868 to more than 7,000,000 tons in 1872. The total exports of iron—pig, bar, cast, wrought, railroad, plates, and all other sorts—increased from 2,033,137 tons in 1868 to 3,388,622 tons in 1872. Three tons of coal were burnt in the make of each ton of pig iron; and three tons seven hundredweight more in converting each ton of pig iron into bar and finished iron, every operation included. The coal used solely in the production of pig, bar, and other iron rose from 28,331,977 tons in 1867 to 39,933,000 tons in 1872. The increasing prosperity of one of the great national industries furnished to the well-to-do classes an element of comfort as a set-off against the unpleasant incident of doubled cost for a necessary of existence, but this was no consolation for the very poor and the classes generally who gain their subsistence by manual labour. Many commodities in the production of which fire is a requisite rose in price with the increased cost of production, and instances were not wanting of railway and steamboat companies increasing their charges both for passengers and goods, on the plea that high-priced fuel obliged them to raise their charges against their customers. With this general advance in prices began a general agitation for increased wages and salaries in almost every sort of employment, including artisans in every handicraft trade, the railway and dockyard services, the police and constabulary forces, banking and commercial establishments, and the government offices. In most instances the demand was not unsuccessful, though the concession was not often so large as the demand. Thus the rise in the price of coal in 1872–73 became the starting-point for a most extensive advance in prices and wages throughout the United Kingdom and far beyond its limits.

The number of pitmen and others employed in digging the coal and bringing it to the surface increased from 307,542 in 1864 to 413,334 in 1872. The foreign demand for British coal has augmented in about the same proportion with the total annual output. In 1858, when the total yield was 64,587,900 tons, the exports were 6,597,125 tons, or about one-tenth of the total. In 1866, out of a total quantity raised of 101,506,794 tons, the exports were 10,142,260 tons, also about one-tenth of the aggregate. In 1872, when the total yield was 123,386,758 tons, our foreign customers took 13,211,961 tons, a quota somewhat larger than before as compared with the whole quantity raised. Ireland, which yields from its own pits only about 125,000 tons yearly, draws upon Great Britain to the extent of about 2,500,000 tons per year. The manufacture of iron alone occasioned an average yearly consumption of about 34,000,000 tons in the period 1867-72. In the last-named year this manufacture absorbed 38,228,875 tons. Other manufactures consume in their processes, and in the furnaces of steam-engines giving them motive power, the further enormous total of more than 25,000,000 tons a year. The coal burnt in the homes of our people, for warming and cooking is not more than half a ton each year for each inhabitant of these islands, or about 16,000,000 tons in all for the domestic grate. Steam navigation absorbs about 4,000,000 tons annually, including the consumption of the royal navy and the naval departments. This section of the total drain on our coal stores must augment with the growing substitution of steam vessels for sailing craft. Collieries and mines burn more than 7,000,000 tons each year, for ventilating, pumping, and hauling the supplies to the surface. The generation of steam for our railway locomotives calls for a yearly consumption of more than 2,000,000 tons of coal and coke. Gas-making absorbs between 6,000,000, and 7,000,000 tons. The consumption of coal in the London district averages rather less than a ton and a half for each inhabitant, out of which, however, two-thirds go for gas, waterworks, railways, steamboats, and manufacturing uses, leaving not more than half a ton per head for purely household purposes.

In the face of an ever enlarging consumption, the sufficiency of our supplies in the future becomes a question of gravest concern. The royal commission on coal, appointed in 1869, failed to set this question at rest; nor can it be solved, inasmuch as the quantity used depends on conditions that must vary, beyond all possibility of calculation, with the lapse of years.

The growth of the population of these islands, the increase of consumption in home industries, and the amount of exportation to foreign countries, are among the obvious causes that would call for increased supplies. But the ratio of such increase cannot possibly be inferred, owing to the utter uncertainty attaching to all the main conditions of the problem. It is in fact quite impossible to frame even an approximate estimate. It was, however, ascertained, by a most careful survey of the coal-fields of Great Britain, and by taking accurate account of the yield of existing pits at work in them, that at the present rate of consumption our stores will supply all needs for many centuries to come. The House of Commons committee of 1873, "appointed to inquire into the causes of the present dearness and scarcity of coal," deemed it equally unnecessary and futile to embark in any such speculative conjecture as that bearing on "the possible failure of the supply at some future period." They formed this conclusion on the ground that "no adequate materials exist for giving a judgment on the subject." But as regarded the existing condition of the coal trade, they reported that the prosperous state of several branches of industry produced a competition for coal which obliged all classes to pay the high prices demanded, rather than suffer the loss consequent upon a diminution of business, or the discomfort arising from want of coal for domestic use. In the words of their report—"The exact effect of any disturbance of the relations of demand and supply on prices is beyond the limits of arithmetical calculation. Price depends not merely on the quantity of the commodity, but on the motives which influence both the buyer and the seller in determining how much the one is content to receive, and how much the other is willing and able to pay, under the belief that the quantity brought to market is or may be insufficient to meet the demand. In the case of coal, much of the demand is of such an urgent nature that the buyer would pay a very large price rather than be deprived of the supply he requires. Nor does the ratio of increase of price necessarily bear any definite proportion to the ratio of diminution of supply. A comparatively small deficiency may produce a very large increase of price if the eagerness of each buyer to secure his own supply, and to guard against deficiency in his own case, is coupled with the ability to pay for it whatever is demanded by the seller." Among items of evidence supporting this view, that of Mr. Lowthian Bell, a gentleman largely connected with ironworks on the Wear, the Tyne, and the Tees, is very cogent. He says:—"The iron trade gave a great stimulus to the coal trade, and I think the coke in our neighbourhood in consequence rose much higher than the coke in any other district. . . . In September 1871, forge pig iron was selling with us for 50*s.*, and coke was selling at from 10*s.* to 12*s.* a ton; pig iron rose gradually towards the end of the year to 64*s.*; but coke was not affected up to that time. In January 1872, pig iron rose to 70*s.* 6*d.* and coke rose to 20*s.* In March, forge pig iron was 84*s.*, and coke was 25*s.* In April, pig iron rose to 94*s.*, and the coke rose to 32*s.* 6*d.* In July, the forge pig iron rose to 110*s.*, more than twice what it was nine months before; and the coke rose to 37*s.* 6*d.* and 41*s.* per ton. Now, pig iron rose in spite of the increase in the quantity made; that is, there were more blast furnaces built, and at work, in July 1872 than there were in 1871, and yet pig iron rose unexpectedly to us, just as the coal had done to the coal owners. I believe there was not a single house in Middlesbrough that had not six months' orders on hand, at 45*s.* to 47*s.* a ton, when pig iron was selling at 120*s.*; but as it was up to 120*s.*, they were too glad to give even 41*s.* a ton for the coke, in order to profit by the increase in the price of iron."

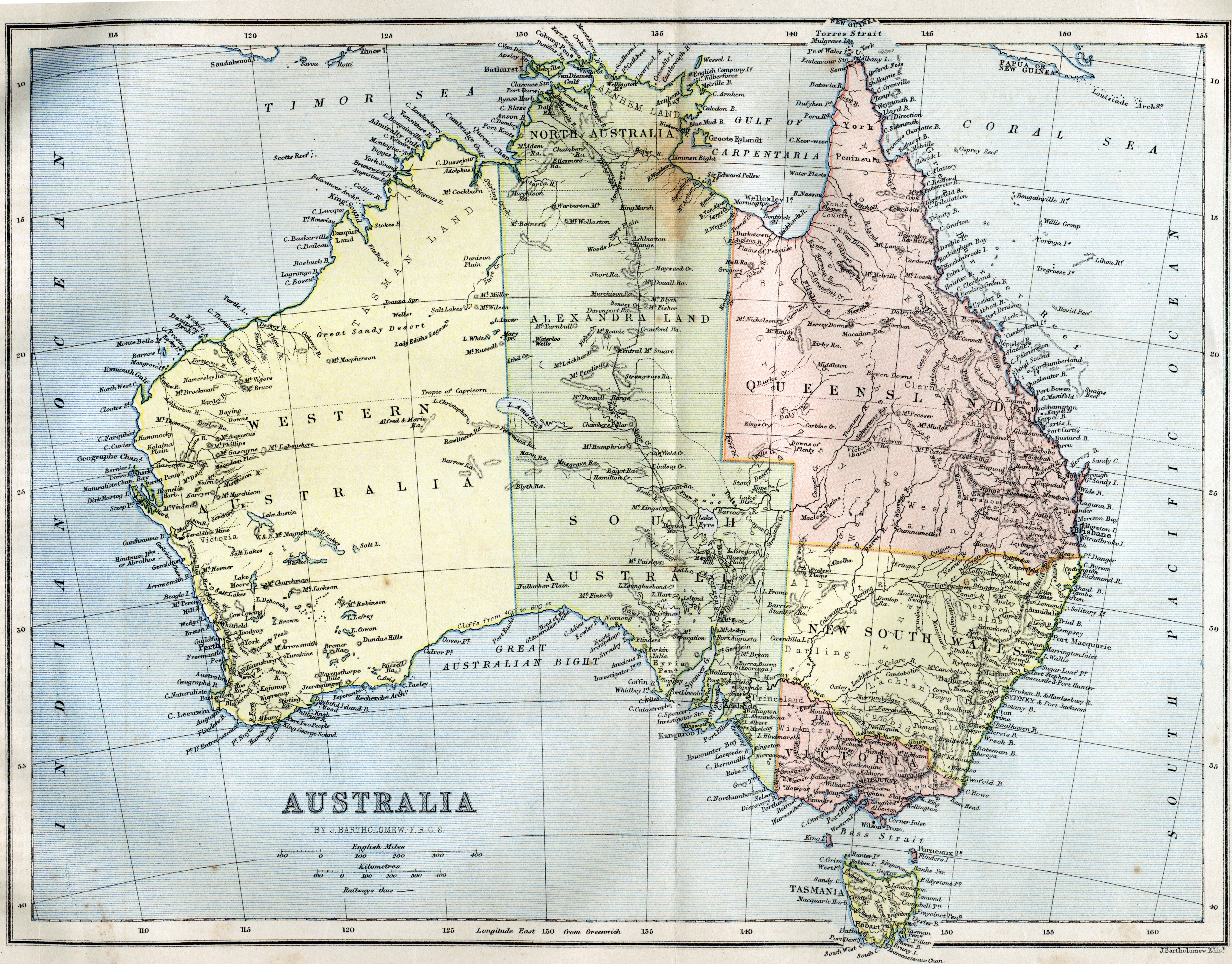
The committee held that, considering the great extent of the coal-fields in Great Britain, the number of collieries at work, and the variety of coals produced, the startling fluctuations of prices were due solely to temporary causes, which would soon cease to operate, and that no league of masters or workmen could succeed in permanently affecting the price resulting from the balance between demand and supply. They were averse to an export duty on coal, or other hindrance to supplying the foreign demand, because much of our exported coal is used by English shipowners for their homeward and other voyages, so that a tax on coal sent away from our shores would be a tax on British shipping and the merchants using it. Even the coal consumed in the interior of foreign countries is not unfrequently used on their railways to bring to their ports commodities to be imported into this country, whether raw or manufactured, to be exchanged for exports from England, and all these operations would be prejudiced to the extent to which English coal abroad would either be enhanced in price or diminished in supply. The committee further held that, as regards the home trade, the right policy on the part of parliament is to leave it free to adjust its own prices, which are absolutely ruled, as in all the enterprises and trades of the country, by the relation for the time being between supply and demand. Whenever demand outstrips supply, high prices, with exceptional profits, must be the order of the day, whether the commodity be coal, or meat, or cotton, or flour. But inordinate profits in any branch of business can only be temporary, since competitors will rush in to share the spoils, and the increase of supply thus brought about lowers forthwith the level of prices. Stimulated by high prices, new coal works and large draughts of workmen from other callings have already made their mark on the coal market; and while prices may never fall again to the old level, there is little risk of a speedy return to the famine prices of 1872–73. That high range of prices was not an unmitigated evil. Under its pressure many ingenious minds concentrated their powers on devices for preventing waste of our fuel supplies. Already the saving of coal in smelting processes represents more than 6,000,000 tons a year, since 50 cwt. is made to do the work formerly performed by 60 cwt. There is, too, every likelihood that improved furnaces, stoves, and grates, will vastly enlarge the margin for economy, while inferior sorts of coal that used to be neglected as mere rubbish will be more and more extensively utilised. Foreign coal-fields, too, are fast increasing their yield under the encouragement of high prices.

The total coal area of the British Islands is computed at 12,800 square miles, or about one-tenth of the entire surface. But the total of productive area, where the seams are thick enough and not too deep in the earth to pay for working, is thought not to exceed 6000 square miles. This area, taking the average thickness of available coal strata at 30 feet, and allowing the usual estimate of 1000 tons per acre for each foot in thickness, represents a store of 19,200,000 tons per square mile, or 115,200,000,000 tons as the total quantity which can be worked out in these islands. At the current rate of consumption this store will last about 950 years. The total number of collieries in operation in 1871 was 2810.

RAILWAYS.—As the main channels of modern trade railways claim further notice here, in continuation of the story of their origin and early progress in the preceding period. In ten years from the opening, in 1832, of the first passenger line, that linking Manchester with Liverpool, the total length of railroads completed and in actual working was 1857 miles. The next ten years, 1842–52, brought up the total to 7336 miles. In 1862 there were 11,551 miles. In 1872 the total was 15,814 miles, distributed as follows: in England, 11,136 miles; in Scotland, 2587 miles; and in Ireland, 2091 miles. At the close of 1873 the total length exceeded 16,000 miles. The gross earnings of railway companies have grown from less than 500,000*l.* per week in 1858 to more than 1,000,000*l.* in 1873. The total capital invested in railways was 569,047,346*l.* at the close of 1872, or at the rate of nearly 36,000*l.* per mile, inclusive of works, plant, rolling stock, buildings, &c. At the same date, as appears from a report to the Board of Trade by one of their inspectors, there were 10,933 locomotive engines and 337,899 carriages and other vehicles, besides those owned by traders other than the railway companies. The companies received from the public, for service rendered, 51,304,114*l.* They spent out of this total 25,652,383*l.* in working and maintenance; and 25,651,731*l.* remained as clear profit. As nearly as possible one-half of the total receipts was spent in earning them. There were 422,874,822 passenger journeys, without including the journeys made by 272,342 season-ticket holders. The goods and minerals conveyed reached a total of 190,302,121 tons. The average rate of dividend earned was 5·14 per cent. in ordinary shares, and upon the total capital 4·75 per cent. There were lines that earned 8, 10, and 12½ per cent. respectively, but then there were on the other hand lines still looking to the future for a dividend, and earning nothing or next to nothing up to the latest return. In 1873 the public spent more than a million for each week on railway journeying and carriage of goods, cattle, minerals, &c. The total traffic receipts amounted in the year to 54,071,514*l.*, or upwards of 4,000,000*l.* increase over the year 1872. Besides these ordinary receipts for goods and passenger traffic on the rails, the companies draw more than 2,000,000*l.* annually from other sources, such as steamboats, canals, rents, tolls, &c. The companies, with few exceptions, are prosperous; railway shares have risen greatly in value; and the shareholders draw far better dividends than in former years. It is only in the very latest years of railway experience that the companies have learned how great a mine of untold wealth they have persistently neglected, in refusing due encouragement to third-class passenger traffic. In the earlier years of railway travelling, the penny-a-mile passenger was carried in just such a truck as is used for mineral traffic, open to the sky and without a seat. Then came the tardy and grudging concession of "covered carriages," which however were open on both sides to the wintry blast and the pitiless downpour. Later still followed further protection from the weather, certainly, but with most stinted daylight. The boon of artificial light at night and in the transit through tunnels was the next concession. But inconvenient hours, slow trains, the impossibility of making a through journey in twenty-four hours, and the further impossibility of going and returning in the same day, were still retained as hindrances to cheap travelling. Such expedients for restricting, as far as possible, the growth of third-class passenger traffic proved in the long run to be not less hurtful to the shareholders than distasteful to that great majority of the travelling public whom they were designed to discommode. A more generous policy, that of giving ample facilities and encouragements to third-class travelling, has been found to pay better. In 1872, the Midland Company opened all its trains, including those at express speed, to third-class passengers, and the example thus set has been more or less adopted on the other lines. Their aggregate receipts became forthwith larger than ever, the vast increase from third-class passengers yielding much more than an adequate requital for the diminished number of second-class passengers. Out of every 100*l.* earned by the railways in 1858, 49*l.* was for passenger and 51*l.* for goods traffic.

Out of each 100*l.* earned in 1870, 1871, and 1872, 44*l.* came from passengers and 56*l.* from goods, minerals, &c.

Coming years are hardly likely to show such growth of the railway system as in the past, since our great trunk lines are all formed, and there remains little home territory to intersect with rails. Such additions as are made to our now very systematic network of iron highways are chiefly for forming connecting links, shortening the old through routes, making branch feeders to the main lines, and providing sidings and other enlarged accommodation for goods and mineral traffic. In the busiest portions of the year, most of the great through routes are so clogged with excessive traffic that it is becoming a pressing necessity to sever entirely, by means of distinct sets of rails, the fast from the slow, the passenger from the goods traffic. Such a severance is called for alike in the interests of passengers and of the shareholders themselves, as the only reliable safeguard against peril to life on the one side and liability to heavy compensatory damages on the other. The purchase of the whole system of railways by the state and the



AUSTRALIA
BY J. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.G.S.
English Miles
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Railways thus
Longitude East 130 from Greenwich
J. Bartholomew, Edin.
INDIAN OCEAN
TIMOR SEA
CORAL SEA
SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN
GULF OF CARPENTARIA
GREAT AUSTRALIAN BIGHT
Torres Strait
Bass Strait
PAPUA OR NEW GUINEA
NEW GUINEA
Timor I.
Sandalwood I.
Louisiade Arch.
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
NORTH AUSTRALIA
ARNHEM LAND
ALEXANDRA LAND
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
QUEENSLAND
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
TASMANIA
TASMAN LAND
York Peninsula
Great Sandy Desert
Tropic of Capricorn
Nullarbor Plain
Cliffs from 400 to 600 ft
Great Barrier Reef
Perth
Fremantle
Adelaide
Melbourne
Sydney & Port Jackson
Brisbane
Hobart T.
Port Darwin
Launceston
Rockhampton
Port Macquarie
Kangaroo I.
Spencer G.
Lake Eyre
L. Torrens
L. Amadeus
Central Mt. Stuart
McDonnell Range
Musgrave Ra.
Darling R.
Murray R.
Lachlan R.
Murrumbidgee R.
Princeland
Wimmera
Riverina
Liverpool Plains
C. Leeuwin
King George Sound
Albany
Shark Bay
Exmouth Gulf
Dampier Arch.
King Sound
Cambridge Gulf
Melville I.
Bathurst I.
Groote Eylandt
Wellesley Is.
Moreton Bay
Wilson Prom.
King I.
Furneaux Is.
Flinders I.
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working of them rather as an affair of public convenience than of profit have been mooted from time to time. But the enormous price that would have to be paid to buy up existing interests, measured by the parallel case of the telegraphic service, presents a formidable and perhaps an insuperable obstacle to the realisation of the scheme. The railway service employs quite a large army of stalwart men. In 1871, the plate-layers, labourers, and navvies numbered 45,070; the servants and attendants doing duty at the stations were 49,102; the higher grades of officers, including station-masters, clerks, interpreters, &c., were 22,083; the engine-drivers and stokers were 13,715; the total, 129,970; nor is even this number enough for the work.

ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH.—Side by side with our railway system, in the early stage of its development, grew up a yet more wondrous appliance for securing expeditious communication. This was the electric telegraph, whereby thoughts and utterances, hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, with political, social, commercial, and domestic intelligence in countless variety, are flashed with the speed of lightning from city to city, from nation to nation, and, under intervening oceans, from continent to continent. Wheatstone, an Englishman, Morse, an American, and the numerous eminent electricians who have contrived the mechanism and other appliances for modern telegraphy, are all in a sense the disciples of Oersted, a Dane, whose researches and discoveries in electromagnetism, made in the early years of the current century, laid the foundation and paved the way for whatever has been since achieved in turning to account the mysterious invisible force of electricity for the conveyance of symbols that represent articulate utterances. So far as England is concerned, the electric telegraph first emerged from the field of mere experiment and passed into practical use in 1845, when wires were laid between London and Slough. Wheatstone's instrument was adopted on that and most subsequent lines in the United Kingdom. America and most parts of Europe gave the preference to Morse's mechanism. The first junction of the telegraphs of the United Kingdom with the continental lines dates from 1850, when the line between Dover and Calais was laid down experimentally; but the completed line between those ports for use by the public did not come into operation until the following year. Then followed, in the course of the next twenty years, the laying of cables between Ostend and Dover, Harwich and the Hague, Scotland and Ireland, with other extensions spanning all the narrow seas about Europe, Africa, and Asia, and linking the far East to its utmost bounds with our own system. America was for the first time connected electrically with Europe in 1858. But the cable proved too frail for the service, and, after being at work a few weeks only, lapsed into useless silence from which it has never since been aroused. Among the earliest messages flashed between the Old and the New World, the following are historically interesting. On the 16th August 1858, Queen Victoria thus addressed the President of the United States:—

"The Queen desires to congratulate the President upon the successful completion of this great international work, in which the Queen has taken the greatest interest. The Queen is convinced that the President will join with her in fervently hoping that the electric cable, which now already connects Great Britain with the United States will prove an additional link between the two nations, whose friendship is founded upon their common interest and reciprocal esteem. The Queen has much pleasure in thus directly communicating with the President, and in renewing to him her best wishes for the prosperity of the United States."

President Buchanan's rejoinder was as follows:—

"The President cordially reciprocates the congratulations of her Majesty the Queen on the success of the great international enterprise, accomplished by the skill, science, and indomitable energy of the two countries. It is a triumph more glorious, because far more useful to mankind, than was ever won by a conqueror on the field of battle. May the Atlantic Telegraph, under the blessing of Heaven, prove to be a bond of perpetual peace and friendship between the kindred nations, and an instrument destined by Divine Providence to diffuse religion, civilisation, liberty, and law throughout the world. In this view will not all the nations of Christendom spontaneously unite in the declaration that it shall be for ever neutral, and that its communications shall be held sacred in passing to the place of their destination even in the midst of hostilities."

The next attempt to span the Atlantic by telegraph was in 1865, when a cable of much higher capacity for service than its precursor of 1858 was laid across about four-fifths of the entire breadth of ocean, but was then unfortunately snapped asunder, in the process of passing it from the ship. In 1866, however, a similar cable was laid throughout, and the broken one of the previous year was hauled up from its ocean bed, spliced and completed. Both cables came forthwith into efficient service, and among the earliest communications interchanged were renewed congratulations between the queen and the president on the successful completion of the work. The Pacific and Atlantic shores of America were already joined by land wires, which were now united, by the submarine cable, with the telegraphic system of England and the rest of the world. The first piece of cable talk between England and the Pacific was conveyed in the following telegrams:—

"Franklyn, Mayor, Vancouver, 31st July 1866. To the Lord Mayor of London. The infant colony, Vancouver, eight thousand miles distant, sends telegraphic cordial greetings to Mother England." The response flashed back was:—"Mother England acknowledges the cordial greetings of her son Vancouver. May peace, goodwill, and unanimity unite and prosper our happy family."

Australia came later into the all-pervading system of cable connection, and South America is now linked with Europe and the rest of the world by a cable between Lisbon and Pernambuco. All our great centres of industry and commerce learn from hour to hour what is passing in remotest seats of business with which they carry on transactions. Melbourne and Sydney tell us in our morning papers their doings of the previous day, mingling in the interesting summary, with items of political and commercial news, the victories and defeats of colonial cricketers, in friendly contest with guests from the home country. And English-speaking communities, in every quarter of the world, scan with zest, at their breakfast tables, announcements of the chief events of the day before in the home country; whether a royal marriage, the defeat of a ministry, a panic on the Stock Exchange, a great fire, the leading items of sporting intelligence, or the result of the yearly boat race between the Oxford and Cambridge crews.

In 1868 an act of parliament was passed empowering government to purchase all the lines of telegraphic communication within the United Kingdom. From the 1st of January 1870 they have been worked in connection with the postal service. The outlay by the companies in creating this property was about 3,500.000*l.* The price paid in buying them out was more than 8,000,000*l.* The purchase, however, has not yet proved a good investment on the part of the public, if measured merely as a matter of money profit. A similar purchase of the submarine cables by the state has been often and ably advocated at meetings of the Society of Arts, and government has from time to time been plied with persuasions to that end.

Hughes' type-printing instrument, aided by a yet later invention by Stearn, sends messages in opposite directions on the same wire. An efficient operator transmits 2000 words in an hour by ordinary instruments, but Wheatstone's *Transmitter* doubles and even trebles the carrying capacity of wires, enabling experts to work messages through long distances, such as from London to Edinburgh or Glasgow, at the rate of sixty to one hundred and twenty words per minute. The number of postal telegraph offices in operation at the close of 1872 was 5400, including 305 opened in that year. The number of ordinary messages disposed of in the year was nearly 15,000,000, or 3,000,000 more than in the previous year. Besides these ordinary telegrams, the press telegrams for the newspapers numbered more than 28,000,000 words. On the budget night in the session of 1874, upwards of 500,000 words, filling a space in print equal to 500 columns of the *Times* newspaper, were transmitted to the provincial papers. Ten miles of perforated paper tape, representing 5,500,000 distinct symbols, were consumed in sending the budget speech in question to about a score of our largest towns. At the close of 1872, the length of the lines of postal telegraph wires worked in the home service exceeded 105,000 miles, and large extensions have since come into operation. At the same date the number of operators, clerks, messengers, and others occupied in the service, was 9600, including a large proportion of women and girls.

AGRICULTURE.—The whole business of farming has undergone marked changes and many improvements in this final period. The landed proprietors have continued that zealous attention to the science of the field and the fold which first became a fashion under royal example and patronage a century ago. The Royal Agricultural Society of England, by its yearly gatherings and exhibitions, its discussions and publications, has rendered large service to the cause. Numerous provincial associations have co-operated efficiently in giving similiar help and encouragement. Science has guided the employment of natural fertilisers, and taught how to manufacture new ones. Labour-saving appliances have been greatly multiplied in all the processes of tillage and harvesting. The enclosure and reclamation of waste lands have drawn enormous additional tracts into the business of food production. Drainage operations have transformed wide areas of fen and bog and quag, the old resorts of the bittern, the coot, the moor-hen, the wild duck, and the snipe, into solid arable and pasture land. Choice cereals, root crops, and fine herbage, fill thousands of acres over which bulrushes, reeds, and the yellow iris, were the prevailing forms of vegetation less than forty years ago. The counties of Huntingdon, Lincoln, Cambridge, and Norfolk, strikingly illustrate these extensions of the domain of agriculture. Other wide expanses in various parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, exhibit, in varying degrees, similar encroachments on the wastes and wilds, and transformation from sterility to fruitfulness. The diminished list of enclosure bills in the parliamentary business of recent sessions tells its tale of the paucity of wastes remaining to be annexed to the acreage of pasture and arable land. The open spaces within easy reach of our town populations have disappeared to an extent that provokes much natural alarm, and not a little resentment, in many quarters.

It appears from a report of the inclosure commissioners that the extent of waste land held as common in England and Wales in 1844 was estimated at 8,000,000 acres, besides 2,000,000 acres of "commonable" land, from which summer crops were removed, and pasturage allowed. The total number of applications of all kinds that have been made for inclosure is 6608 up to 1872. In 1872 there were 213 applications. At the date of the report there had been inclosures confirmed to the extent of 578,196, and 92,186 acres of inclosures were in progress. The extent of ground set apart for purposes of recreation was 1711, and for the labouring poor 2155 acres. There are still upwards of eight millions of acres lying waste, of which about three millions are in the lowlands of England and Wales, and the remainder in the hilly and mountainous parts. It appears that after the full exercise of the act had been effected, there would be still an area equal to one-sixth of the country in a state of waste or common. The proportion for Scotland and Ireland would be very much larger.

The manufacture of agricultural implements and machines has grown into a large and thriving business, giving new life to not a few of the quiet old provincial towns in the chief farming districts. The machine shed of a well-to-do and enterprising farmer has become a sight to draw visitors by the attraction of its numerous ingenious implements and complex mechanism. The plough has assumed manifold forms, to meet the requirements of differing soils and to adapt it to work by steam-power. Harrows, rollers, sowing and drilling machines, have grown into a numerous family. Crushers, grubbers, scarifiers, cultivators, root-slicers and pulpers, are among the many new implements that date their origin within this period. The reaping, thrashing, winnowing, mowing, and hay-making machines form another extensive group of novelties, that can scarcely be said to have had any representatives among farming apparatus of the preceding period.

The effectiveness of modern husbandry in the United Kingdom, as measured by its results in food production, has been pictured with graphic force by an able French writer. In an 'Essay on Rural Economy in England, Scotland, and Ireland,' M. Léonce de Lavergne thus strikingly contrasts farming as practised in his own country and in ours :—

> "France has devoted herself too exclusively to the production of corn crops, which are the immediate food of man, without sufficiently considering the means necessary to uphold the fertility of the soil under this exhausting process. England, on the contrary, has been led, partly by the nature of the climate, partly by design, to take a sort of by-path, which reaches corn crops through the intervention of green crops; finding, in the rearing of cattle and the supply of manure, the restorative process which is necessary.
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> "The experiment has entirely succeeded, and is extending itself day by day; and the remarkable fact is, that in proportion as the head of cattle increases, the quantity of corn increases also; the gain in intensity exceeds the loss in extent. Thus, on a surface of 31,000,000 of hectares, reduced to 20,000,000 by the waste lands, the British isles produce more food for animals than the entire surface of France, of double the extent. (A French hectare is equal to 2471 English acres.) Hence, the supply of manure is in proportion three or four times greater. The average produce per hectare in France is 6 hectolitres of wheat, about 5 of rye, and 1 of maize or buckwheat—collectively about 11 hectolitres; in England, 25 hectolitres of wheat (3½ quarters per acre), more than double in quantity, and three times more in saleable value. Scotland and Ireland are included in this estimate. If the comparison is made with England alone, the results are far more striking. This little country, not larger than one-fourth of France, produces 38, 000,000 of hectolitres of wheat, 16,000,000 of barley, 34,000,000 of oats. If France produced as much in proportion, she would produce, deducting seed, 150,000,000 hectolitres of wheat, 200,000,000 of oats and other grains; that is, at least double her actual production.
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> "Taking all products into account, animal and vegetable, it appears that the produce of England per hectare nearly doubles that of France.
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> "The great lesson which these figures teach, beyond the disproportion of the results, is the relation of vegetable to animal products. In France, the vegetable products form four-sixths of the whole, and the animal products two-sixths only; showing at first sight an exhausting cultivation, and one at least stationary. In the United Kingdom, the animal products are equal to the vegetable. Thus the animal products alone of an English farm are equal to the entire products, animal and vegetable, of a French farm of the same extent.
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> "The most remarkable feature of British farming, in comparison with that of France, is the number and quality of the sheep. According to the statistical returns and estimates, the number of sheep in France and in England is about equal—about 35,000,000 of sheep in France, and 35,000,000 in England. But this apparent equality conceals an inequality the most marked. 35,000,000 of sheep in the United Kingdom live on 31,000,000 hectares of land. 35,000,000 of sheep in France live on 53,000,000 hectares. France, in order to have as many sheep in proportion as the United Kingdom, ought to have 60,000,000. If the comparison is made with England alone, the difference is far greater. England feeds 30,000,000 of sheep on 15,000,000 hectares of land; that is, proportionally, three times as many as France.
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> "But the great difference is in the quality of the sheep, upon the breeding and improving of which, with a view to weight and early maturity, so much care and attention has been bestowed. The weight of an English sheep is twice that of a French sheep. So that an English farm on an equal surface gives six times as much mutton as a French farm.
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> "In the case of cattle, the same care in breeding from selected animals in the United Kingdom, and continually improving the races, in studying meat-producing qualities and early maturity, has effected results similar to the results produced in sheep. France possesses 10,000,000 head of cattle, the United Kingdom 8,000,000. In France, three products are demanded from cattle —labour, milk, and meat. In England, only two—milk and meat. The yield of these two valuable productions is materially interfered with by requiring work also from cattle. It might appear, at first sight, that the work of cattle could not in an important degree influence the supply of meat, and it is not difficult for people to persuade themselves that labour in utilising the life of an ox enables meat to be sold at a lower price. But experience has proved that if this is sometimes a truth in detail, it is an error in the gross.
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> "The habit of labour forms hardy, vigorous races, which, like men devoted to hard work, eat much, fatten slowly, develop their bony structure, make little flesh, and make it slowly. The habit of inaction, on the contrary, forms races gentle, tranquil, which fatten early, assume round and fleshy forms, and give with equal food a far larger yield to the butcher. If we look to labour, the ox is killed when he has finished his task. If we look to meat, the ox is killed at the moment when he yields the largest amount. Cattle, in France, are killed too young or too old; among the 4,000,000 head killed, figure 2,000,000 calves, giving each only 30 kilogrammes of meat. Those which survive are killed at an age when the growth has long ceased, i.e. when the animal has long been consuming nourishment which has not added to its weight.
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> "In England, on the contrary, animals are killed neither so young, because in their youth they make the most meat, nor so old, because then they make none. The moment is seized when the animal has reached his maximum of increase.
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> "In France, the number of animals killed annually is about 4,000,000 head, producing 400,000,000 kilogrammes of meat, averaging therefore 100 kilogrammes per head.
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> "In the United Kingdom, the number killed is 2,000,000, producing 500,000,000 kilogrammes of meat, averaging 250 kilogrammes per head.
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> "Thus, with 8,000,000 head of cattle and 30,000,000 hectares of land, British agriculture produces 500,000,000 kilogrammes of meat; while France, with 10,000,000 head of cattle, and 30,000,000 hectares of land, produces only 400,000,000 kilogrammes."

Despite such realised success, however, our leading home authorities on agricultural industry tell us that the work both of the field and the fold is still in a backward and crude state in comparison with that greatly increased efficiency towards which it is rapidly tending. Before the business of food production can rank with other great national industries as regards the profitable use of capital, and as a source of comfortable livelihood to all employed in it, machinery on a vastly extended scale must take the place of hand-labour, and steam-power must as extensively displace the more costly work of horses and oxen. The transformation has indeed commenced, and is powerfully helped by the prosperity of the other great national industries. Coal-pits, quarries, mines, factories, railroads, and the multifarious work to be done in all large towns, offer higher wages than the farmer can pay, and call continuously for new armies of recruits. The colonies and foreign countries offer large inducements to emigrants qualified for farm work. With so wide a range of choice open to them, the sons of the soil have flocked by myriads into new fields of employment, and the reduced numbers who remain are enabled to refuse field work at the old rates of pay.

The Irish peasantry, who used to visit England by thousands in the summer months, to share the labour of haymaking and harvesting, are now rarely seen in such work, having been absorbed in the strong currents of emigration or in the many thriving home industries that pay better than field work. More and more machine power has thus become a pressing need with the farmer, to fill the void created by scarcity and dearness of manual labour. The movement headed by Joseph Arch, a Warwickshire peasant of rare ability, having for its aim an improvement in the condition of his class, similar to that which has been achieved by the toilers in mining and manufacturing industries, has given a marked impetus to the demand for labour-saving appliances in all the processes of tillage and harvest work. Reaping machines are fast displacing the sickle in all but the smallest farms. The shops of a single maker of this efficient substitute for hand labour have turned out more than 6000 in the year for the farmers of the United Kingdom. According to the estimate of Mr. James Caird, a high authority on farming business, more than 40,000 iron reapers were at work in the harvest fields of Great Britain in 1873, each performing the labour of ten men wielding the sickle or scythe. Twice as many of these machines would cut down, in twelve days, all the corn crops throughout the country. The machine power thus put into play would be equivalent to the labour of 800,000 men, in the busiest season of the year, when wages are at the highest pitch. There is little room to doubt that the iron reaper must soon oust the scythe and the sickle as completely as railway travelling has superseded the old coaching system. Steam-worked thrashing and winnowing machines are also fast multiplying, and disposing so expeditiously of the newly cut grain as to do away with the labour and cost of rick-making. Then the steam-plough, though not suitable for ploughing small enclosed fields, holds out the prospect of further and very large saving in manual and horse power. Mr. Caird reckons that a steam-plough capable of ploughing ten acres a day will displace the labour of eight men and twenty horses, and do the work much better. Skilled artisans will fill an important place in the new system of farm work. Rising wages, and rising prices for beef, mutton, butter, and cheese, will call the steam-worked plough into play on constantly increasing areas, and similar extensions of machine power must sooner or later cover the whole range of farming operations. The accepted guides and leaders of opinion within the ranks of agricultural workpeople have manfully given in their submission to the coming change, adverse though it be to the interests of their order. Joseph Arch, the founder and president of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, tells his auditory, in public meetings on the wages question, that a system of land cultivation which can only be worked at a profit by paying the labourers as heretofore is a system that ought to die. And a more remunerative style of farming, through the general adoption of machinery, is the make-weight offered to the farmer by the advocates of increased wages for the reduced number of hands that will be in request. In any case, the old order of things, so far as wages are concerned, has passed away for ever, under competition in the labour markets of the world for the effective manual force which our peasantry bring to bear in multifarious occupations besides those to which they were born. The general adoption of costly and complicated mechanism is, however, incompatible with farming on a small scale; small holdings will have to be amalgamated; tenants with large capital, and possibly joint-stock companies, will be in request to carry on the high-farming enterprise of the future. Similar changes have passed over most of our leading industries, to the eventual benefit of all classes, though not without temporary hardships to the parties injuriously affected during the time of transition. Farming on a greatly enlarged scale, and chiefly by machine power, will lessen the cost of food production; while the use of larger monetary resources, for drainage operations and liberal manuring under the guidance of science, will increase the yield of each acre. The British Islands will never grow food enough for their dense population, but the extent of their dependence on foreign supplies of the first necessaries of life ought certainly to be less than in recent years. We are spending more than 30,000,000*l.* a year for foreign beef, mutton, pork, bacon, and butter, cheese, eggs, and poultry, to make good the shortcomings in our home yield of meat and dairy produce, and a yet larger sum for wheat and flour to supplement our insufficient growth of bread-stuffs. Our horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs, cost a further sum of from 15,000,000*l.* to 20,000,000*l.* a year for imported food over and above the supplies raised at home. The problem for food producers in these islands is to enlarge their supplies, to lessen the cost of producing, and to cheapen their products. In proportion as they come up to each or all of these requirements, the reward of their success will be an increasing share of the 80,000,000*l.* now paid, year by year, for foreign meat, corn, and dairy produce. Meat in particular offers to the home producer an inviting field for extended operations, inasmuch as his foreign rivals are weighted with heavy disabilities in the endeavour to compete with him. All the resources of science have heretofore failed, and all the speculative genius of trade has hitherto been baffled, in the attempt to bring into our markets fresh meat in good condition from remote sources of supply. The high price of meat in recent years has in fact already made its mark on the work of the farm. The acreage under pasture, clover, &c., for cattle is extending; the area covered by wheat, oats, and barley is diminishing. The area covered by pasture in Great Britain was 22,838,178 acres in 1872 and 23,363,990 acres in 1873, thus showing, for one year only, an increase of 525,812 acres of herbage for sheep and cattle. Clover, &c. occupied 3,448,726 acres in 1869, and 4,366,813 acres in 1873, the increase being 918,092 acres. The wheat crops of Great Britain covered 3,688,357 acres in 1869, and 3,490,380 acres in 1873, thus showing a decrease of 197,977 acres. Ireland exhibits the same tendency. Its wheat crops fell from 286,790 acres in 1868 to 228,189 acres in 1872. Its mangold was measured by 19,067 acres at the earlier and 34,736 acres at the latter date, and its other crops similarly illustrate a diminution in the growth of bread-stuffs and potatoes, with an increase of food supplies for cattle and sheep. The total area under corn crops, including beans and peas, in the United Kingdom, has decreased from 12,000,111 acres in 1869 to 11,698,245 acres in 1872. The green crops, especially mangold, vetches, clovers, rye-grass, cabbage for cattle, &c., have correspondingly augmented. The permanent pasture for hay crops in Great Britain increased from 3,067,151 acres in 1870 to 3,577,603 acres in 1872. The total area under crops of all kinds, including grass and fallows, in the United Kingdom, was 22,052,510 acres in 1867 and 22,838,510 acres in 1872. Horses used solely in agriculture, and others exempt from licence duty, have for some years past numbered about 1,650,000. The other kinds, subject to licence duty, ranged from 915,786 in 1870 to 1,013,620 in 1872. The cattle of the United Kingdom have increased from 9,083,416 in 1868 to 9,718,506 in 1872, despite the temptation of a higher range of prices for beef than in any previous term of years of the same length. Sheep have not offered an equal resistance to the blandishments of the butcher; the numbers have fallen from 35,607,812 in 1868 to 32,246,642 in 1872. Pigs, exclusive of those kept by cottagers and townspeople, and not brought under the agricultural census, increased from 3,028,394 in 1868 to 4,178,000 in 1872. Agricultural labourers, shepherds, and indoor farm servants of both sexes, fell progressively from 1,110,311 in 1851 to 1,098,261 in 1861 and to 922,054 in 1871. Farmers and graziers are diminishing in numbers, and farm bailiffs are on the increase, the small farms being fewer and the large farms more than in earlier years. The farms of less than 100 acres were 39,139 in 1851 and 33,162 in 1871. The farms of 1000 acres and upwards were 492 in 1851 and 582 in 1871. The total acreage of farms each less than 100 acres was 1,542,481 in 1851 and 1,244,893 in 1871. The acreage of farms of 1000 acres and upwards was 723,900 in 1851 and 860,550 in 1871. The growing use of hired machines in farm work is shown in the census returns for England and Wales, from which it appears that agricultural machine owners and attendants—a recent addition to the list of employments—were 1441 in 1861 and 2152 in 1871.

INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITIONS.—Trade exhibitions on a limited scale, displaying the industrial processes and products of particular localities, or else the various handicrafts of a single nation, were not unknown in earlier periods than the one with which this section is concerned. But the earliest industrial tournament open to all comers in the friendly rivalry of handicraft achievement was the *Great Exhibition* held in London in 1851. From that date onward the period under review has been marked by many international gatherings of the industrial products of every land, besides samples of the raw material used in the making of such products, and collections of the mechanism or other appliances brought to bear in fashioning to human needs and fancies the manifold and bountiful gifts of nature. Paris, New York, Vienna, and other great cities have followed us in rearing temples and palaces in honour of the industrial arts. But the collection in Hyde Park, in the glass and iron structure which, on its new site at Sydenham, is popularly known as the Crystal Palace, was a more brilliant and in every sense a more successful affair than any later displays of a similar kind. It was an accepted starting-point for many industries, from which they measure subsequent progress. Its teachings were valuable to ourselves, chiefly in regard to grace and elegance of form, tastefulness in design, and ornamentation generally. But England had on the whole more to impart than to learn in the side-by-side contrast between her manufactured products and labour-saving appliances and the similar contributions from abroad. The manifest superiority of what we had to show in products for the use and comfort of the many was one of the great facts impressed upon all discerning visitors. Foreign markets soon gave proof, in vastly increased orders, that such a lesson had been effectually taught. The exhibition of 1851 not only paid its way, but made also a clear profit of more than 200,000*l.* The next London exhibition of the international and industrial type was in 1862. This was fairly successful, but barely paid its expenses. None of the similar gatherings elsewhere have been exempt from pecuniary loss to the promoters. Smaller international exhibitions, illustrating at the rate of five departments of industry each year, were carried on at Kensington from 1871 to 1874, but the frequency of such gatherings proved fatal to their popularity, and it was decided to discontinue them from the last named year. Many a single day's attendance at the exhibition of 1851 exceeded the total attendances recorded for an entire season in the three years 1871, 1872, and 1873. The lessons impressed on our industrial competitors in international displays have resulted in a formidable rivalry in several sections of manufactures between ourselves and several continental nations. In seasons of adverse trade, such as follow a war between capital and labour in our home industries, Germany, Belgium, France, and Switzerland come to the front, and even go ahead of us, in the special branches of production affected by such contests. It must, however, be remembered that there never was a time in our industrial history when we were not losing ground in some special department. But in the very latest, not less than in a long series of earlier years in our records of industrial and commercial progress, our general superiority over all competitors remains unimpaired. While foreign nations have been making great progress, we have neither been standing still nor going backward. Out of the total amount of raw cotton consumed by all nations, Great Britain absorbed 40·5 per cent. in 1860, and 48·6 per cent. in 1873. The whole of continental Europe required only 31·5 per cent. in the former year, and 30·6 per cent. in the latter, being a less proportion of the whole supply than the continent consumed thirty years ago. The 21,000,000 spindles in our cotton factories in 1850 increased year by year up to 33,000,000 in 1871. The 250,000 looms of the former date increased in the same interval to 405,000. In 1850 the raw cotton worked up in our factories weighed 580,000,000 lbs.; in 1871 the quantity was 1,137,000,000 lbs. The workpeople in cotton factories numbered 331,000 at the earlier date, and 450,000 at the latter. These two sets of figures, covering the period of international exhibitions, show an increase of 57 per cent. in spindles, 62 per cent. in looms, 96 per cent. in cotton wool worked up, and only 36 or 37 per cent. of extra human agency.

The vast growth of production beyond the rate of increase in number of hands employed is due mainly to increased effectiveness in the mechanical processes. The other great staple industries afford similar illustrations of the same fact. Lessened cost of production enables England to hold her own, and maintain an easy ascendancy in open markets for at least a large proportion of her manufactured products.

PRINTING.—This final period, like the one immediately preceding it, has proved fruitful in improvements in type printing, especially as regards economy and rapidity of production. The Cowper cylinder machine was deemed a veritable marvel of quickened speed in type-printing when it was brought up to the pitch of yielding four thousand impressions per hour. Successive ingenious contrivances, some of them by Cowper, but more by his partner Applegarth, for which more than a dozen patents were taken out between the years 1818 and 1851, added greatly to the efficiency of this machine, and materially lightened the labour of the operatives employed in feeding and otherwise helping its almost organic processes. The repeal of the stamp duty upon newspapers in 1861, and of the customs and excise duty on paper in the same year, stimulated the enterprise of those engaged upon the daily press, and thenceforward the allied trades of the printer and the paper manufacturer entered upon a new era of growth. In 1862, the Hoe machine, named after its inventor, an American, was adopted in the establishment of the *Times*, where its rate of production was sixteen thousand impressions per hour. The Bullock machine, brought out in the same year as the Hoe, yielded eighteen thousand impressions per hour. But the Cowper, the Hoe, and the Bullock are already eclipsed by the Walter, which takes its name from the leading proprietor of the *Times* newspaper. The Marioni and the Augsburg share with the Walter the credit attaching to efficiency and rapidity of action in type-printing machinery.

CHAPTER VI.

History of Manners, Customs, etc., from A.D. 1837 to A.D. 1873.

RECENT and existing English manners, social customs, national characteristics, favourite sports, popular games, and fashionable diversions, are so familiar to the living generation that they are rather subject-matter for the future historian than for narration by the contemporary writer on English history. Such topics cannot, however, be wholly omitted from a record professing to depict English life in its main aspects down to the close of the year 1873.

The present is the standard by which the past is best measured. But in treating of current or recent national peculiarities, the standard of comparison must necessarily be either bygone usages at home or extant practice in foreign countries. The application of one or other of these tests will bring out with sufficient clearness the fact that the Victorian era has some well defined social characteristics of its own, distinguishing it from earlier periods. In the interval between 1837 and 1873, the vast multiplication of facilities for cheap and rapid transit has been hardly less potent in modifying national usages and peculiarities than in stimulating and developing the multifarious forms of wealth-producing enterprise. When Queen Victoria came to the throne, and stage-coach traffic was still in full force, travelling was rather the occasional luxury of thousands than the daily habit of millions. Aged persons were then and long afterwards to be found who had never strayed fifty miles from the home of their childhood. Very small sections of our inland population had even once in a lifetime gazed upon the seas encircling their island home in times well remembered by men who were still young at the date to which this chapter extends. When her Majesty's reign numbered its thirty or more years, the home dominion could furnish but rare instances, even among the humblest sons of toil, or the children of sequestered villages, who had not shared in some measure the pleasure and profit of travel. Every seat and centre of manufacturing and mining industry has been linked in cheap and rapid communication with all other parts of the country within limits of time still forming a very near background in the retrospect of recent history. Hundreds of thousands of the men and women who subsist on weekly wages have grown familiar, by help of day excursion trains, with the shores and cliffs and lakes and mountains that were never visited by any of their class in the last generation, for the sufficient reason that travelling was then a luxury beyond their reach. The ranks somewhat higher in pecuniary resources gradually adopted the fashion of sojourning each summer for a few weeks at the seaside, after the example of wealthier classes, who alone indulged in such practices in the times before cheap railway transit. Watering-places and the other resorts of holiday diversion have, year by year, enlarged their old boundaries; and rival resorts for ease, and leisure, and amusement, have sprung up in all quarters. The classes whose custom kept going the coaching and posting system that still flourished in the dawn of the period have long had at their command appliances for easy and luxurious journeying at sixfold or sevenfold the speed of the post-chaise, yet at only a tithe of its charges. Express trains, and hotels afloat that traverse the seas with the speed of ordinary trains, open up in a six weeks' tour all the scenes of classic story, chivalry, fable, romance, and poetry. The Nile and the Pyramids, or Niagara and Salt Lake City, have been brought within the compass of the customary vacation trips in which professional men employ their scant leisure. Multitudes of young men, and nearly as many women in the higher social grades, are more or less familiar, through a succession of holiday trips, with Alpine and Scandinavian peaks and lakes, not to name nearer and more accessible continental scenery. Cook's excursion parties include tourists who "put a girdle round the earth," crossing its wildest expanses of ocean, visiting the chief cities of America, China, India, Egypt, Palestine, Italy, and nearer home, all within an interval of fifteen weeks, and at an outlay hardly heavier than the cost of board and lodging for as many weeks at any of the well-known hotels in the Scottish Highlands or the resorts of fashion on the English coasts. This new national habit of home or foreign travel, and the ease with which not only households but large communities are transplanted from one part of the British Isles to another, under the fluctuations of work and the other exigencies of their lot, have operated in a marked toning down of earlier national peculiarities. Old provincialisms of speech, singularities in modes of thought and dealing, local prejudices and self-conceits, the uncouthness of outlandish rusticity, and the old antipathies of race, have all been much worn down, if not wholly obliterated, in the wholesome friction that movement insures. Young John Bull is a wiser man than his father. That he is ahead of a worthy ancestry in this and a score more not unimportant particulars is largely due to the constant and untiring good service he gets, ashore and afloat, from the steam-horse which speeds him swiftly hither and thither, far and near.

A bearded Englishman, especially in professional and genteel society, was a rarity at which all stared until the gathering of all nations at the Great Exhibition in 1851, and the extended social intercourse with continental neighbours which thenceforward took effect. The moustache was viewed with even more misgiving and disfavour, except as an appendage of military men, until 1860, when the volunteer movement brought also into vogue the hirsute growth on the upper lip, first in the ranks of the citizen-soldiers, and then among all other ranks. The clergyman, the barrister, or the merchant, who twenty years ago might have ventured on the disuse of his razors would have incurred the suspicion of lunacy. The pulpit, the bench, the bar, the exchange, have since succumbed to the wide-spread innovation, and the bearded or moustached men in the British Islands are undoubtedly the majority at the date to which this chapter reaches.

A court and a royal household not less rigorously decorous than those of George III., and with a larger infusion than his period could furnish of intellectual refinement and the social graces, have lent substantial help towards elevating the tone and moulding the minor habits and diversions of the fashionable world in this our final period. A severer code of social morals rules in good society than in any preceding age. No well-bred English lady nowadays would admit to her drawing-room any man or woman of known bad character, whatever their credentials in the form of rank, wealth, or celebrity. Within the pale of good society the grosser vices have one by one been all frowned down or banished. There is no drunkenness, no coarseness, and very little of the swearing in which men of fashion largely indulged in times not yet distant.

The ridiculous and immoral custom of duelling, now fallen into irretrievable disrepute, was not finally discredited and abandoned in aristocratic English society until six or seven years later than the opening year of the period under notice. Wellington, Castlereagh, Canning, and Peel are instances of prominent public men who, even when they were filling great places in the government of the empire, figured in the later duelling events of this country. Each of these, either as challenger or challenged, unhesitatingly obeyed the requirements of the absurd and immoral custom which obliged them to give or to demand satisfaction, as the phrase went, in an interchange of pistol shots. Mr. Disraeli, at the outset of his public career, claimed this privilege of mortal combat with Daniel O'Connell. The "Liberator" refused to fight, alleging in excuse that, having already slain one adversary in a previous encounter, he had *registered a vow in heaven never to fight again.* Thereupon the challenger demanded that one of O'Connell's sons should come forward and fill the place of his "shrinking sire." This claim afforded not a little merriment, as an absurd stretch of the code of honour; but the challenge to fight the actual offender was not in itself a matter of surprise, so thoroughly was duelling an affair of fashion when Mr. Disraeli was a young man.

The act of killing in a duel has always been regarded as murder in the eye of English law, but juries never convicted a delinquent while public opinion countenanced the practice. The bad custom was, however, at length stamped out rapidly and irrevocably under a healthy change in public opinion. The shafts of ridicule had well-nigh killed the foolish custom before the new ordinances of the War Office virtually abolished duelling in the army in 1844. Wise and good men in America, France, and elsewhere, have laboured hard, but hitherto with little success, to bring about a similar change in the sentiment of their countrymen on the practice of duelling to that which has come about among ourselves. The orderly Germans still tolerate the evil fashion in their universities, where, however, the fighting is nothing more than fencing matches with sharp weapons under precautions that prevent serious injury. The recent issue of systematic rules for duelling in the German army shows that even the governments of great European states feel unequal to the task of controlling the widespread sentiment which holds that an injury to one's personal honour can only be atoned by resort to the sword or the pistol.

Two ancient relics of rude times, in the form of penalties under judicial sentence, came to an end in this period. The pillory, a punishment not often resorted to since the earlier years of the current century, was not finally abolished until 1837; and the *public* execution, in presence of assembled multitudes, of criminals sentenced to death remained in practice until 1868. The force of old habit, in nations as in individuals, is shown in the continuance until 1859 of commemorative religious services on account of the frustrated gunpowder plot on the 5th of November, the execution of Charles I. on the 30th of January, and the restoration of the second Charles on the 29th of May. National sentiment had long ceased to justify a celebration which seemed to put an affront on that large section of the people who are members of the same religious communion to which Guy Fawkes and his confederate fanatics belonged. Each succeeding generation included a dwindling section of believers in the "innocent blood" shed at Whitehall on the 29th of January 1649, though the spirit of later times had attuned itself to milder measures than decapitation in settling accounts with unmanageable rulers. Nor was there much semblance of actual belief in the "miraculous providence" associated with the restoration of Charles II. The memories clustering about the court and private life of the "merrie monarch" were altogether at variance with reverential feeling and a national thanksgiving service for an event which brought back the Stuart dynasty. Each of these commemorative services had come to be regarded as little better than a solemn farce when the higher dignitaries of the Church of England initiated, in 1857, the movement for that actual suppression by act of parliament which took effect two years later.

The immemorial English custom of "fagging," practised in the great public schools, has in recent years attracted special attention, owing to instances that came before the public showing the abuses to which the system is liable. Some mention of this waning but still extant custom may fitly find a place in this connection. Lord Clarendon's commission, appointed in 1862, to investigate the condition and working of the chief public schools, made a report in 1864, in which was included the following statement respecting fagging:—

> "We have taken pains to satisfy ourselves whether fagging, as it now exists at these great schools is productive of bodily ill-usage, or is likely to be injurious to character, or is oppressive or troublesome to the younger boys, by encroaching on their hours of study or of play. We have examined on these points witnesses belonging to three classes: masters, whose duty it is to know how the practice works, and to take care that it does not work mischievously; young men, who have had experience of it both as fags and fag-masters; and little boys from those schools which have bodies of foundationers lodged in the school building. At such schools, and amongst the foundation scholars, from the force of usage and traditions, fagging may reasonably be expected to exist in a more systematic shape than elsewhere, and to retain more of its old roughness and severity.
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> "The right to fag belongs at every school to a portion of the senior boys; the liability to be fagged attaches commonly to a portion only of the juniors. The duties of a fag are at some schools much lighter and more limited than at others; in their largest extent they embrace some special personal services to the boy to whom the fag is assigned, and some general services which he may be called on to render to the whole body of the masters, with "fielding," when required, at cricket, and compulsory attendance at some other games. Some of the services mentioned above are such as would at the present day be performed by servants had not the custom grown up of allowing them to be performed by fags. In some instances, again, the compulsory attendance at games, which is far from being always an evil, is so enforced as to trench unduly upon the fag's opportunities for play, as where a little boy is obliged to spend much of his time in keeping goal at football, or fielding at cricket; and in this and other respects some simple regulation might properly be made for his relief. But, on the whole, and with some exceptions, we are satisfied that fagging, mitigated as it has been, and that considerably, by the altered habits and manners of the present day, is not degrading to the juniors, is not enforced tyrannically, and makes no exorbitant demands upon their time, and that it has no injurious effect upon the character of the seniors. The relation of master and fag is generally friendly, and to a certain, though perhaps a slight, extent, one of patronage and protection, and it sometimes gives rise to lasting intimacies. It is an institution created by the boys themselves in the exercise of the liberty allowed to them, and is popular with them; and it is tacitly sanctioned by the masters, who have seen the tyranny of superior strength tempered and restrained in this way by rule and custom till it has practically ceased to be tyranny at all.
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> "Corporal punishment has at the same time greatly diminished; flogging, which twenty or thirty years ago was resorted to as a matter of course for the most trifling offences, is now in general used sparingly, and applied only to serious ones."

Chief among national English customs that date their origin within this period stand the rifle-shooting contests, now ranking as settled institutions throughout the empire. These rifle competitions were an early and vigorous offshoot of the great volunteer movement of 1859, elsewhere described, and have lent to that movement a vitality that bids fair to prove lasting. The July meeting at Wimbledon, extending over a fortnight, is the crowning event of the volunteer year. The first of these gatherings was in July 1860, when the queen fired the first shot, pulling a silken cord attached to the trigger of a rifle laid in a rest, and hitting the centre of a target at four hundred yards' range. Her Majesty and the prince consort established those annual prizes of 250*l.* and 100*l.* respectively that rank among the most coveted distinctions of the great brotherhood of skilled marksmen. The aggregate money value of the prizes shot for at Wimbledon has increased from little more than 2000*l.* in 1860 to more than sixfold that sum in 1873, and the competitors, who are all the chosen representatives of the skill of provincial and colonial affiliated associations, have multiplied in about the same ratio. This camp, the headquarters of rifle competition, has grown year by year from a single group of tents near the windmill, of duelling celebrity, to a canvass town, in whose grassy avenues the stranger may easily lose his way. This temporary town has a population of some three thousand only through the nights, but from ten to twenty times that number, including visitors, pour into it each day. Though the gathering is for two weeks only, the encampment numbers among its conveniences good sanitary arrangements; an adequate service of water; a post office that performs all the branches of work which such establishments undertake in the greatest towns and cities; a bazaar and numerous shops, replete with more than all the possible requirements or reasonable luxuries of camp life; a vast tent that serves for a church and other uses for great numbers; besides club-rooms, concert-rooms, refreshment saloons, and various forms of entertainment for evening hours.

Long-range and small-bore shooting—the best shooting in the world—are among the early good fruits of the volunteer movement and the yearly gatherings at Wimbledon. Before these meetings began, bull's-eyes at a thousand yards were unheard of. In 1873, Colonel Fenton finished his shooting in the English team for the Elcho shield with eight bull's-eyes in succession at that range. The vast national importance of the rifle movement is seen in the fact that, in little more than a dozen years, nearly half a million of men, including those still enrolled in volunteers corps, have acquired a training fitting them to bear an effective part in defence of their native land against foreign invasion.

Rifle corps have been many years in successful operation at several of the chief public schools. Both drill and shooting are practised during play hours, and are thus brought into competition with the other games and exercises of the schools. The exercise helps directly, as other athletic sports do indirectly, to fit the boys for entering the volunteer force when they are men. Apart from such value as it possesses in this respect, it is also of use in affording to boys who do not care for cricket and do not row a healthy and social employment for their leisure. Such employment of leisure is entitled to higher consideration than a mere pastime—entitled to all practicable and suitable encouragement. The founder of Harrow School, a substantial yeoman of the sixteenth century, was careful to enjoin that his scholars should practise archery, and shooting for the prize of a silver arrow was kept up at Harrow until 1771.

The strict sobriety which in the upper social circles took the place of very free drinking habits in the preceding period has been more or less successfully copied in lower walks of life. It is, however, too true that among the ranks gaining their livelihood by manual industry and the various forms of bodily exertion there still remains a wide margin for further reform in the same direction. The years of greatest prosperity for the operative classes have hitherto uniformly exhibited large additions to the revenue derived from excise duties on the favourite beverages of the people. In one of Mr. Lowe's parliamentary speeches, the Alabama indemnity of more than three millions was airily referred to as a small affair for times when high wages and abundant work were bearing fruit in large additions to the national income from excise duties. "We have already drunk ourselves out of our difficulty," was the chancellor of the exchequer's sardonic consolation. A large proportion of the improved wages of the working classes is unquestionably worse than wasted in extra spendings at the public-house. Much has been done to stem the tide of intemperance. The payment of workmen's wages in public-houses and the *tommy-shop* system of black-mail were long ago suppressed by law. Counter-attractions have been multiplied to compete with the enticements of drink. Working-men's clubs have been established, in which chess, draughts, bagatelle, and a multifarious assortment of readable matter are the main attractions, drink also being at the command of the members, and smoking allowed. Parks and recreation-grounds have in all directions been placed at the service of city-pent artisans and all the humblest sons and daughters of toil. It has been the ambition of wealthy philanthropists to add to the pleasures, to elevate the intellectual condition, and to raise the social position, of the working-man. But though recent legislation has suppressed many of the abuses to which the handicraftsman and the labourer were formerly subjected, and though private generosity and public benevolence have accomplished much in raising the mental, moral, and physical condition of the mass of the labouring ranks, there remains a wide field for amelioration, which only self-help on the part of working-men can ever efficiently cover. The present widespread system of trade-unions sprang out of the spontaneous conviction of working-men that their chief reliance for social progress must be in their own efforts. A sketch of the working of one of these associations will throw light on some habits and customs of the operative classes, which are but little understood outside their own ranks. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers is a good typical example of the trade-union on a large scale. Before 1851, each of the trades embraced in this association had its own society, into which only members of that single trade were admitted. But these separate societies, finding that their interests were substantially identical, resolved to further develop the system of trade-union by uniting their separate societies into a single co-operative body. On the 1st of January 1851, the amalgamation took effect. As stated in the preamble to their rules, the objects of the Amalgamated Society were—"To raise money from time to time by contributions among the members thereof, for the purpose of mutual support in case of sickness, accident, superannuation, emigration, for the burial of members and their wives, and also for assistance to members out of work." The society has its headquarters in London, from which are regulated the proceedings of more than three hundred branch associations, for the most part in England, but with a goodly sprinkling in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and some affiliated bodies in the colonies and foreign countries. The general secretary of the society receives from the secretary of each local centre of operations a monthly report on the state of trade in his district, the number and profession of the members out of employment, and the probability of men being wanted. From these reports the general secretary compiles a monthly report of the state of trade in the country at large and places abroad, and a copy of this report is sent to each local secretary, who is thus enabled to furnish the members of his branch with information suited to their needs. No person is admitted under the age of twenty or over that of forty-five, and no person is eligible for admission unless he has worked five years continuously at the trade which he professes. Precautions are further taken to insure that none shall be enrolled as members except such as are efficient workmen, of steady habits, and of good moral character. Members travelling in quest of employment are furnished with credentials securing the good offices of any branch society to which they may apply, and the payment of the allowance due to them when out of work through causes satisfactory to the society, as defined in their rules. Such allowance, or donation, is fixed at 10*s.* per week for fourteen weeks, 7*s.* for thirty weeks, and 6*s.* for each following week, so long as the total does not exceed 19*l.* 18*s.* in one year. Similar provision is made for loss of wages through illness, and members who are fifty years of age and upwards, and who have been eighteen years in the society, can have a retiring allowance of 7*s.* a week for life. Other provisions meet the contingencies of incurable ailments and of expenses incident to the burial of deceased members. All these substantial advantages accrue from the payment of a shilling per week from each member when in employment, together with entrance fees, fines, &c. With upwards of forty thousand members, the association wields an annual revenue of more than 100,000*l.* In years of good trade the society adds largely to its reserve fund, after defraying all charges and paying all claims, and rarely has less than from a year to a year and a half's revenue in hand. Viewed as an association for the protection of the lawful interests of its members and for the alleviation of their unavoidable distresses, it is obvious that such a scheme is a beneficent agency for the promotion of thrift and independence in the members.

Allied to trade-unions, as means of mutual help in time of need, are the benefit societies, through which working-men aim to make some provision in the days of their strength and prosperity against the evil days that come with sickness. Benefit societies are simply mutual assurance associations adapted to the incomes and the requirements of men earning weekly wages. The great drawback to such admirable agencies is found in the fact that their meetings are usually held at public-houses.

AMUSEMENTS, SPORTS, &C.—Open-air concerts, fêtes, flower shows, garden parties, water parties, picnics, the *matinée*, the *conversazione*, and the mixed varieties of these forms of fashionable entertainment, claim just a bare enumeration as prevalent diversions in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

Theatrical entertainments have been gradually new-moulded within the last thirty years. The same prevalent popular or democratic sentiment that has modified social manners, political opinions, and current literature has fixed its impress on representative art in all its main branches; notably on sculpture, painting, poetry, and the drama. The sympathies of a vastly preponderating majority in every social grade are narrowed almost exclusively to contemporary life and works of their own time. The stage no longer lives, as in preceding periods, on tragedy uttered in ornate, stately rhythms, depicting the ambitions, treacheries, loves, and hatreds of exalted personages; nor on comedy that found its material mainly in the formal, high-bred, artificial personages of later but not current times. The accumulated treasures of a rich dramatic past are banished from the stage to the library, to make way for those novelties of each season which crop up as plentifully as fresh patterns for textile fabrics or the protean devices for ladies' bonnets, and which in form and character represent for the most part the recent and the present rather than distant periods. The breath of contemporary life must animate the present rendering of even remote times, to satisfy the class whose support has grown to be the mainstay of the modern stage. The instances in which the earlier drama is resorted to are becoming more and more rare and exceptional, for the simple reason that it has ceased to be remunerative. Theatrical enterprise is a business in which, like any trading concern, the question of profit and loss rules the policy of those whose capital is embarked therein. Managers with a higher standard of taste than that of their most numerous body of patrons have, in exceptional instances, secured a temporary success by revivals of the old drama. Macready, Kean, and Phelps are instances in point. But full houses for many consecutive nights are better assured by long, showy, costly spectacles, wondrous transformation scenes, and sensational melodrama, representing contemporary subjects, or subjects treated in a contemporary spirit, in which the play of emotion and character is quite a secondary concern, and the chief aim is to furnish startling incident and scenic surprises. Little or none of the dramatic literature of recent times is such as to attract readers, and few would willingly go a second time to the most successful of modern theatrical pieces. So widespread is the change from the ideal or poetic drama to its modern substitute that the power of speaking blank verse musically and with effect is a rare accomplishment among living actors. This deplorable decline in the quality of theatrical entertainment has changed the character of the audiences, the more cultured, intellectually, giving place to others less exacting as regards the literary merits of the play. That theatrical enterprise continues to be prosperous in a commercial sense is clearly demonstrated in the great increase in the number of theatres, metropolitan and provincial, despite the multiplication of rival amusements in the music halls and the many gardens which have taken up the functions of old Vauxhall.

The Crystal Palace has filled, during the last twenty years of this final period, quite the foremost place among resorts of holiday folk and pleasure seekers. This new centre of popular diversion has supplied an unexampled diversity of entertainment. In its comprehensive round of attractions it has taken account of the tastes of all, from the tender years of toddling infancy to tottering old age; from the favourite diversions of the simplest sons of the soil, and the lowliest toilers in grimy industries, up to the most fastidious requirements of the upper ten thousand.

The firework displays, presented at frequent intervals in each summer and autumn, have been on a scale of magnificence never seen before, not even at the peace celebration in Hyde Park after the Crimean war, nor at the "emperor's fêtes" in the palmiest days of the second empire. Among other outdoor entertainments and diversions must be specified the ballooning, boating, archery, rifle practice, cricketing, football, and all the other sorts of athletic sport. Besides the varying round of outdoor amusement, there have been the standing attractions of effective landscape gardening on a large scale, with fountains, cascades, lakes, wide-spreading lawns, and terraces decked with statuary, woodland clumps, composed mainly of forest trees in the maturity of growth; and the outer picturesque scenery, blending with the unseen boundaries of the far-spreading and undulating ground. The permanent indoor attractions have included choice artistic decoration throughout; art treasures, either originals or in model, and a rich variety of shop goods for sale in the aisles and galleries.

There, too, are the miniature lakes, where gold fish disport themselves and the water-lily shows all its glories of bud, and leaf, and flower. These elegant water-spaces are further adorned, within and on their borders, with gigantic ferns and a profusion of rare exotic shrubs and flowers. Then there is the tropical section, where flourish many of the wondrous forms of leaf, and stem, and flower appertaining to the torrid zone. Birds of gayest plumage and other curious creatures hailing from India, Africa, Australia, and South America enliven this section; and in it and other quarters of the building are numerous and strikingly life-like semblances of tigers, lions, and other denizens of equatorial regions. The human family, in several of its lowest types of barbarism, as well as in some of its stereotyped form of Oriental existence—aboriginal Australians, American Indians, African savages, the nomadic races of Arabia and Central Asia,—is also displayed in well-executed effigy. Then, according to the season of the year and to the tastes of the many classes catered for, there are all the varieties of musical and theatrical entertainment, from opera concerts and Shakespearian drama to the part-singing of huge brigades of children, Christmas pantomime, and Easter extravaganza This range of choice is far from exhausting the list of occasional entertainments. There are the sundry kinds of flowers shows, the fruit shows, poultry shows, dog shows, cat shows, and wild beast shows; all the shows with few other exceptions than the prize baby show and the Smithfield Club cattle show. The Crystal Palace has further furnished the most complete approach yet made in any country towards national receptions of foreign potentates and celebrities to whom it is desired to pay the compliment of something more than official welcoming. There, in 1855, while the Crimean war was raging, our ally, Napoleon III., and the Empress Eugénie were greeted with the earliest of such national receptions. Emperors, kings, and other notabilities in succeeding years met with similar welcomings and ovations. In 1867 came the turn of the khedive of Egypt, and in the same year that of the sultan of Turkey. In 1873 the shah of Persia enjoyed a similar reception, leaving only the president of the United States, the pope, and the Chinese emperor among conspicuous exceptions to the long series of potentates who have participated in the hospitalities and enjoyed the entertainments of this truly national festival hall. Visitors of every class are exempted from the need of cumbering themselves with the wherewithal to appease the calls of thirst and hunger, for the comprehensive tariff of refreshments ranges upward from buns, biscuits, the crust of bread and cheese, or plate of cold meat with pickles, to the most exacting requirements of the gourmand. The beverages on sale similarly embrace the customary requirements of the schoolboy, the mechanic, the alderman, and the prince.

Cremorne Gardens, at Chelsea, enjoyed in the ten years preceding the opening of the Crystal Palace a large measure of public favour, but have since fallen from their high estate. The range of entertainments at this place of popular resort have been of much the same class that found a home in Vauxhall Gardens—described in an earlier chapter. Woolwich Gardens have catered for the diversion of the far eastern portions of the modern Babylon in much the same line of entertainment established at Cremorne. Both Vauxhall and its later, but not latest, rival, the Surrey Gardens, paled their diminished fronts and shrunk into nothingness a few years after the Crystal Palace presented its wider and choicer range of attractions.

Lord's Cricket Ground, and its less pretentious rival, the Kennington Oval, claim mention as the recognised centres of one branch of popular amusement and sport. Lillie Bridge, at Brompton, has established for itself an almost equal repute for various sorts of athletic contests and bicycle races.

AQUATIC SPORTS.—The Oxford and Cambridge annual boat-race on the Thames, that originated in George IV.'s reign, has continued through this final period to win an ever widening popularity, not only within the multitudinous ranks that take more or less interest in sport generally, but also among classes who may be said to care for no other event in the entire round of the sporting year. The vastly extended facilities for travelling that have been developed within this period have multiplied fully a hundredfold the throngs of spectators who mass themselves along the river banks, on the bridges, rafts, wharves, barges, and all the varieties of river craft, to secure, if possible, a glimpse of the exciting struggle between the dark-blue eight and their light-blue rivals. Lord Wilton, in his entertaining book, 'Sports and Pursuits of the English,' aptly says of this aquatic contest:—"It cannot fail to strike every one that such a scene of rival rowers straining every nerve for victory is essentially national. Nowhere but in this country is there such an exhibition between young men, who, while pursuing their career of study, yet do not forget that the exercise of the brain, tempered by the exercise of the body, is the sure way to achieve the old adage of *mens sana in corpore sano*." Even among the remotest communities of Englishmen in New Zealand, Japan, Vancouver, or the Cape, the event of the universities' yearly match at Putney is looked for with an eagerness hardly inferior to that evinced throughout the provincial portions of the home country. Oxford carried off the palm of victory in so many consecutive years that Cambridge lost heart and talked of declining further effort to retrieve her discomfiture. But the tide of fortune turned in subsequent years, and the honours, through the whole period, show an almost even balance between the rivals.

YACHTING.—The rapid increase of national wealth in the last thirty years has given a marked impulse to this branch of national sport. So inconsiderable was yachting enterprise down to the dawn of the current century that Strut's 'Sports and Pastimes,' published in 1801, makes no mention of the diversion beyond a casual reference to a certain "above-bridge club" on the Thames, the members of which contended in occasional sailing matches for the trophy of a silver cup. The ***Royal Yacht Squadron***, with Cowes for its headquarters, dates from 1815. From small beginnings that club has steadily grown in numbers and distinction, always keeping a front rank place in the yachting enterprise of the country. Its fleet, in recent years, has numbered many scores of vessels, manned by nearly two thousand picked seamen, and representing an aggregate capacity of twenty thousand tons. But the *Royal Thames Yacht Club*, founded in 1823, with London for its headquarters, is still more flourishing, measured by the test of numbers. These two leviathan clubs have some forty rivals and imitators, most of which began their career since 1840. The aggregate yachting fleet of the United Kingdom exceeds two thousand five hundred vessels. Nowhere else in the world is such a sight to be seen as the yachting season presents on our shores, in the throngs of beautiful vessels, at one time floating leisurely at anchor, at another testing their relative merits in the race. Nor are the voyages limited to British waters or to European seas. Yachting races across the Atlantic have long ceased to be novelties in aquatic sport, and yachtsmen are pushing their adventurous voyages all round the world. The Americans have entered with spirit into the fashion of seeking pleasurable excitement in the pastime of yachting, and they have borne off a substantial share of the laurels in international races. Other nations have entered the lists, though in very restricted numbers; but our sea-girt isles, where the sport had its birth, are still its chief, if not its only, home. The English yachting community numbers in its ranks gentlemen of fortune and noblemen who have voluntarily passed the ordeal of a board of trade examination, such as is exacted of professional seamen before they are allowed to command a mercantile ship.

HORSE-RACING.—As a source of pleasurable excitement in the open air the racecourse never attracted such vast throngs as in recent years. The numbers taking a keen interest in the events of the turf, beyond those who attend as spectators of the sport, have also vastly increased, as is attested by the large space occupied in periodical prints by records of racing transactions. Many thriving publications are wholly devoted to sporting intelligence, and mainly to racing and its allied interests. With all this evidence of extended popularity, however, racing has lamentably degenerated in respect to the class of men owning the horses and ruling the events of the racing world. The upholders and chief patrons of the racecourse in the first half of the nineteenth century were wealthy gentlemen and territorial magnates, who could afford to breed, train, and run their horses for pleasure and honour rather than for profit. Betting was then for the most part the diversion of wealthy amateurs. Now it has degenerated into an iniquitous trade, the profession of a money-getting clique, who pride themselves on their sharp practices. The men of position, who still in a measure sustain the repute of the turf, as a prominent branch of national sport, have dwindled down to a small fraction of the entire racing oligarchy. One by one the turfites of high social status have broken up their training stables and withdrawn from the tainted atmosphere of the horde of bookmakers, the mob of needy professionals, who fill the special trains that every racecourse calls into requisition. Quiet country towns, that formerly drew to their races few other spectators than the residents in surrounding districts, are now swarmed, in their racing season, by mobs of questionable strangers, who outrage decency by the coarsest behaviour and the foulest talk. The warmest admirers of racing, as a branch of national sport and an efficacious encouragement to the rearing of good horses, are often constrained to admit that the turf has degenerated beyond reasonable hope of reformation.

COACHING CLUBS.—Among aristocratic diversions of the later years of this period must be enumerated the driving of four-in-hand coaches, similar, but greatly superior in their appointments, to the old stage coaches by which the passenger traffic of the country at large was carried on in times anterior to our railway system. During the London season, from 1860 onwards, the blast of the horn and the trot of the team has been heard early and late every day in Piccadilly, as the numerous coaches to Dorking, Brighton, Westerham, and Watford departed from, or returned to, their starting-point, presenting a revival of coaching as it existed in its flourishing times, forty or fifty years ago. The parade of the splendid teams of the four-in-hand club has become one of the attractions of the afternoon "Parks," and the large gathering of carriages and pedestrians to witness the meet and the start attests the interest excited by the occasion. The Duke of Beaufort, Lord Londesborough, Lord Carington, Lord Sefton, and Lord Abingdon are prominent among the distinguished whips in this four-in-hand pastime, and members of the royal family have frequently figured among the passengers. The teams, usually of the same colour for each four horses, as roans, bays, chestnuts, or browns, are pictures of symmetrical and faultless animals.

Pilgrimages to the shrines of saints, to holy grottoes and meadows hallowed by reputed apparitions of the Virgin, form another sort of revival that has startled, or at least surprised and amused, the public in the latest years of the period under notice. The clergy of the Roman Catholic Church organise these pilgrimages, which are relieved of the wearisome toil that pilgrims of old underwent; for the modern pilgrimage is not made on foot, but by excursion trains and steamboats. The several detachments of pilgrims assemble at Paris, to be blessed at the church of Notre Dame des Victoires, and then start with further benedictions from the terminus for distant parts of France or Italy. The railway carriages resound with sacred chants, and the pilgrims refresh themselves in the long journey with creature comforts carried in hand-bags, or with a meal in common at *tables d'hôte* by the way. Thus has the Roman Church utilised for her service the railway administration, as she has turned to practical account many other modern ideas, proving her capacity to move with the times.

ATHLETIC SPORTS AT PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—The report made by Lord Clarendon's commission on the leading public schools contains a section on the favourite outdoor diversions of boys of the present period. The commissioners remark:—

"The bodily training which gives health and activity to the frame is imparted at English schools, not by the gymnastic exercises which are employed for that end on the continent, but by athletic games, which, while they serve this purpose well, serve other purposes besides. Pursued as a recreation, and voluntarily, they are pursued with all the eagerness which boyhood throws into its amusements; and they implant the habit, which does not cease with boyhood, of seeking recreation in hardy and vigorous exercise. The cricket and football fields, however, are not merely places of exercise and amusement: they help to form some of the most valuable social qualities and manly virtues, and they hold, like the classroom, and the boarding-house, a distinct and important place in public-school education. Their importance is fully recognised. Ample time is given for them, and they have ample encouragement in general from the authorities of the schools. A head-master, who has himself as a boy played in a school 'eleven,' is not likely to be indifferent to the game in after-life; those who regret, not, perhaps, without reason, that cricket has become so elaborate an art as to need professional instruction, would be not the less sorry that the interest of their boys in it should flag; and those who are most anxious that their pupils should work diligently, are desirous also that they should play heartily and with spirit. It is possible, indeed, to carry this too far, and at some schools this is the case. It is carried too far if cricket matches are multiplied until they engross almost all the interest and much of the time of the boys during an important part of the year. It is certainly carried too far if boys are encouraged to regard play as on the same level with work, or to imagine that they can make amends for neglecting their duty by the most industrious pursuit of pleasure. There is the less excuse for this because it is certain that the two things are by no means incompatible. It happens frequently that boys who are diligent and distinguished in school and at college earn distinction also in the cricket-field or on the river. . . . The importance which the boys themselves attach to games is somewhat greater, perhaps, than might reasonably be desired, but within moderate limits it is highly useful. It is the best corrective of the temptation to over-study which acts upon a clever and ambitious boy, and of the temptation to saunter away time which besets an indolent one."

Football held a place among our national games in earlier periods, but was never so prominent among accepted sports as in the most recent times. It ranks foremost among cold-weather exercise at schools and colleges, nor is the practice limited to educational centres. Clubs for football exercise have sprung into vigorous life in most parts of the kingdom, and the game numbers yearly increasing votaries, despite the many severe mishaps that befall its practitioners. The dangers attending the pastime are nowise diminished since the days when James I. declared from his court: "I debarre all rough and violent exercises, as the foot-ball, meeter for lameing than making able the users thereof." Sufferers from such casualties as sprained, dislocated, or broken bones will regard with large allowance the autocratic interdict which aimed to avert similar injuries to remote generations of British youth. The game, however, with all its risks, has grown to such a pitch of importance that periodical matches come off, not only between the players of the various public schools and seats of higher education, but also between widely separated local clubs. The picked teams of Scotland and England contend annually, either in the vicinity of Edinburgh or of London, in international matches of the same kind. Football has largely superseded the once favourite game of hockey in England, and has established a formidable rivalry with golf, the Scotch variety of hockey.

Cricket, long a favourite game among all ranks of English folk, has grown, if possible, into higher favour than ever within the last twenty years. It continues, as in bygone times, to bring into pleasant friendly association all the diverse grades and callings in the alliances and rivalries of athletic exertion. The matches at Lord's take their place among the regular afternoon distractions of the London season for the world of fashion. Little as ladies comprehend the game, they go to the Oxford and Cambridge or the Eton and Harrow cricket match as they go to Ascot or Goodwood. The scene has, however, its own peculiar attractions, distinct from those of the betting-ring. The throng is unique, bearing no resemblance to the motley gathering at the race-course, or the mixed multitudes that swarm to the banks of the Thames when the university boat-race is pulled. The rough puts in no appearance at Lord's, the shilling admission fee, and the feeling that he is as much out of place there as in a drawing-room combining to deter him from intrusion. The clubs send in their contingent of elderly but cheery veterans, who are refreshed by the display of youthful vigour, freshness, and comeliness on every side. Boys of the aristocratic ranks muster there in shoals, rousing by their enthusiasm the staid occupants of long strings of carriages, whence roving visitors draw contributions from inexhaustible hampers of refreshments.

CROQUET.—The game which in the last dozen years has called into existence myriads of well-kept lawns, level and smooth as a billiard table, is only a revival, with some modifications, of the old game of *pall mall.* Strutt (p. 103), quoting from an earlier authority, says:—"Pall maille is a game wherein a round ball is struck with a mallet through a high arch of iron, which he that can do at the fewest blows, or at the number agreed upon, wins." Multiply the iron arches and depress their elevation, and the foregoing definition aptly sketches the modern and highly fashionable revival of a game that held sway more than two centuries ago, and fixed its memorial in the name of that street which in later times has figured as the headquarters of English club life. The Pall Mall of modern London was the practice-ground of the old "pall maille" pastime, as also was the Mall parallel with it in St. James's Park, where Pepys, on the 4th of January 1664 was mightily pleased "to hear a gallant, lately come from France, swear at one of his companions for suffering his man (a spruce blade) to be so saucy as to strike a ball while his master was playing on the mall." ('Diary.')

POLO, the newest fashionable game, and which may be defined as a variation of hockey, in which the ball is driven to the goal by mounted players, is another modern revival of a very ancient sport of Oriental origin. The sixth story in the 'Arabian Nights' Entertainments' tells how the king of Zouman in Persia "took the bat and spurred his horse after the bowl (or ball) till he struck it; it was sent back again to him by the officers who were playing with him, and then the game continued for a considerable time, till he found his hand as well as his whole body in a perspiration, which made the remedy in the bat operate as the physician had said." The courtiers who on that occasion shared the sport with their monarch used, we may be sure, discreet precautions to avoid such "cannoning" against the royal equestrian player as sometimes occasions serious hurt to our players in Windsor Great Park, Lillie Bridge, Hurlingham, and elsewhere.

FURNITURE.—Rosewood continued in fashion for drawing-room furniture for about fifty years from the dawn of the current century. Then followed the reign of walnut, which is still in the ascendant. For the more solid equipment of the dining-room and library, oak entered into rivalry with mahogany at about the same time when rosewood gave place to walnut. But mahogany held its ground as the chief material for heavy furniture, oak filling only a secondary place. The most striking feature distinguishing furniture of the Victorian period from earlier articles of upholstery is the prevalence of curved shapes. Strength, durability, and comfort have been sacrificed in the aim to secure beauty of form. A curve at the back of a sofa renders it too high in one place and too low in another to accommodate the shoulders of the sitter, but this inconvenience has been generally acquiesced in, because a curved outline, no matter where it may be applied, has become the accepted test of elegance. Chairs rest their claim to elegance on the fact that there is not a straight line in their composition. Their curvature is commonly carried to a pitch utterly incompatible with strength, and their backs bear forms of ornamentation, such as mouldings and knots of carved work, that sorely punish the backs of unwary sitters. Drawing-room tables are curved in every possible way, and are consequently seldom convenient to sit at, besides being structurally weak and habitually rickety. Extravagant contour and wavy fronts have deprived sideboards, chiffoniers, and washstands of more than half their old commodiousness in the way of drawers and shelves. In fact, no article of upholstery is reckoned elegant, under the upholsterer's vitiated notions of what constitutes beauty of form, unless it has a curved outline. But true artistic taste and propriety are violated in proportion as decorative design takes no account of the material on which it is employed or the uses to which such material is applied. Simplicity of general form is one of the prime conditions of artistic excellence in art manufacture. If regard be paid to the character and properties of the raw material employed in the making of furniture, or to the comfort and convenience which it is to subserve, the predominating form in cabinet work would continue to be quadrangular, as it was in times when artistic taste controlled the handiwork of the cabinet maker.

Degeneracy as regards shape, under the senseless rage for universal curves, has been accompanied by a not less marked deterioration in the quality of the workmanship. Dishonest work has multiplied with the cheapness that competition has brought about in ordinary furniture. The so-called wood-carving which is seen on furniture exposed for ordinary sale is for the most part done by machinery. There are shops where mouldings and scroll-work are sold by measure, to be glued on to the flimsy furniture which, too commonly, they rather deform than adorn. Joinery has so fallen off within the last fifty years that it is no easy matter to meet with a specimen of sound and honest work among the goods kept in stock at fashionable upholstery establishments. Nails and screws have quite supplanted the stout wooden pins and tenon joints that were used to better purpose in earlier framing. Most modern furniture, unless made under special supervision, and at exorbitant cost, becomes rickety in a few years. The better workmanship bestowed on furniture a century or more ago is attested in the stability and soundness still remaining in the specimens which are by no means rare in public establishments and great mansions.

Earnest and most authoritative protests have from time to time warned the public against following the lead of the uninformed and the misinformed; for such, with rare exceptions, is the character of the furniture-making class, so far as any understanding of the fundamental principles of ornamental design is in question. Ruskin, Pugin, Eastlake, and others, have performed good service in the cause of æsthetic reform in every branch of household equipment and decoration. Under the influence of such teaching, artistic shapes are gaining ground. They compete, however, at a heavy disadvantage against the perverted fashion which has secured so widespread an acceptance. They labour under the especial drawback that manufacturers demand excessive prices for every article of furniture which differs from the stereotyped form which has got the run with the preponderating mass of customers.

The latest ten years of the period have been marked by extraordinary progress in the production of furniture answering at once the requirements of a cultured artistic taste and of actual household convenience. Black-stained mahogony, with gold ornamentation, figures conspicuously in this revival of appropriate design in alliance with honest work. Oak also has come more and more to the front for sideboards, dining-tables, book-cases, and other library furniture. Wall and floor decorations have participated largely in the recent æsthetic reform. Paper-hangings, curtains, floor-cloths, and carpets exhibit, in the better specimens to be found in a few of the house decorators' shops, a chaste elegance of design, a harmony of colour, and a finish in the make that were nowhere to be found allied in any single fabric some twelve years earlier. Tessellated encaustic tile pavements for entrance halls and passages, and parquetry floors or floor-borderings, also claim mention in the list of commendable revivals.

COSTUME.—Male attire in England has fallen in this final period into closer conformity than ever with the contemporaneous modes in vogue among our nearer continental neighbours. The element of a distinctive nationality has indeed been more or less obliterated from the garb of most civilised nations Everywhere a tendency is plainly descernible towards a general sameness, and as also must be added tameness, in men's habiliments. The eminently uninteresting similarity in modern dress is, however, largely relieved by an infinitude of minor variations, which remain under the promptings of individual taste. Never in earlier periods was the range of choice in stuffs, textures, patterns, and colours so wide as in recent times, and each season brings a fresh harvest of novelties.

Although the mutations in English male attire within the Victorian era alone have been literally countless, the changes have yet none of them been so pronounced or violent as to afford matter for any very striking contrasts. The old coat-collar, which, at the dawn of the period, used to rise from the shoulders of the wearer in a thick padded roll until it touched the back of the head, shrank gradually from a tenfold to a twofold thickness of the cloth. Wellington boots, reaching to the knee, gave place as gradually to the lighter and easier ankle-boot, with button or lace fastenings. Later on, about 1855, followed the yet more comfortable spring-side, and ten years later the 'Balmoral,' for rougher wear than the ordinary elastic-side. Trousers-straps, that passed under the boot, as often seen in equestrian statues, were in almost universal wear through the early years of the reign. With them, or close to the same date, went out blue swallow-tailed coats with brass buttons, frock coats filling their place; and the stiff stock that used to be buckled round a stiff, stand-up shirt-collar. The supple neckerchief ousted the stiff cravat and the stock, paving the way for the further freedom of the easily managed scarf and other forms of made-up ties, with turndown instead of upright shirt-collars. The much-abused chimney-pot hat has maintained an absolute ascendancy, not only throughout the period, but for nearly a century, despite its patent defects, in regard to comfort for the wearer, and its uncompromising ugliness from an artistic point of view. Trousers and coats are looser, and consequently easier to the wearer, than in bygone times. Dress-coats and the other items of evening dress for gentlemen have hitherto scarcely felt the reformatory movement which has enfranchised the neck and limbs down to the sole of the foot from some of the old disabilities with which they were formerly hampered in ordinary dress. Evening dress —the suit of black, with its coat-tail of scant dimension—still cries aloud for sweeping reform, but deliverance seems as far off as ever. Ten years ago, it was rumoured that a royal personage had decided to lead the way in an entire change from the conventional ugliness of the modern tail-coat, the close-fitting black trousers, and the stiff, tight, and comfortless black waistcoat. But the much-coveted example of defiance to the exactions of this evil fashion never came forward in England. In France, however, men may go to a ball in white waistcoats and light grey trousers, and the Americans wear white ducks on similar occasions, if the weather warrants a resort to that comfortable substitute for the oppressive broadcloth in which the Englishman is doomed to encase the lower half of his person, alike in the sultriest and the coldest weather. The tail-coat of to-day is somewhat more bearable than thirty years ago, inasmuch as it is looser and easier, but common-sense calls for a complete suppression, and not a mere abatement, of the monstrosity. The necktie worn with the dress suit for dinner, opera, or ball must be white, and the smaller the better. Fashion requires it to be of washable texture, not silk, not netted, nor pendent, but a simple white narrow tie, without embroidery. For evening parties, a small and plain black tie is allowable in place of the white required for more formal occasions. Etiquette requires Englishmen to wear the tall black hat with cloth coats of the same funereal hue, alike under the sun of the equator and the frosts of Canada, under pain of loss of caste for defiance of the laws of fashion. As a set-off against the exactions of fashion within the circles and in the circumstances where it holds undisputed sway, ease, freedom, and convenience are more abundantly secured in the garments for informal occasions, outdoor diversion, seaside and country wear, than in any earlier period. The picturesque knickerbocker suit, much used by our volunteer riflemen, is also the favourite wear of many a country gentleman. It may be questioned, however, whether it will long hold out against that dread of seeming singular which is so irresistible a controlling force in regulating modern costume. Only in rare instances will men of sense and modesty run counter to the behests, however unreasonable, of reigning fashion.

To describe even in a moderately intelligible way the incessant changes in ladies' costume between the dawn and the close of the period under notice would call for an amount of space quite out of proportion to the relative importance of the theme as one only out of the many topics discussed in this chapter. An undeniable improvement between the beginning and the end of the interval is discernible in many minor details of form and colour. The loose, long, and full-flowing dress, but with the corsage tight, remained in vogue through the first twenty years of the Victorian period. The supremacy of this model was vigorously assailed in America in 1851, when Mrs. Bloomer and a set of her ardent disciples, in the cause of reform in female dress, commenced a crusade against the prevailing style, and urged the adoption of a costume that should never draggle in the dirt or mud. In England, a flutter of mingled expectancy and merriment was called forth by the spread of Bloomerism on the farther side of the Atlantic. Some among ourselves hoped, others feared, but more doubted, the spread of the fashion on this side. From a simply common-sense point of view, as well as on æsthetic grounds, the costume presented marked advantages over the cumbrous dress which several generations of women had worn. The Bloomer suit was, moreover, only a modification of the costume common enough among Polish ladies, whose short tunic, skirt, and high fur-trimmed boots formed a much admired costume. Mrs. Bloomer and her followers wore a sort of tunic jacket of satin or other material, a skirt reaching nearly halfway down between the knee and ankle, loose and full trousers, made of any of the materials usually worn by ladies, and gathered in at the ankle with an elastic band. The boots were much as specified above for Polish ladies. A missionary in the cause came over to urge English ladies to follow the new Transatlantic fashion. She lectured in London and elsewhere, and claimed for the new dress, such as that in which she was herself attired, the advantages and merits of greater convenience, elegance, cheapness, and picturesqueness than appertained to the reigning style. But ridicule nipped the new costume in the bud, both here and in America.

The current of fashion as respects material in dress is liable to be turned from old into new channels by incidents of the day. In 1849, the murderess, Mrs. Manning, was hanged at Horsemonger Lane in a black satin dress. Thenceforward, and for more than twenty years, black satin fell under a cloud in the world of fashion, from which it has only lately emerged.

Shortly after the Bloomer episode followed the age of crinoline. The Empress Eugénie led the way in the use of the protruding artifice which expanded the skirts to the girth of a diving-bell. This was in 1854; but it was not until 1857 that crinoline gained a firm hold on the female mind in the British dominions. The fashion passed rapidly downwards from the palace to the cottage. It became an indispensable item in the attire of factory girls. Maid-servants came to the conclusion that it was no less essential a device for the display of their figures than for setting forth their mistresses to the best advantage. It was the old hoop of last century, or the farthingale of a yet earlier time, resuscitated, but with a greatly enlarged circumference. The far-reaching flounces over the invisible, though protruding, crinoline extended over a width of ground sufficient to allow of three or four men walking abreast; and the question began to be asked what over-proportion of the geographical area the ladies meant to appropriate to themselves. Wide passages and gangways were effectually blocked when one female thus incommodiously accoutred occupied the space where men alone could pass each other with facility. Cumbrous to the wearer, a nuisance to fellow-passengers by steamboat, rail, or 'bus, the wretched invention remained a dozen years in the full swing of fashion. Ridicule, satire, and trenchant condemnation on all hands assailed the evil to no purpose. Lives were not unfrequently sacrificed from disasters caused by crinoline, usually cases of burning by the dress being thrust into contact with the domestic fire. Though the obnoxious hoop fell out of fashion in 1869, it has hardly yet been trundled into the limbo of disused vanities.

"Dress improvers" and "panniers" take the place which the "bustle" occupied before the days of crinoline. Ladies' head-gear has undergone more mutations in the past thirty years than any other portion of female dress. Bonnets and hats in endless variety of form and material have come and gone, and even the types still not unfashionable constitute in themselves a family too numerous for individual mention in this section. The later shapes, for the most part, discard the aim of covering the head, or of screening the face from the sun's rays, or of affording any effective pretection from the weather. But a decided reaction against diminutive make-believes has set in since 1867, when a tag of lace and a rose-bud, or a knot of ribbons and a spray of fern, passed under the name of a bonnet.

Some fifteen years before their emancipation from crinoline, ladies fixed their affections on marvellously high-heeled boots. To walk in tight-fitting boots which are three inches thick in the heel, but quite thin in the sole, is a trying performance. Walking is, however, accomplished under these conditions by increasing numbers, and under the further drawback of a narrowness in the base of the "military heel" about equal to the diameter of a stout walking-stick. The "Grecian bend," a style of movement which enjoys the repute of being graceful, is achieved by the fair pedestrians who use this sort of boot; so the penance is cheerfully endured in the cause of fashion.

In the earlier half of this period, America used to be regarded as the country where ladies spent most profusely on attire. Paris, however, from the date of the emperor's marriage in 1852, entirely eclipsed New York for extreme richness, variety, and extravagance in female costume. Six hundred pounds was an ordinary price for a set of winter sables, such as were worn in considerable numbers in the pleasure capital of Europe and the world at large in the palmiest days of Napoleon III. and the Empress Eugénie. The yearly outlay on dress for a lady in the ranks of highest fashion was seven or eight hundred pounds a year, without including jewelry. England took the infection. Several bankruptcy cases, in which fashionable milliners were the defaulters, revealed the large yearly outlay for which many of their customers rendered themselves liable. One lady of rank, at the time of these disclosures, though she did not figure in them, used to vent the surmise that she "might be able to do with 2000*l.* a year" for the replenishment of the wardrobe for herself and her three daughters.

In those times, the late duchess of Sutherland, who, during a very prolonged term of years, was eminent for other coveted attributes besides exalted rank and vast wealth, presented a dazzling example of the blended graces and splendours of dress. She is the personage pointed to in the following extract from an anonymous and undated book of etiquette, bearing the title, 'The Habits of Good Society.' The book was evidently written about the year 1860, while her grace was still living. Its author thus sets forth one of the secrets of her social eminence :—"A certain duchess noted for the magnificence in which her stately person is arrayed—so stately is it as to bear down even royalty itself in queenly dignity—is so aware of the importance of combining colours well that one of her *femmes de chambre* is a 'combination maid,' selected on account of her judgment in colours; thus, every *toilette* for the day or night is submitted by her; the shawl is confronted with the gown; the bonnet is made to suit with both. The wreath of flowers is to be in keeping with the rich boddice, the boddice with the sweeping train; the rich jewelry, taken from a casket almost unparalleled among the subjects of any country, must not eclipse, but heighten the tints of the dress: the whole is placed for inspection, as an artist dresses up a lay figure; and the repute of the combination maid is staked on the result. White was that gorgeous lady's favourite attire; white, scarce purer than the face, 'O call it pale, not fair;' white, which 'combines' with every hue, ornament, or flower: but the loveliness may now have fled before the approach of time, and rich colours have been selected as the appropriate tints for that middle age which is so beautiful in English women, and in English women alone."

This resplendent duchess, whose middle age best harmonised with rich colours, was in her youthful prime the acknowledged queen of beauty. In later life, she used to tell that, of all the compliments and homage ever paid to her personal attractions, an unsophisticated utterance by an Irish bricklayer had best pleased her. The greeting so pleasantly imprinted on the tablets of her memory was, "Oh, would your ladyship let me light my pipe from the bright of your eye?" The unpremeditated compliment from this rough-and-ready Hibernian was rendered on an occasion when the lady was looking on at some building operation in which many workmen were employed, and the spokesman was filling his short dhudeen at the moment when his eyes lighted on the charming countenance of the fair spectator.

Excessive outlay on female attire was a feature in the seven or eight years ending with 1860. A salutary change in the direction of simplicity then set in. Near the end of our period, and after prolonged discussion in the press on the follies and extravagance of fashion, our railway bookstalls offered for sale among their literary wares a solution to the problem 'How to Dress on £15 a Year as a Lady.' But the class to whom the economical discovery is revealed does not belong to the same soaring social altitude as that where sables, cashmeres, richest silks and satins, tulle, and lace at fabulous cost, continue to find unstinted numbers of purchasers. Nor is it the class that indulges in pocket-handkerchiefs at a guinea each; in multiplicity and amplitude of flounces and trimmings; in dresses that absorb more than twenty yards of material, and in such an extended gradation of costume as is called into request by the varying demands of the levée, the ball, the dinner, the opera, the at-home, the garden-party, not to name the other specialities which highest fashion exacts of her votaries.

THE END.

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